

ALL THINGS ETHNIC
COMPARING ETHNICITY IN THE OFFICIAL STATISTICS OF CANADA AND
NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT

This thesis provides an historical comparison of the ethnic questions in the censuses of Canada and New Zealand. The comparison spans six census years, selected to provide the best examples of changes in the respective censuses since World War II. Certain critical aspects are examined in detail, including the question wording, response categories, helpnotes, selected coding procedures, and multiple responses. Research material for this thesis was obtained from published and unpublished material from both Statistics Canada and Statistics New Zealand. Sociological definitions and theory relating to ethnicity are investigated, and these issues are related back to the difficulties in developing an ethnic question for Censuses. The 'race' component of census ethnic data is noted, and the possible explanation of the 'census as fossil' is offered. The tensions between the visibility of the ethnic question and the invisibility of ethnic classification systems are also explored.

Censuses of Population, and especially the ethnic questions in censuses, are developed by official statisticians in the context of contemporary cultural norms and values. To that end, the economic and social histories of Canada and New Zealand are reviewed to provide a background for the discussion of each ethnic question. Where pertinent the comparison includes Australia, United Kingdom and the United States.

The main differences between New Zealand and Canada are found to be in population composition (differences in the indigenous population, as well as the anomaly of the French in Canada) and the legislative requirements for ethnic data. The differences in the ethnic census data are discussed in this context, especially the fact that the New Zealand question is a cultural affiliation measure, whereas the Canadian 'ethno-cultural' questions relate to ancestry, race and visible minority status.

All census data are reliant on the goodwill of the public. If census ethnic data are to remain credible, official statisticians must continue to seek to understand the meaning and impact of census ethnicity questions, and must develop ways of collecting and disseminating the data that satisfy the needs of the users, producers and suppliers of the data. This thesis seeks to contribute to this endeavour.

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

The Mighty Moose and the Gentle Kiwi Canada and New Zealand compared

1.1 Purpose

1.1.1 Why compare Canada and New Zealand

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1.6 Structure of the Thesis

1.1 Purpose

This thesis examines the historic and contemporary practice of collecting official statistics on ethnicity in Canada and New Zealand. In particular, the comparison will examine how ethnic statistics were collected in the Census of Population and Dwellings of the respective countries for selected years (1951, 1971, 1981, 1986, 1991, and 1996), and identify similarities and differences. The intention is to generate a comparative framework in which the ethnic census questions can be rigorously

examined, and to understand why the collection practices in each country have diverged despite the commonality of the origins of ethnic statistics in each country.¹

1.1.1 Why Compare Canada and New Zealand

At one level, a comparison of the Canadian and New Zealand official ethnic statistics was decided upon for reasons of expediency, since I had access to the official statistics agencies in both countries.² However, there are additional compelling reasons to compare the two countries in this way. Both were dominions of the British Empire (now members of the Commonwealth with the same head of state), and in their early days were subjected to British colonial rule.³ Both are European settler societies, and in both countries indigenous peoples have been displaced and marginalized. Both are considered ‘western’, ‘industrialized’ and ‘developed’ countries. Both are considered ‘smaller cousins’ to larger nations next door (the U.S.A. and Australia respectively).

Despite such similarities there are also differences that merit mention. The French have a unique place in Canadian society, while no parallel group can be said to exist in New Zealand.⁴ Similarly, the Maori occupy a place in New Zealand society that the indigenous peoples in Canada cannot match. Obvious differences also exist in the size (both population and landmass), physical geography and climates of the two nations.

Despite these differences, the comparison is valid when similarities in culture, language, government and other institutions are taken into consideration. Indeed, there is a great deal of similarity in the statistical systems developed in each country. Each has a Census of Population and Dwellings, and each has asked one or more

¹ Ethnic group comparisons between the two countries would be very difficult to make, and this illustrates that despite ‘globalisation’, ethnic statistics serve the specific social, economic and political needs of the country, or government, collecting them.

² See Chapter 3, ‘Methodology’ for more details.

³ See Chapter 4 for an in-depth historical comparison.

questions on ethnicity for a number of years.⁵

Such similarities have not gone unnoticed by academics as is evidenced by comparative studies on ethnicity and racism and by conferences such as the ‘Conference on Racism, Aboriginality, Ethnicity and Gender’ (Collins 1995), which examined contemporary racism in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.⁶ There also has been comparative work carried out on aboriginal peoples, such as *The Nations Within: Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, United States, and New Zealand* (Fleras & Elliot 1992a). Migration is also an area where frequent comparisons are drawn between Canada and New Zealand, as in studies such as *The White Peril: Foreign Relations and Asian Immigration to Australasia and North America 1919-1978* (Brawley 1995) and ‘Post-1945 International Migration: New Zealand, Australia and Canada Compared’ (Ongley & Pearson 1995). Finally, Canada and New Zealand are used to comparatively analyse multiculturalism (Pearson & Ongley 1996, Fleras & Elliot 1992a).

Against this background, however, it should be pointed out that in the academic literature an exclusive comparison of Canada with New Zealand is rare. When Canada and New Zealand are compared, it is usually done in conjunction with other Commonwealth and/or western countries such the U.S.A., Australia or Britain. Also, it should be noted that Canada is more frequently compared with Australia than with New Zealand, especially in the field of immigration (see for example Hawkins 1989). This is probably due to the similarity of Australia and Canada in terms of size and immigration intake, something not matched by New Zealand.

⁴ Although there was a small contingent of French Settlers on the South Island in 1840 (at Akaroa), it was never considered a real threat to the British rule in New Zealand.

⁵ A detailed description and analysis of census ethnicity questions for each country is provided in Chapters 5 and 6.

⁶ The conference was held at the University of Technology, in Sydney in 1993 (see Collins 1995 for conference papers).

, The New Zealand-Canada comparison is still a valid one however, especially if one considers that an Australia-Canada comparison would yield little insight into ethnic statistics because traditionally ethnicity questions have not been included in the Australian census.⁷ Another indication of the close colonial ties between Canada and New Zealand is the equivalence in the number of Canadians living in New Zealand and vice versa (almost 6,000 in 1996) and the extent of intermarriage between New Zealanders and Canadians - a living testament to Commonwealth ties.⁸

More evidence of the similarities, especially statistically, between the two countries exists in the frequent co-operation between the two statistical offices, Statistics New Zealand and Statistics Canada. This could be said to be an indication of the suitability of comparing these two countries.⁹ Indeed both statistical agencies are centralised offices that coordinate similar surveys and measures within a national statistical framework. The roles of the head of each organization are in practice very similar, although there are some legislative differences between New Zealand's 'Government Statistician' and Canada's 'Chief Statistician'.¹⁰

⁷ As discussed in Chapter 5, Australia did ask an ancestry question in 1986, and are planning a question for the 2001 census. Traditionally though, Australia has derived measures of 'ethnicity' from other questions on their census such as religion, country of birth and language.

⁸ Although exact numbers of intermarriage are difficult to estimate, 2,379 of the more than 3,000 Canadians in New Zealand are partnered. (1996 New Zealand Census.) There is also much anecdotal evidence to suggest that such marriages are not uncommon. In my own case, as a Canadian, I met a New Zealander in London and ended up marrying him and relocating to New Zealand. One of my good friends is currently living with a New Zealander in Canada. Since being in New Zealand, I have encountered several 'mixed' couples.

⁹ A detailed comparison of the two government departments is not addressed in this thesis although Chapter 4 outlines the history of the development of both agencies. For a detailed history of Statistics Canada see: *75 Years and Counting: a history of Statistics Canada* (Statistics Canada 1993), and *The Dominion Bureau of Statistics: A history of Canada's Central Statistical office and its antecedents, 1841-1972*. (Worton 1998). For a history of Statistics New Zealand see: *Progress in Official Statistics 1840-1957: A personal History by Sir George Wood* (Department of Statistics 1976), and *A History of Statistics in New Zealand* (Roberts 1999).

¹⁰ The Canadian head statistician has slightly more freedom to allocate funds for statistical work, while the New Zealand head statistician is more accountable to parliament.

1.1.2 The Comparative Census Years

The thesis is based on a comparative analysis of three sets of census years: 1951/71, 1981/86, and 1991/96. The selection of these years merits comment.

The two most recent censuses, 1991 and 1996 were chosen because information on the census processes for these years is relatively well documented (compared to earlier years) and is reasonably 'fresh' in the minds of the people who worked on them.

The 1981 and 1986 censuses were chosen because they are also recent. However, the changes that occurred in the early 1980s, which in particular resulted in major changes to New Zealand ethnicity data, were significant enough to merit inclusion of these years.

While selecting the four most recent censuses was a straightforward process, attempting to select two additional census years that would give breadth to the historical comparison was much more difficult.

The first step in the process of selection was to exclude all censuses before W.W.II., since it was felt that the first post-war census in 1951 marked the beginning of what is commonly referred to as the 'modern census'. The 1951 Census coincided with post-war advances in technology and increased interest in social statistics - especially labour, family and household statistics. Although including an earlier census would have increased the historical scope of the thesis, it would have decreased the depth of analysis since generally the older the census, the less information is available.

Having decided to focus on post-war censuses, the second step in the selection process was to exclude all mid-decade censuses --1956, 1966, and 1976. Traditionally the decennial census has been considered to be the main census (taken at the

beginning of each decade), with the mid-decade census considered to be a smaller supplement to the main census. Reflecting this, the mid-decade census traditionally contained fewer questions. While this is no longer always the case, it did apply for the years in question.

Once pre-W.W.II censuses and mid-decade census had been eliminated, this left only three possible census years from which to select the additional pair for comparison: 1951, 1961 and 1971. After careful consideration, 1951 and 1971 were the two census years selected. The main reason for excluding 1961 was that there was little change between 1951 and 1961 in the ethnic questions. Further to this, 1961 was dropped in favour of 1971 because, though some social changes took place in the 1960s in both countries, it was the 1971 Census that began to reflect the social change that was occurring.

1.2 Ethnicity, the Census and Official Statistics

1.2.1 The Focus on Ethnicity

The importance of ethnic statistics, or statistics on and concerning ethnicity, has never been greater:

In the late twentieth century ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic conflict’ captivate the world’s attention like perhaps no other social phenomenon on earth. Even relatively peaceful societies like the United States are not immune to it, although it only infrequently erupts into open conflict and violence and then only briefly. But... ethnicity and ethnic conflict are not particularly well understood, either by the public or by many scholars. (Eller 1999, p. 7)

The need for ethnic statistics in Canada and New Zealand is influenced by a variety of socio-economic changes, the most important of which are: a) the challenge of pluralism in traditionally ‘white settler society’, b) the assertion of indigenous rights within those nations, c) conflict over access to resources, and d) the assertion of ethnic

identity and rights. Any examination of ethnic data should attempt to take these issues into account.

Despite the fact that the concepts of ethnicity and ethnic conflict are perplexing and are 'fertile subjects for conflation of categories, mystification of facts, and general demagoguery' (Eller 1999, p. 7), ethnic statistics are used extensively in policy making. Yet ethnic data do not seem to have been subjected to the same scrutiny that their conceptual counterparts undergo. This study, which examines in detail the production of ethnic statistics in two countries, will hopefully go some way towards filling that critical gap in knowledge, and will complement the conceptual discussions that are already underway.¹¹

1.2.2 Ethnicity as Concept and Practice

Although it may be of interest to study the conceptual and theoretical basis of ethnicity in the various social sciences (anthropology, sociology, demography) and then see if and how official statistics measure up to such yard sticks, this thesis focuses on the practical aspect of ethnic data collection. There is good reason for this decision: official statistical agencies have not defined the ethnic variable satisfactorily.

The fact is, whether or not they have a sensible definitional base (sociological, statistical or otherwise), official statistical agencies that began collecting race statistics during colonial times (and switched to focusing on ethnic origin after W.W.II) will continue to collect the information into the 21st century - with or without a sound conceptual base. The reason for this is that while ethnicity is a notoriously difficult concept to define, especially since it seems to change frequently, there is still a great

¹¹ It should be emphasized that this thesis is not about ethnic conflict. The case for studying ethnic statistics lies in the significance of ethnicity as a topic in itself for the media, public and governments. This justifies a closer look at the information collected about ethnicity by governments, since the vast majority of ethnicity figures cited in the media are government-sourced.

demand for the data. The fluidity of ethnicity makes it one of the worst understood and most challenging variables collected as part of official statistics.

This difficulty exposes another interesting feature of the statistical landscape that has relevance to users of ethnic statistics. Ethnic statistics in Canada and New Zealand are collected as part of the official census, and census questions, as a rule, change very little over time. In particular, the ethnic questions of today contain remnants of the 'race' questions of the early nineteenth century. Traditionally, one of the most important aspects of census data is that they are used to generate time series, which allows for a more powerful use of statistics than a cross-sectional or 'point-in-time' set of data. For ethnicity, the early 'race' data is the founding component of the modern ethnic time series. This set of circumstances leads to the notion of 'census as fossil', since a concept from the past, 'race', which is seen by many as an inappropriate measure for today's society, is still a key component in time series data that are used extensively today. Thus 'race', even when unwanted as a concept, still has some place (and more importantly, some power) in modern ethnic statistics.

This happens because each census is normally based on the previous census so that each preceding census becomes a template for the next. This, coupled with user desire for time series data, means that some census questions have remained on the census form and have a close resemblance to their origins of more than 100 years ago. This leads to a very interesting dilemma. On the one hand, the census is an unchanging template, used to measure social phenomena by creating time series data, thus providing a constant measure of various important indicators. On the other hand, the census is the sole source of data on social measures that can be said to be in flux -

constantly changing concepts such as the family, the labour force, and ethnicity. This tension will be explored in more detail in Chapters 2 and 6.¹²

For the purposes of this thesis, the theoretical basis of measuring ethnicity is less important than the mode of collection and classification, the quality of data produced, and the uses of the output. This is the chief interest of this thesis, although the review of literature obviously touches on some theoretical aspects of the concepts. An important question then arises - how may data be collected for a variable that is ill defined? Chapter 6 will address this question in detail, but some preliminary comments would seem to be in order.

1.3 Research Questions

It was initially thought that this study might be able to compare the overall quality of Canada and New Zealand's ethnic statistics. One initial hypothesis was that due to New Zealand's greater geographical isolation and its traditionally less diverse population, the ethnic classification, and thus data collected in New Zealand would be more limited than that collected by the Canadians.

Conversely, the Canadian data was expected to be more fluid (as opposed to static) than that of its antipodean counterpart because of its greater variety of ethnic groups, most of whom are older, larger, more vocal and better established than in New Zealand, and all of whose rights are enshrined in legislation – the 'official' Canadian multiculturalism. Other aspects that could be expected to affect the classification are the New Zealand emphasis on biculturalism (Maori-Pakeha) versus the Canadian emphasis on multiculturalism. This may result in a narrower view of ethnicity emerging in New Zealand as compared with Canada. While arguably this may be

¹² It is important not to overstate the idea of the fossilization of census ethnicity questions though, because despite the inert nature of census questions in general, the ethnicity question has changed more substantially than most topics over the years.

partially true, it is not very pertinent to conclude that one set of data is ‘better’ than another. Rather it is more academically sound to explore the similarities and differences in the resulting data sets with an open mind.

Regardless of whether there is merit in qualitatively judging the data, for practical purposes it became clear that there were too many cultural and historical factors to allow a controlled, objective measurement of the quality of the data in each country. Any claims about whether a measure was better than another could only be made regarding one specific question, or one specific process. It would be impossible to come to an overall generalized conclusion about the quality of the data in each country.

This limitation has necessarily led to the development of a broader and less evaluative approach within which to frame the research. In general, the question ‘How does the collection of ethnic statistics in Canada and New Zealand differ, and what are the significant differences and similarities?’ is explored. Some additional points for research would be to what extent the data for ethnic groups in each country are comparable, and whether Statistics New Zealand and Statistics Canada can learn from each other’s experiences. A more complex question conceptually would be: ‘What are the most salient factors affecting ethnic data collection in each country, and are those factors similar or different?’ Looking forward, it is useful to pose the question: ‘What does the future hold for the two data series, and will they become more or less dissimilar?’ Chapter 6 answers some of these questions.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

1.4.1 Scope of Ethnic Data Collection

When doing a comparative study, choices have to be made as to what to include and exclude. For the sake of simplicity, only ethnic data collected in the Census of Population have been included here. It should be noted that both Statistics Canada and Statistics New Zealand collect ethnic data in other surveys; for example, their Labour Force surveys. In addition, other government departments also collect ethnic data in each country. These have been excluded from consideration.

Besides limiting the comparison to one survey (the census), not all aspects of the census have been included in this study. For example, while public relations material and the training of enumerators can impact on the quality of the ethnic data collected, for practical purposes consideration of these features of the census process has been omitted. The study is limited to the processes that deal directly with the data. Only questionnaires, coding, and output have been included for the sake of brevity and focus.

1.4.2 Scope of Analysis: Inter-Country Comparison vs. Inter-Year Comparison

It should be noted that in this study the comparisons are not longitudinal (inter-year) for each country, but rather the focus is on an inter-country comparison for each of the selected years. A longitudinal retrospective study of census forms for each country would be an interesting exercise that would complement the findings of this study, but this is outside the scope of the thesis.

1.4.3 Scope of the Variable

While 'ethnic statistics' can encompass a wide range of variables (described below under the heading 'Concepts'), for the purpose of this study only ethnicity or ethnic origin questions in the census are compared. A study that includes related concepts

such as descent (New Zealand) and population group (Canada) and all the measures that feed into the concept of ethnicity, such as religion and language, would exceed the time and space allowed for this thesis.

1.4.4 Limitations of Analysis

A complete picture of the census for each year may not always be available, especially for less recent years. Certain details have been lost relating to the processes used in collecting census data over the years. Computer systems are generally not well documented or else the documentation is mislaid over time. In addition, the person who held knowledge of the process has either retired or has died (in the case of early censuses). This makes it difficult to do exhaustive comparisons. For example, information may be available on the coding system for one country, but not the other in the same year; and although efforts have been made to track down the missing details, or provide an estimate or sketch of what happened, such limitations obviously hamper the scope of analysis possible in the thesis.

1.5 Concepts

1.5.1 Official Statistics

Official statistics are any statistics collected by the government of a nation state; however, for the purpose of this analysis, only ethnic data collected in the Census of Population are compared. This is because in each country the census is the comprehensive source of ethnic data - thus the censuses in each country use the most detailed classifications. Under legislation in both countries people are legally obliged to respond to the census, and in particular report their ethnic origin when asked; consequently, the data should have very low non-response rates (i.e. respondents are less likely to refuse than with other surveys). Also, in both countries, the census is a

leader in the area of ethnic statistics in terms of the amount of research put into question development and classification, and the way ethnicity is measured in the census is emulated in other collections. This is largely due to the fact that the development of the ethnic question for the censuses in both countries is better funded than for other surveys.

The main aspect that distinguishes 'official' statistics from other statistics is a measure of impartiality that is inherent in the structure of the official statistical agencies.¹³ For example, the source of published statistics often determines the credibility of those statistics. Figures on cigarette smoking carry more weight if they are derived from the census than from a pro-tobacco or anti-smoking lobby group's research. Official statistical agencies have a mandate to deliver timely, objective, high quality statistics that are free from bias, political influence and error as much as is possible. But as is often the case the ideal may not be as closely aligned to reality as statisticians would like. Consider these comments on the United Kingdom official statistical system:

...the collection of official statistics is in fact a highly social, even political process, so much so that Nicholas Bateson, an ex-member of the coding department of the Social Surveys Division of the OPCS [the Office for Population Censuses and Surveys] has argued that surveys (and instruments like registers) are not merely means of data collection but also systems of data 'construction'.

'I use this term in preference to the conventional 'data collection' or 'data gather' in order to stress that survey data are not, as their name would indicate, 'givens', waiting to be picked like flowers in a hedgerow. They are made, not found.... The researcher selects a topic for investigation and then frames a question... which gives structure or shape to the answer.... ...the questionnaire is returned to the researchers office, coders and editors will continue to shape and to prune until the answer is reduced to a symbol standing for category membership - a code.' It is through this process that knowledge is produced. (Slatterly 1986, p.126-7)

¹³ Note that the Office of National Statistics (ONS) in the U. K. is still struggling for independence from Whitehall, and in that context the autonomous positions of Statistics New Zealand and Statistics Canada are quite enviable.

This analogy of official statistics being malleable and subjective (shaped and pruned like a hedgerow) would hardly sit well with most official statisticians or with the users of that data. And yet, government agencies, and especially their statisticians, are sometimes prone to the notion that the subjects of their toil are exempt from the vagaries and subjectivities that face all other sorts of researchers, data collectors and statisticians.

Thus there is a tension between the objectivity of a statistical agency and the pressures that are inherent in a politically sensitive subject matter such as ethnicity. Theoretical aspects of this tension are explored in Chapter 2, and practical aspects in Chapter 6.

1.5.2 Ethnic Statistics

In the widest sense of the term, ethnic statistics are any data that endeavour to describe ethnic groups. This includes data derived from ethnic origin and ethnic identity questions, as well as from questions to do with ancestry, and sociologically related measures such as country of birth, religion and language; and more controversially, race, race group, population group, or visible minority indicators.

In general, ethnic statistics are an attempt to categorize people into groups based on perceived phenotypic or cultural differences, usually determined by the dominant group. Often, the dominant ethnic group does not actually see itself as an ethnic group (e.g. 'New Zealander' and 'Canadian'). The criterion for categorization is determined by the dominant culture, for the purposes of categorising the 'other'. A good example is that while 'Asian' is a category in New Zealand, it does not exist as a category in China. Often the perceptions of the majority group obscure ethnic boundaries. In India a person may report being 'Gujarat' or 'Tamil', but when in New

Zealand may simply report being 'Indian' - a constructed ethnic identity for ease of categorization by Europeans.

The modern rationale for collecting ethnic statistics is often given as assisting minority ethnic groups. In contrast, the historical foundation for gathering ethnic statistics was for the purpose of systematically excluding certain races from entering and participating in western society. Thus the categorization of the population based on race (i.e., by phenotype) is a historically racist process, ranging from subtle to outright racism; for example, the systematic exclusion of Chinese via the immigration policies in Canada, New Zealand and elsewhere (see Chapter 4). Thus there is a well-justified and historical distrust amongst minority ethnic groups that ethnic data may be used against their interests.

The gathering of ethnic statistics is not welcomed by all ethnic groups, and many academics are critical of the official measurement of ethnicity, as evidenced by articles such as 'Ethnic Statistics: Better than Nothing or Worse than Nothing' (Ahmad 1999). Critics usually fall into two camps: either they claim that ethnic statistics should not be collected at all (the argument is along the lines that it is 'racist' to collect race statistics) or they argue that the way data are being collected by governments is biased or inappropriate. A thorough analysis of these arguments would be prudent for a wider study of ethnic statistics, but for this examination of ethnicity census questions it was not deemed necessary. In summary, while ethnic statistics can include numerous concepts, for the purposes of this study, only ethnic origin and ethnic identity are taken into account.

1.5.3 The Survey Process

This thesis compares the survey processes employed in the Canadian and New Zealand censuses. It is therefore useful to provide a brief overview of the general

survey cycle. The census, like all other surveys, follows a specific survey cycle or process. In very general terms, the process consists of eight stages or tasks (not necessarily in this exact order): 1) the topics to be covered are decided on in consultation with clients and/or stakeholders, 2) specifications are developed for each variable, 3) a questionnaire is developed to collect the data, 4) a classification system is used to organise the data, 5) the data are collected by administering the questionnaire (by interviewer - face-to-face or telephone - or by self-administration, by post or on-line), 6) a coding or processing system is developed to code the responses from the questionnaire into the classification system, 7) a processing system is used to create a database that contains all the records and variables from the survey, and 8) decisions are made as to how the data are output and disseminated. Most of these stages are either self-explanatory, or more complex than is necessary to describe here. For this reason, only stage four - classification - is considered below.

1.5.4 Classification

The definition used by Statistics New Zealand to describe a classification is that it is a 'set of related categories used to group data'. In statistical collections, classifications are used to organise survey responses into easily interpreted groups. A classification can be flat (one level) or hierarchical (two or more levels). Standard classifications (i.e., classifications that are used in more than one survey) are essential to ensure that data is comparable between surveys. Although questions may take different forms, the same classification is used in each survey to ensure comparability at the highest grouped level.

In contrast to the Statistics New Zealand definition, Bowker and Star, in their book *Sorting things out: Classification and its consequence* (2000) define a classification as the following:

A classification is a spatial, temporal, or spatio-temporal segmentation of the world. A "classification system" is a set of boxes (metaphorical or literal) into which things can be put to then do some kind of work - bureaucratic or knowledge production. In an abstract, ideal sense, a classification system exhibits the following properties:

1. There are consistent, unique classificatory principles in operation.
2. The categories are mutually exclusive.
3. The system is complete. (i.e. exhaustive) (p.10)

The difference between these two definitions, the first a practical one, the second an abstract one, illustrates the official statisticians' need to simplify concepts.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1, the present chapter, has outlined the structure and purpose of the study, introducing the rationale for studying ethnic statistics, outlining the limitations of the study and defining the main concepts that will be referred to throughout the thesis. Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature on ethnicity, which touches on the theoretical aspects of ethnicity in the fields of sociology and anthropology. Chapter 3 gives a brief overview of the methodology that lies behind the thesis supplemented by a methodological appendix (Appendix A). Chapter 4 offers a detailed historical account of the development of the official statistical systems in each country against the backdrop of British colonial rule.

Chapter 5 is the main analytical segment of the thesis and is divided into four sections. The first section gives a brief overview of ethnic statistics in Canada and New Zealand, as well as Australia, United States, and the United Kingdom. The next three sections, as previously mentioned, each examine and compare one pair of census years: 1996 and 1991, 1986 and 1981, and finally 1971 and 1951.

Each of these sections in Chapter 4 is organized by the following themes:

‘Question Wording’, ‘Question Helpnotes: Availability and Content’, ‘Question

Placement', 'Scope of the Population, Undercount, Imputation' (for census years pairs 1996/1991 and 1986/1981 only), and 'Multiple Responses'.

For each theme and within each year, the census processes are compared for both Canada and New Zealand. The emphasis is thus on the difference between each country, rather than the difference over time within each country, since the purpose of the thesis is a comparative study of two countries. However, interesting changes over time within each country are noted where appropriate.

Chapter 6 contains a brief comparison of the questions planned for collecting ethnicity information for the 2001 censuses in Canada and New Zealand. It then identifies some of the key issues that arose from the comparison generated in Chapter 5 and provides some conclusions about each theme examined in Chapter 5. It also provides a theoretical discussion, and outlines some observations regarding the future of the ethnicity variable.

Chapter 2

2. Review of Literature

Silver Ferns and Maple Leaves

- 2.1 Overview
 - 2.2 Ethnicity and Sociology: Historical Aspects
 - 2.3 The 'Founding Fathers'
 - 2.4 Contemporary Theories of Ethnicity
 - 2.4.1 Introduction
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 - 2.4.3 Normative versus Rational Choice Approaches
 - 2.4.4 Benign versus Malignant ethnicity
 - 2.4.5 Voluntary versus Involuntary Ethnicity
 - 2.4.6 Anthropological View of Ethnicity: from 'Tribe' to 'Ethnic Group'
 - 2.5 Literature on Ethnicity in New Zealand and Canada
 - 2.5.1 New Zealand
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 - 2.6 Comparative Works
 - 2.7 Theories of Data Collection and Classification
 - 2.7.1 Data Collection
 - 2.7.2 Classification Systems
 - 2.8 Conclusion
-

2.1 Overview of Review of Literature

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the literature that is pertinent to the topic of this thesis. Initially, we will consider the writing of some of the 'fathers' of sociology to see what, if anything, they have to say about ethnicity. We will then look at more contemporary views of ethnicity in the works of academics such as Anthony D. Smith (1992, 1986, 1981), John Rex (1986), Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1993), and Neil Davidson (1999). Ethnicity from a New Zealand perspective, which is mainly concerned with Maori and Pakeha identities, will be reviewed in the works of Paul Spoonley (1988), Ian Pool (1991), David Pearson

(1990)¹⁴, Claudia Bell (1996), and other selected writers. Helpful sources of material on the history of New Zealand statistics and/or historical statistics, such as Department of Statistics (1976), Bloomfield (1984), Dixon (1989), Thorns and Sedgwick (1997) and Roberts (1999) are also identified. The Canadian perspective on ethnicity is presented in the writings of Porter (1965), Fleras and Elliott (1996, 1992a, 1992b), Breton and Reitz (1994), and Peter Li (1990). Some useful historical materials on Canadian statistics are briefly reviewed as well. A brief review of comparative work for both countries is then provided, although few Canada-New Zealand comparisons exist. Finally, a section on theories of data collection and classification is included.

2. 2 Ethnicity and Sociology: Historical Aspects

According to John Rex (1986), the ‘positive’ aspects of ethnicity did not become important in sociology until the 1960’s. This was in line with the increasing awareness of the importance and value of diversity (and multiculturalism) in western industrialised nations such as the United States and Canada, as well as the European nations, where sociology was thriving as a field of inquiry. More recent developments, such as the use of the term ‘ethnic cleansing’ to describe the political conflicts in Yugoslavia, Rwanda, etc., have brought the ‘negative’ elements of ethnicity to the fore.¹⁵ Whether regarded positively or negatively, ethnicity has become an area of interest for sociologists, anthropologists, historians, demographers and other social scientists. And yet, the rise of ethnicity to prominence as an aspect of

¹⁴ Note that Pearson’s new book (Pearson 2000) was not available at the University of Canterbury library at the time of writing.

¹⁵ Rex’s assertion that early treatment of ethnicity in North American and European sociology took a positive view of ethnicity is borne out by the low levels of ethnic conflict in those nations at the time, which reflected the (ethnic) majority view that relationships were reasonably stable between ethnic groups, especially compared to more horrific instances of ethnic conflict elsewhere; for example, the Nigerian civil war in the 1960s, as well as the more recent situations in Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

the contemporary world came as somewhat of a surprise to the social scientific community. According to Spoonley:

It was assumed that in the industrialized societies of the western world ethnic identities would disappear to be replaced by class or national identities. In countries like the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, it was thought that migrants and their descendants would abandon their ethnicity in favour of a new national identity (Australian, American) or one that reflected the occupational experiences of the economically complex capitalist societies. But in practically every western country, there was an ethnic revival in the 1960s. Native peoples and migrant ethnic groups from the American Irish to the Welsh or Basques asserted their traditional identity very forcefully. ... With these developments came the realization that ethnicity was still very much a viable and important aspect of social life in western societies. (Spoonley 1988, pp.41-2)

The next section examines some of the main thinkers or 'founding fathers' in the field of sociology in relation to ethnicity.

2.3 The 'Founding Fathers'

Except for the writing of Max Weber, the concept of ethnicity was not directly addressed in the early days of sociology. However, the frameworks developed from conflict theory (Karl Marx and Max Weber), and the functionalists (Emile Durkheim, and later, Talcott Parsons) can be applied to contemporary considerations of ethnicity.

Max Weber was one of the few 'classical' theorists who attempted to conceptualise ethnicity beyond race and class. Weber's definition of the term 'ethnic group', cited in Guibernau and Rex has relevance for studies of ethnicity today:

The belief in group affinity, regardless of whether it has any objective foundation, can have important consequences especially for the formation of a political community. We shall call 'ethnic groups' those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. (1997, pp.18-19)

Guibernau and Rex (1997) identify four main features of Weber's view of ethnic groups. Firstly, that Weber was able to distinguish ethnicity from the biological

concepts of race (i.e. blood/kinship). Weber (cited in Guibernau and Rex 1997), states that 'Ethnic membership (*Gemeinsamkeit*) differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action, like the latter' (Guibernau & Rex 1997, p.19). Secondly, he suggested that ethnicity itself did not automatically lead to group formation, only that it could facilitate group formation. Thirdly, Weber saw history - memories of a common past - shaping ethnic groups. However, also according to Weber, migration and shared consciousness - the memory of the homeland - can delineate ethnic groups, as opposed to a common history of a single nation-state. Finally, Weber saw ethnicity (rather than actual kinship) as shaping 'social circles' by the sharing of ethnically related symbols and myths that substituted for common ancestors.

Weber's sociological observations on ethnic groups, although limited by the period in which they were written, are evident in most contemporary definitions of ethnicity today.

Weber's analysis is readily applicable to ethnicity today, but modern sociologists have had more difficulty in applying Marx's writings to ethnicity. Many Marxists today do not recognise ethnicity as a valid source of conflict, but rather maintain that class and people's relationship to the mode of production are still the main explanatory factors in conflict. A contributing factor here is the fact that government agencies and academics have adopted the word ethnicity as a substitute for 'race'. Marxists, however, are quick to point out that even 'race' has its origins in political economy. For example, in an article titled 'The Trouble with "Ethnicity"', Davidson, summarises Marxist views on racism:

Marxist accounts of the origins and development of racist ideology tend to see three moments in the history of capitalism as decisive in determining its precise form. The first is slavery, and the need to justify enslaving millions of fellow human beings at the very moment when men were being declared equal

and in possession of certain unalienable rights. The second is colonialism, and the need to justify the conquest and subsequent domination of foreign peoples. The third is immigration, and the need to justify discrimination against peoples who were usually encouraged to come to the metropolitan centres in the process of reconstruction after the Second World War. (1999, p.19)

Davidson goes on to suggest that the rise of 'ethnicity' as a concept in the twentieth century signifies a 'new racism', one that is subtler and takes the form of discrimination, mainly in the workplace.

Functionalist theory encompasses three main mechanisms that facilitate the successful functioning of society: constraint, normativism, and prejudice (Rex 1986, p.3). To this end, ethnicity can be seen as one of a variety of elements that contribute to these three mechanisms at the three levels or 'systems' identified by Parsons: cultural, social, and personality (Rex 1986, p.4). The normative influence of the components of ethnicity such as religion, language, history and folklore, can either contribute to the functioning of society (by encouraging social cohesion, assimilation, etc.) or impede it (by leading to ethnic conflict) (Rex 1986, p.4).

2.4 Contemporary Theories of Ethnicity

2.4.1 Introduction

The previous section has shown that the works of some of the founding fathers of Sociology, and in particular Max Weber, resonate with the students of ethnicity today. This section sets out some of the contemporary thinking regarding ethnicity.

2.4.2 Primordialist versus Situationalist Views

In considering contemporary theories of ethnicity, two views need to be distinguished: the primordialist view and the situationalist view. Clifford Geertz (cited in Rex 1986) set out the following primordialist view of ethnicity:

By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the 'givens' or more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens' of social existence: immediate contiguity and live connection mainly,

but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable and at times, overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbour, one's fellow believer, *ipso facto*, as the result not merely of personal attraction, practical necessity, common interest or incurred moral obligation but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself. (Geertz [1963] cited in Rex 1986, pp.26-7)

Milton Gordon (cited in Rex 1986) expands on the primordialist view:

[Ethnicity,] because it cannot be shed by social mobility, as for instance social class backgrounds can, since society insists on its inalienable ascription from cradle to grave, becomes incorporated into the self. (Gordon [1978] cited in Rex 1986, p.27)

In contrast to the primordialist view, which asserts that ethnicity is a 'given', the situationalist view proposes that ethnicity is a non-prescriptive characteristic. The situationalist view of ethnicity is summarised by Rex:

[A] theory of situational ethnicity has been developed by some anthropologists. According to this, not merely may ethnicity become a vehicle of class in macro-situations; there will also be numerous much more specific contingencies in the face of which it may be invoked or not invoked... Ethnicity functions primarily as a resource. It can be used to summon up a social organization for the attainment of ends when it is needed, but it can also simply be latent and ignored. (1986, p.27)

The writing of Anthony D. Smith is helpful in understanding the historical context of the development of ethnicity in the modern world in relation to the rise of nation states and nationalism. Smith, in analysing ethnicity in the pre-modern world, rejects a primordialist view of ethnicity. He states, "I hope to show that *ethnie* (different ones, usually) have emerged and re-emerged at different periods in several continents and culture-areas right up to the modern era" (Guibernau & Rex 1997, p.9). According to Smith, ethnicity is persistent and has great longevity, but is not a constant or perennial feature of a culture. He identifies five components of an ideal-type pre-modern *ethnie* (ethnic community):

1. A large mass of peasants and artisans in villages and small market towns, subject to various restrictions on their freedom (corvée labour, serfdom, ghettoization, caste) and wedded to local 'folk cultures' (vernaculars, legends, rural customs and rites, dress, dance and music, crafts) influenced loosely by the nearest Great Traditions;
2. A small urban stratum of competing elites in the main towns - rulers and their courts, bureaucrats, noble landowners, military leaders - monopolizing wealth and political power and centred loosely on an administrative capital and core area, and patronizing specialist trading and artisan client strata;
3. A tiny stratum of priests/monks and scribes claiming a monopoly of the community's belief system, ritual and educational services, and acting as transmitters and conduits of its symbolism between the various urban elites and between them and the peasants and rural artisans, thereby seeking to incorporate the various Little Traditions of the latter into the central Great Tradition of which they act as guardians and agents of socialization;
4. A fund of myths, memories values and symbols, often encoded, which express and explain the community's perceptions of itself, its origins, development and destiny, and its place in the cosmic order; all of these being manifested in a round of ceremonies, rites, artefacts and laws which bind the community to its celestial pantheon and its homeland;
5. Processes of communication, transmission and socialization of the store of myths, memories, values and symbols among both urban elites and their specialist clients, and where necessary outwards and downwards to the dependent peasantry; using mainly temple ritual and worship, dissemination of the precepts and morals of sacred texts, the use of symbols in art, architecture and dress, the elaboration of oral traditions, ballads, epics and hymns, but also the promulgation of legal codes and edicts, some rudimentary rote learning in local schools for selected members of various strata, and the use of military service and public works labour forces.
(Smith, cited in Guibernau & Rex 1997, p.28-9)

Smith's definition of a modern ethnic group, which incidentally is used by Statistics

New Zealand, draws on elements four and five of the pre-modern ideal-type *ethnie*:

An ethnic group is a social group whose members have the following four characteristics: share a sense of common origins, claim a common and distinctive history and destiny, possess one or more dimensions of collective cultural individuality, and feel a sense of unique collective solidarity.

(Cited in Statistics New Zealand 1996, p.3)

Finally, Smith identifies two 'types' of *ethnie*: 1) ethnic polities; that is, *ethnie* closely linked to the state (ancient Egypt provides an example of the close identity between the ethnic community of Egyptians and the dynastic state) and, 2) divided and incorporated *ethnie*, whose symbolic attachment is not with the state, but with

Diaspora and an 'ethnic homeland' (for example, the Israelites in Babylon, or the overseas Chinese).

Smith's rejection of a primordialist view of ethnicity, and his work on identifying the elements of pre-modern and modern *ethnie* has influenced much writing on ethnicity today.

2.4.3 Normative versus Rational Choice Approach

In contrast to Smith's work, which has a focus on history, John Rex's main task has been to show that ethnic and race relations constitute a field of study today in its own right. Unlike functionalists, Rex is interested in race and ethnic relations as they apply to conflict situations, rather than harmonious ones in the Weberian tradition. He identifies two main ways that sociological theorists have treated ethnicity: the normative or 'constraint' approach, and the 'rational choice theory' approach:

The 'normative' approach is strongly associated with 'systems-theory' in the work of Talcott Parsons (1937 and 1952). According to him, the study of human society in a scientific way cannot be based upon the notion of means-ends rationality with the ends of action being 'random' from the point of view of the system. (Rex 1986, p.3)

Rational choice theory is expressed in terms of economic theory and 'involves the assumption that individual action is determined by value preferences of individual actions' (Rex 1986, p.2).

Rex rejects 'normative' approaches because they 'involve a tendency towards determinism and even fatalism...[and] ignore the problems about the nature of social science... that the study of human action could not be adequately pursued using the categories of natural science' (1986, p.3). He also rejects to a certain extent the rational choice theories because they fall too heavily on the side of individuals' actions being isolated from the actions of others. He prefers a 'methodological individualism', situated within the rational choice camp, based on the work of Weber and the early Marx (Rex 1986, p.3). 'Methodological Individualism involves in some

sense the notion that social structures are to be explained and analysed in terms of the actions and expectations of individuals' (Rex 1986, p.2). Rex, therefore, is a proponent of a sociological approach which:

... does not introduce the notion of collective entities as 'things' which 'cause' behaviour, but places emphasis upon human action. What differentiates it from rational choice theory, however, it is (sic) recognition that the action of any one individual is constrained by the action or the potentiality for action of others. (Rex 1986, p.4)

Rex uses this as a basis for defining ethnic groups and quasi-groups.¹⁶ He identifies the problems in defining race solely according to phenotypic traits and defining ethnicity in terms of common cultural characteristics. He points out that group formation and conflict are only slightly effected by differences of race and ethnicity: 'The study of race relations is therefore inextricably tied up with the study of group formation generally [a concern of Weber's] and with the study of social class and status, or as many sociologists would say, of social stratification' (1986, p.17).

In general, Rex sticks rather closely to the Weberian definition and approach to ethnicity. However, he is able to add an essential element: that ethnic groups can also be influenced by the characteristics that are imputed to them by those outside the social circle. Rex identifies this dynamic as an important element in racial and ethnic conflict.

2.4.4 Benign versus Malignant Ethnicity

Another interesting concept that Rex highlights in this regard is the difference between the study of benign and malignant ethnicity. 'Benign' ethnicity, referring to societies in which 'groups are in a state of mutual dependency and cooperation' (1986, p.79) represents the 'positive' or optimistic side of ethnicity (on which much of the work on multiculturalism in settler societies is based). Rex makes a good point that

there are limits, or even dangers, in focussing on benign ethnicity. To him, the study of malignant ethnicity i.e., instances of ‘conflict, discrimination, oppression and exploitation’ is more relevant for contemporary sociologists (1986, p.77).

Rex bolsters his argument for the study of malignant ethnicity by critiquing the work of anthropologist Fredrick Barth (1969), and a proponent of Barth’s view, Sandra Wallman (1979), both of whom he considers to have failed in the study of benign ethnicity, and who were therefore themselves ‘...forced to move from studying the benign to studying the malign and political aspects of race and ethnic relations’ (1986, p.97).

2.4.5 Voluntary versus Involuntary Ethnicity

The concept of whether ethnicity is voluntary is a contentious one. This issue is raised in the work of Mary Waters (1990) in the examination of contemporary American ethnicity. Her assertion is that the notion of ‘voluntary’ ethnicity is applicable to the case of European (or white) Americans who, she says, can ‘choose’ whether or not to identify with their ethnic ancestry. Obviously, this ‘option’ is not available to people of visible minority status, but it raises some interesting questions as to the nature of ethnicity.

2.4.6 Anthropological Views of Ethnicity: from ‘Tribe’ to ‘Ethnic Group’

Waters draws on Fredrik Barth’s (1969) ‘invoked’ or situational ethnicity. Although Rex’s writing pre-dates Water’s work, it is clear that Rex rejects anthropological works such as Barth’s on the grounds that they explain conflict as a result of systems that are divisive (boundary theory). In contrast, the sociological approach taken by Rex (and Weber) explains the systems that create ethnic groups as a result of conflict

¹⁶ Ethnicity is not the only basis on which quasi-groups are formed – class and nationality are the other main elements.

themselves. For Rex then, the anthropological approach to ethnicity is at odds with the sociological approach.

More recently, one anthropologist whose work has been used by sociologists is Thomas Eriksen (1993). His work has mainly contributed to the concepts of ethnicity and nationalism from a social anthropological perspective. According to Eriksen, a major situational shift in American and European anthropology has occurred in recent times whereby the term 'ethnic group' has gradually replaced the hegemonic term 'tribe'. According to Eriksen this has two main consequences. Firstly, it removes the implied isolation of 'tribe' - thus acknowledging that ethnic groups usually define themselves by contrasting themselves with other groups. Secondly, the anthropologists themselves are included as part of the 'ethnic group', whereas they were previously outsiders to the 'tribe'. Eriksen asserts that every human being is part of an ethnic group, whereas only people in so-called 'primitive' societies are considered to belong to 'tribes'. This relational quality is well captured in Eriksen's tentative definition of ethnicity:

Ethnicity is an aspect of the social relationship between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction. It can thus also be defined as a social identity (based on a contrast vis-à-vis others) characterized by metaphoric or fictive kinship. When cultural differences regularly make a difference in interactions between members of groups, the social relationship has an ethnic element. Ethnicity refers both to aspects of gain and loss in interaction, and to aspects of meaning in the creation of identity. In this way it has a political, organizational aspect as well as a symbolic one. Ethnic groups tend to have myths of common origin and they nearly always have ideologies encouraging endogamy, which may nevertheless be of highly varying practical importance. (Eriksen, cited in Guibernau & Rex 1997, p.39)

Eriksen also attempts to identify some of the 'types' of ethnic groups, to which this definition can be applied:

1. Urban ethnic minorities; e.g., Hispanics in the U.S.
2. Indigenous peoples; e.g., Sami of northern Scandinavia

3. Proto-nations; e.g., Kurds, Sri Lankan Tamils, Quebec
4. [All or most] Ethnic groups in 'plural societies'; e.g., [the East Asians in] Kenya, [Balinese in] Indonesia.¹⁷

Eriksen acknowledges the high correlation between ethnicity and class, but a criticism of his work is that it is not developed to the extent to which he develops the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism. Like Davidson, he does not believe that distinguishing between race and ethnicity is very helpful for analysis, but acknowledges that 'race' is a rather dubious term.

Eriksen seems preoccupied with the position of the researcher (anthropologist) in relation to the 'object' of study. He has developed the distinction between the researcher's concepts: 'analytical concepts' or 'anthropological theorising' versus 'native concepts' or 'native theory'.

Eriksen highlights the importance of Robert Park and the Chicago School in understanding the fluidity and negotiability of ethnicity. Anthropological aspects of ethnicity are analysed in detail in his writing, including folk culture, social distance of ethnic groups, ethnic stereotypes, ethnic stigma and criteria for ethnic membership.

Finally, one insight from Eriksen relevant to explaining the rise of ethnicity in Canada and New Zealand is the notion that:

Ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group... For ethnicity to come about, the groups must have a minimum of contact with each other, and they must entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from themselves. (Eriksen 1993, pp.13-14)

With the general theoretical literature presented, we now proceed to a country-specific look at work that has been done on ethnicity and ethnic statistics in New Zealand and Canada.

¹⁷ How some of these 'types' relate to New Zealand and Canadian ethnic groups is explored further in Chapter 6.

2.5 Literature on Ethnicity in New Zealand and Canada

2.5.1 New Zealand

Paul Spoonley (1988) puts racism and ethnicity into the context of the unequal relationship between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand. In *Racism and Ethnicity* (1988), he traces the 'racialization' of Maori and Pacific Island people from colonial times and provides a good historical overview of race relations. In this work, he astutely provides a definition of racism (rather than 'race'): "Racism describes the *ideological* belief that people can be classified into 'races' and that this explains other forms of social variation" (1988, p.4).

Spoonley shows excellent insight into New Zealand nationalism, which will be referred to later in this chapter, exposing a fundamental principle of what I call 'resistance' to ethnicity in New Zealand and Canada:

A position which is commonly adopted is expressed in the claim 'we are all New Zealanders'. Many Pakeha, and some Maori, in order to deny the presence of racism and the importance of ethnic identity, make an appeal to nationalist sentiments. When asked to describe their ethnicity, they deny that it is relevant or reply 'New Zealander'. Equally, this particular form of nationalism is often contradicted by the racism of its adherents. While arguing at one level that racial considerations ought to be irrelevant, at another level, racist distinctions are still made... a claim is made that we are all the same because of intermarriage, but the assumption that 'blood' is important in forming and governing behaviour can itself be racist. It also denies the obvious reality that racism and ethnicity are major considerations in New Zealand society, and so the reality of lived experience contradicts the sentiments of this view. Another variant of this position is the 'one people' myth as a way of undermining Maori activism... This essentially assimilationist world view ignores, or seeks to deny, the inequities between Maori and Pakeha...." (Spoonley 1988, pp.18-19)

Spoonley asserts that: "Race" is a legacy of a colonial past, and it is a term that has been employed to justify that colonialism' (1988, p.38), and asks what happens when we start to talk about 'racism' rather than 'race'. Spoonley quite rightly points out that, 'We as individuals, as members of a group, or as New Zealanders, feel

uncomfortable (with some exceptions) in being described as racist' (1988, p.38).

Spoonley calls for a critical examination of New Zealand nationalism, and for individuals in a racist society to 'come out of the closet'. This call mirrors an earlier call from Gordon McLauchlan (1976) for all New Zealanders to be less ambivalent about Maori, and more reflective on themselves and their history.

Spoonley defines ethnicity as 'an identity that reflects the cultural experiences and feelings of a particular group' (1988, p.40). The failure of assimilationist views of ethnicity in the pre-1950's in Canada, New Zealand and Australia is discussed. According to Spoonley, the failure of assimilationist policies in New Zealand, and the 'politicization of Maori ethnicity' in the 1970s and 1980s led to an increased awareness of all ethnic groups in New Zealand (1988, p 45). Maori ethnic activism is illustrated with specific reference to the impact of urbanisation on Maori ethnic identity and the 'process of decolonisation' that many Maori underwent (1988, p. 45-51). In contrast to the Maori community, Spoonley also documents how a much lower-profile ethnic group in New Zealand, the Jews, have retained some Jewish traditions and practices, and have disposed of others in order to adapt to the New Zealand environment. Pakeha identity is also considered in detail:

Nationalism takes a variety of forms but the form discussed here is used by Pakeha who are consciously assertive of their own systems and values, but largely unconscious or unwilling to acknowledge that these are cultural in origin. These Pakeha equate their cultural systems with nationality, so that ethnicity is ignored and other groups' ethnicities are defined as peripheral to national considerations. ... Thus Pakeha ethnicity tends to be submerged by a nationalism which many Pakeha do not perceive as being based on a distinctive culture. (Spoonley 1988, pp.66-7)

Spoonley's analysis of Pakeha reaction to Maori and other ethnicity explodes the common Pakeha conception a) that there is not a Pakeha culture - only New Zealand culture, and b) that it is not Euro-centric. The emphasis that Spoonley gives to the

relationship between nationalism, colonialism and ethnicity can be applied to Australia, the United States and Canada as well as to New Zealand.

The next academic to be considered is a demographer, Ian Pool, one of the few New Zealand researchers to attempt to assess the 'desirability and acceptability of ethnic statistics' in New Zealand (1991, p.15).

Through trying to define 'who is a Maori' for the purpose of demographic analysis, Pool has had to grapple with the definition and concept of ethnicity. He identifies several challenges to measuring ethnicity in New Zealand, the main points of which are summarised below:

1. Who is a Maori should be dependent on whether a person considers himself or herself to be Maori, and if others also consider them to be Maori. However for the purpose of ethnic statistics, self-identification is the only practical method.
2. There is extraordinary mobility between the two main ethnic groups in New Zealand: Maori and Pakeha.
3. Maori descent does not necessarily mean involvement in Maori life and culture.
4. A long history of intermarriage in New Zealand is making the distinction between the two main ethnic groups more and more difficult to ascertain.
5. It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish New Zealand cultural traits from 'overseas' cultural traits as New Zealand is becoming part of a 'global village'.
6. Respondent resistance to statistical data collection in general, and to ethnicity collections in particular is a threat to demographic analysis.
7. Resistance is also more likely when collecting data by proxy. (Pool 1991).

Despite the challenges, Pool concludes that the effort involved in collecting and interpreting ethnic statistics are justified because, 'As long as social and economic inequalities exist, there will be a need for analyses which identify where these disadvantages lie' (Pool 1991, p.15).

Pool calls for continued assessment of ethnic statistics and the purpose they serve. In particular, he maintains that 'the continuation of such data collection and

analysis is ethically justifiable... only if the data they create are used in ways which will not further disadvantage the underprivileged' (1991, p.16) [emphasis added].

Another major contributor in the field, David Pearson in his book *A Dream Deferred: The Origins of Ethnic Conflict in New Zealand* (1990), debunks the belief often held by New Zealanders that they live in an egalitarian society. The book provides a useful account of the historical relations between Pakeha and Maori. While this is the book's main focus, he also points out the dangers of over-simplifying the New Zealand ethnic landscape into 'two races', and emphasises the need to include other groups. To that end, the experience of other ethnic groups, such as the treatment of the Chinese in early New Zealand history, as well as the modern plight of Pacific people in urban New Zealand are also included in the analysis.

Pearson discusses the relative merits of multiculturalism and biculturalism, concluding that both suffer from a lack of materialist analysis. He states 'much recent debate about ethnicity in New Zealand is so enraptured by ideas and identities that it forgets to examine the material conditions which influence their formation' (1990, p. 239). Supporting McLauchlan's view, he argues that New Zealanders are too complacent and ambivalent about ethnic relations, and are not willing enough to reflect on the past.

One aspect of ethnic relations that has received a lot of attention in the New Zealand ethnicity literature is Pakeha identity. Especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s, debates raged as to whether Pakeha was a legitimate ethnicity, or whether it was an offensive and racist term. This academic debate spilled over into the popular media. It is not possible to trace the specific arguments here, but it is worth noting that Pearson entered the debate in 1989 with an article entitled: "Pakeha Ethnicity: Concept or Conundrum" (1989). In this article Pearson concluded that while 'Pakeha'

was an acceptable term for categorisation of New Zealanders of European 'stock', it had limitations for ethnic analysis since there was, according to him, no Pakeha community. This assertion probably holds true today, as evidenced in the results of a recent poll, reported in the *New Zealand Herald* on 1 January 2001, that showed 49% of New Zealand Europeans objected to using the term Pakeha to describe their ethnicity (Gregory 2001).

Claudia Bell, author of *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday myths of Pakeha identity* (1996), takes this further and comes to the conclusion that Pakeha identity is a fabrication. She uses popular culture and the media to de-bunk the 'clean green' image of New Zealand; for example, describing the America's Cup 1995 celebrations as 'essentially a Pakeha myth-making event for the benefit of large corporations' (1996, p.16). She notes the lack of criticism the event inspired:

Someone pointed out that [there were pictures of] euphoric bourgeois Pakeha people celebrating; and that the only pictures of Maori or Pacific Islanders were of street cleaners, sweeping up the tickertape. Anyone this critical was quickly labelled 'unpatriotic' or 'whingeing'. (1996, p.16)

Also deserving mention in this regard is Michael King; well known for bringing Maori history into the academic circle through books such as *Being Pakeha: Encounters with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance* (1985), and *Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and recollections of a white native* (1999). In the latter he controversially argues that there is a Pakeha identity that matches the strength of Maori identity and that is tied to the New Zealand landscape.

It should not be surprising that ethnic identities other than Pakeha and Maori have received relatively little attention in the literature, since such groups make up a very small percentage of the New Zealand population. While the ethnic make-up of New Zealand is well documented (Hall 1994, Fleras & Spoonley 1999), studies on the

experiences of non-European settlers in New Zealand tend to focus on the two groups that are more established - New Zealand Chinese and New Zealand Indian - and this work tends to focus on aspects of demography and migration (Ho 1995, Palat 1995). Refugees in New Zealand are an area of growing interest (Humpage 1998, Humpage & Madjar 2000). Most other groups such as African, Middle Eastern, and Southeast Asian migrants are increasing in size; as yet however, sociological literature does not reflect experiences and needs of these groups.

In spite of this lack of qualitative and quantitative studies of ethnic minorities in New Zealand, there has been significant attention paid to census data relating to ethnicity. Two reports from the 1980s are of particular interest. In 1983, Paul Brown, a senior civil servant at Statistics New Zealand wrote an Occasional Paper that has been frequently referred to in academic and non-academic work on ethnicity. Most significantly, the report questioned the method used to collect ethnicity information (a biologically-based concept of ethnicity - degree of blood), and urged the adoption of a cultural affiliation measure. The report also documented current ethnic collections, examined the relevancy and comparability of the concepts being measured and mapped international practice. It served as a precursor to the first major review of ethnic statistics in New Zealand, which took place from 1983 to 1988. The review resulted in *The Report of The Committee on Ethnic Statistics* (Department of Statistics 1988), which forms the basis for the current New Zealand Statistical Standard for Ethnicity (see Appendix B). The committee report set out guidelines for the standardisation of ethnic statistics in New Zealand. Most notably it recommended that 'cultural affiliation' be collected rather than 'degree of blood', and that a separate question be included to measure Maori ancestry and iwi affiliation.

A final comment about sources of information on statistics in New Zealand needs to be made. Until recently, researching New Zealand historical statistics has been a piecemeal affair. In 1999 the New Zealand Statistical Association published *A History of Statistics in New Zealand*, by H.S. Roberts, which is an interesting historical account, but which does not focus on social statistics. Thorns and Sedgwick's *Understanding Aotearoa/New Zealand: Historical Statistics* (1997) provides good background on social statistics and raises questions about how official statistics are collected and interpreted in New Zealand. Several other less recent publications also provide a good source of historical statistics. G. T. Bloomfield (a Canadian) made a valuable contribution to the documentation of New Zealand historical statistics with his *New Zealand: A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (1984). This is an essential source for any researcher of historical statistics. A more informal source of information is *Progress in Official Statistics 1840-1957: A personal History* by Sir George Wood (Department of Statistics, 1976). This document is filled with anecdotes and personal information from the former Government Statistician, but also contains valuable information, not available elsewhere, on the development of social statistics in New Zealand. Also worth mentioning is the thesis by Shirley Dixon (1989), *The New Zealand Census: Some technical and Historical Aspects*, which is a useful source of information on technical information, up to and including the 1986 Census.

2.5.2 Canada

The ethnic literature in Canada is wide-ranging, and covers most ethnic groups. One major distinction between Canada and New Zealand is the difference in the debate over the ethnicity of the dominant group. There is no equivalent term for 'Pakeha' in the Canadian lexicon. Discussion in Canada has therefore been limited to whether the

term 'Canadian' is an ethnic origin. Debate has not raged as it has in New Zealand, but the media have taken much interest in the Canadian ethnic origin census question and its treatment of the 'Canadian' ethnic group. A sociological metaphor that has been used to compare and contrast the treatment of ethnicity and multiculturalism in Canada is the notion of the ethnic 'mosaic'.

Fleras and Elliott comment as follows:

The image of a mosaic provides an intriguing metaphor for describing the ideal of Canadian multiculturalism. Consider a mosaic: it consists of an arrangement of individual tiles with distinctive shapes, colours, and textures. These tiles are aligned in a unified and coherent pattern whose overall image is one of unity and coherence. The overall effect transcends the individual tiles, although all continue to retain their integrity and distinctiveness. (Fleras & Elliott 1992a, p.65)

The first to critique the metaphor of the 'mosaic' in Canadian society was John Porter. In his now-classic text *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965), he asserts that ethnic minorities in Canada are locked into job ghettos and underclass status. While many have supported this critique, others have argued for the multiculturalism implied by the mosaic metaphor. Evidence for the acceptance politically of the latter concept is the widespread development of policies pertaining to multiculturalism at all levels of government.

Fleras and Elliott (1992a) provide an in-depth debate on multiculturalism and biculturalism in Canada, focusing on multiculturalism as ideology and multiculturalism in the media and education, and also provide some international comparisons. They also provide a critique of multicultural policy. Fleras and Elliott identify several camps of detractors of multiculturalism in Canada, and then conclude:

We believe that much of the criticism of multiculturalism reflects a distorted view of what it can realistically accomplish in a liberal-democratic society. Criticism is based on outdated perceptions of multiculturalism, especially in provinces such as Ontario where access and equity concerns prevail. Although widely perceived as a policy that pays people to maintain their culture and

divide Canada, multiculturalism in reality seeks to assist immigrants in the quest to integrate while sharing their cultures with others.... (1992a, p.140)
At the heart of this critique [of multiculturalism] is the perennial question of how much diversity a multiculturalism system can incorporate without undermining the social fabric of society. (1992a, p.141)

Fleras and Elliott recognise that multiculturalism in practice must not 'contravene standards of human decency and the legal and social norms of society, and [must not] infringe on individual or group rights' (1992a, p.140). They raise some interesting examples of the limits of multiculturalism. For example, whether "we as Canadians tolerate the introduction of Portuguese-style bullfights in Listowel, Ontario, as a form of cultural expression" (1992a, p.140).

In examining the attitudes of Canadians, Fleras and Elliott find that while most Canadians are highly supportive of multiculturalism in principle (the idealised notion of the mosaic), most are critical of government policies that have been put in place to promote those ideals (competition over resource allocation). Overall, Fleras and Elliott successfully compare and contrast multiculturalism and biculturalism, and carefully explore the practicalities and limitations of these policies in Canadian society.

Finally, Peter Li, in *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada* (1990), argues, like Smith, against a biological, primordial view of ethnicity. Like Rex, he asserts that race is a socially constructed and discredited notion in the social sciences. Reminiscent of Eriksen, he suggests a relational explanation - that ethnicity in Canada is a consequence of unequal relationships between groups. He claims that ethnicity in Canada cannot be examined outside the context of state policies, and gives detailed historical accounts of state immigration, assimilation and multicultural policy.

Having provided a brief overview of some of the main ethnicity literature from each country we now take a look at some of the comparative work linking the two countries.

2.6 Comparative Works

While there are few studies on ethnicity that focus solely on a comparison of Canada and New Zealand, the two countries are often compared within broader comparative frameworks that include countries such as Australia, the United States, and the U.K. While a direct comparison of the census questions and ethnicity classifications has not been undertaken, ethnicity-related issues such as multiculturalism, immigration, and ethnic relations have been explored using the two countries (plus others) as comparative tools.

An illustration of this kind of research is the work of Fleras and Elliot (1992a) who found the New Zealand experience most useful in their examination of ethnicity in Canada through the experience of multiculturalism. Comparisons of the Canadian experience are made with Australia, the U.K. and the United States, but the authors conclude, "It is in New Zealand, however, that pluralist discourse has explored new dimensions that bear some resemblance to the bicultural-multicultural debate in Canada" (1992a, p.268). Fleras is one of the few Canadian academics to consistently draw on New Zealand material and this is probably due to his personal ties, experience and knowledge of the two countries¹⁸.

Considering the similarities between the two countries, it is surprising that there are so few comparative works, and that, except for Fleras, the comparisons usually emanate from New Zealand or Australia, rather than Canada. Perhaps since New Zealand is the smaller of the two countries, this can be expected, since the lack

¹⁸ Having lectured and taught in universities in both Canada and New Zealand.

of resources and materials in smaller countries often forces academics to draw on overseas sources.

A New Zealand academic who has been cited in previous sections has also taken advantage of the power of the comparative method and the analytical insights that the similarities between 'settler societies' can afford. David Pearson (1976, 1990, 2000), as well as in collaboration with Statistics New Zealand's Patrick Ongley (Pearson & Ongley 1995, Pearson & Ongley 1996) has used comparisons with UK, Australia and Canada to analyse bicultural and multicultural policy in New Zealand. In the 1996 article titled "Multiculturalism and biculturalism: The recent New Zealand experience in comparative perspective," Pearson and Ongley conclude:

The Australian, and even more pertinently, the Canadian experience of multiculturalism, provided little support for the argument that biculturalism [in New Zealand] should be dealt with first and once accomplished multiculturalism can be contemplated. (Pearson & Ongley 1996, p.23)

The review of literature to this point is basic to the examination in this thesis of the social contexts in Canada and New Zealand in which two distinct ways of collecting and classifying ethnic data have developed. Additionally, a review of current theories of data collection will provide valuable background.

2.7 Review of Theories of Data Collection and Classification

2.7.1 Data Collection

The literature on theories of social statistics seems to be dominated by writers from the United Kingdom. M. Slatterly, in *Official Statistics* (1986), shows the 'technical, social, political, and sexist influences on official statistics' in the U.K. (1986, p.117). The most useful aspect of this work is the detailed analysis of the functions of various collection processes. Slatterly questions and critiques the design and wording of

official forms and questionnaires, giving case studies of research that demonstrate how poor design can lead to suspect data. Other issues relevant to an analysis of the Canadian and New Zealand census ethnicity questions are the role of the interviewer, and the regulatory effect they can have on respondents, i.e., interviewer bias. A related concern is the 'social desirability' (the tendency of a respondent to only report things that they perceive would be socially acceptable to the interviewer) (Dillman 1998).

Slatterly also highlights the significance of the 'data analysis and interpretation stage', to which little attention is usually paid, and to which a large part of this thesis is dedicated:

Once interviews have been conducted the data collected has to be coded, usually for computer use, and the results analysed.... ...[A]lthough this may seem a purely mechanical and straight-forward task it has plenty of room for error; the more so the more 'open' the questionnaire, because more judgements about appropriate categories or codes will be necessary. All the clerk or data analyst has before him or her for judging what the respondent meant is what the interviewer has written. Thus errors may range from simply pressing the wrong key (and even the census has thousands of these to cope with), to making an error of judgement/interpretation to the correct category for a particular response. There is also the danger...of coder laziness, confusion, dishonesty, and even cheating to get this often quite tedious task over and done with. (1986, p.123)

Slatterly has identified a key point. Although he is writing about all official statistical collections in the U.K., and although it was written in 1986, well before the full effects of computer-assisted coding were known, these comments have great relevancy to the Canadian and New Zealand ethnicity questions. As we will see in Chapter 5, both countries have historically used write-in or 'open' options for ethnicity, and thus coders have always faced the problem of allocating a correct code to a written response. Also, in both countries elements of the coding process has been automated but the many stages of operator intervention leaves the door open for

human error, and the purposeful mis-coding of responses. According to Slatterly, three types of 'knowledge' are at work here:

[There are] three types of social knowledge, with the researcher trying to bridge the gap between his client's concepts and his informant's everyday knowledge:

- a) Knowledge as *information*, held in the heads of informants and organized in the natural language of everyday life;
- b) Knowledge as *data*, constructed by the researcher using the standard measurement operations of the survey method and organized in the form of a classification scheme;
- c) Knowledge as *expertise*, held in the head of the survey client and organized in the form of summary values on variables and relationships among variables. (1986, p.128)

According to Griffiths et al (cited in Dorling & Simpson 1999), there are four critical views of statistics and statisticians. The first is the 'anti-science' view that dismisses all statistics because 'it inevitably turns people into objects to be manipulated and controlled' (Dorling & Simpson 1999, p. 415). They suggest that many segments of society hold this fundamentally suspicious view of statistics. Secondly, there is the 'alternative technology' approach. In the science world, this view manifests itself in strong opposition to 'high' or traditional technology (such as 'supersonic aircraft, nuclear reactors, factory farms') and convincing people of the social, environmental and health hazards associated with such technology (Dorling & Simpson 1999, p. 415). In the field of statistics, the 'alternative statistics' approach attempts to 'pursue the statistical needs of communities' and develop statistical tools that help these communities where traditional official statistics have failed. Thirdly, there is the 'social responsibility' approach in science that sees statistics 'as ethically neutral'. Griffiths et al claim that the majority of professional statisticians themselves fall into this camp. Darrel Huff's *How to Lie with Statistics* (1954) is given as an example of a statistician poking fun at the abuse of statistics by the media and politicians, but also is an example of a statistician's call for social responsibility. Finally, Griffiths et al

name the fourth view of statistics as the 'radical science' approach. In this regard,

Dorling and Simpson write:

The fourth view... to which we would subscribe, recognises the success of the first three views in achieving changes to statistical policy or practice, but goes on to point out that if statistics are a product of society then they are never neutral. (Dorling & Simpson 1999, p.415)

Dorling and Simpson (1999), like Rex, argue that statistics are a social product, and raise the issue that statistics are not a social 'fact' and that statistics can only come into being if they are *paid* for. They identify four processes that produce 'well-known' statistics, for which resources are required:

1. The statistic has to have a *purpose*, be seen to be lacking, be wanted, be commissioned, be called for, asked for, needed, demanded, by someone with the power and money to express a need for it and ensure that it will be provided.
2. The data have to be *assembled*, collected, brought together, gathered; this often requires resources, or control over an administrative system to extract the statistics from information already recorded.
3. The statistic has to be *interpreted*, analysed, reasoned, understood, by the researchers who use methods developed to answer previous questions, or who develop new methods for the purposes of those who commission statistical work.
4. The statistic has to be *described*, reported presented disseminated or communicated by the researcher or the commissioners to an audience which must be convinced of the results in order to support policy decisions. (1999, pp.415-6)

In the U.K., the inclusion of an ethnic question in the census has generated debate as to whether ethnicity information is worth collecting at all. Waqar Ahmad (1999), in 'Ethnic Statistics: Better than Nothing or Worse than Nothing?' summarizes the debates for and against ethnic data collection. In particular, he raises what he calls the legitimate fears of ethnic minority groups who question whether ethnic data will be used for scare mongering rather than for progressive purposes:

From the days of Queen Elizabeth I's repatriation of non-white people to safeguard 'public relief' for white citizens to current times, measurement of difference has been associated with containing and controlling diversity. Statistics about immigration and about crimes, for example, have been used as

justification of punitive and selective immigration control and oppressive policing, respectively. (1999, p.128)

Ahmad criticises the U.K. ethnic census question and classification. He questions the usefulness of the 'white' category in the U.K. question, shows that there is some confusion for respondents regarding the Black (Caribbean) category, and shows the absurdity and injustice of forcing people of 'mixed' ethnicity to select one ethnic group on the census form.

Ahmad also highlights the difficulties in measuring a concept as fluid and 'flexible' as ethnicity. He concludes that a classification with a small number of meaningful categories for respondents will be difficult to develop, and the classification will be difficult to maintain with demographic changes. These issues are relevant to the Canadian and New Zealand classifications too, as both countries have had a history of racial oppression, and are undergoing intense population changes.

Also writing about the U.K. census, Fenton (1996) provides some less critical insights into the collection and categorisation of ethnicity data. In 'Counting Ethnicity: Social Groups and Official Categories', Fenton (1996) explores some of the conceptual tensions in classifying ethnic groups in official statistics. This article also provides a good overview of the ways in which ethnicity data have been collected and classified in the U.K., with a particularly good analysis of nationality in relation to the 1961 U.K. census.

Fenton presents an account of how ethnicity is recorded in the U.K. Although ethnicity has very different roots in the U.K. compared to New Zealand (for example, there are no indigenous British people comparable to Maori), the underlying theme in the collection of data was racism and a fear of minority groups:

The 1961 Census was the last one to record nationality. Earlier anti-immigration agitation had been couched as concerns about *foreign* and *alien* incomers (Holmes 1988) and in 1906 Britain had passed the Aliens Act which restricted entry into Britain. Through much of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, popular and political venom had been directed towards Irish, Jewish, Lithuanian and other incoming groups.' (1996, pp.147-8)

Fenton also questions the self-identification aspect of ethnicity. He points out that ethnicity has traditionally been derived from country of birth data and points out that in most data collection processes in the U.K., the head of household 'selects' the ethnicity of the other people in the household.

Fenton can see the advantage of census ethnic data, and therefore argues for the inclusion of an ethnic origin question. He questions the motivations of those critics who want the ethnic question dropped from U.K. census. He demonstrates how, for various minority groups in the U.K., country of birth is no longer a good measure. Fenton provides a detailed analysis of the 1991 classification used to classify responses for the U.K. census question on ethnic origin. He compares and contrasts the contents of the categories 'Black Caribbean' and 'Black African' and speculates as to the meaning and the interpretation of respondents' written responses of 'Black British'. He examines the birthplaces of those who reported themselves to be Indian and finds:

If we look at households headed by someone born in East Africa, they contained 312,155 people in 1991, of whom 177,628 were born in the U.K. The more that the British-born ethnic minority young people establish new households, the more this form of data becomes an unreliable proxy. (1996, p.155)

According to Fenton, 'the illustration of the category "Indian" shows the way in which Census data is collected and presented and demonstrates the tenuous relationship between enumeration categories and possible social realities' (1996, p.155). In addition, like Ahmad, he notes that, 'One of the most remarkable features of the

classification is the failure to differentiate the white category, seemingly forcing 94 per cent of the population into one box' (1996, p.159). The Irish in Britain are given as an example of this - a culturally distinct and historically discriminated-against group that is invisible in the classification.

Fenton attempts to provide an explanation as to why the U.K. census essentially asks a race question:

Race is an obsolete term and concept deriving from a discredited theory of racial differences. It has survived by a kind of historical inertia in some classifications, or as an element of a classification. (1996, p.146) ...

As part of the explanation, the notion raised earlier of the census as a fossil is alluded to:

Many censuses began recording race or ethnic origin before the discrediting of the term race, and so terms which reflect the belief in discrete races of the world have continued to appear in official recording practices. (1996, p.146)

He concludes that the 'Census is a curious mixture of old "racial" categories and national origin categories.'

Although his writing relates to the U.K. census, the important contribution of Fenton is the recognition of the difficulties of classifying, the specific constraints of the census as a mode of collection for ethnicity, and the idea of census being an inert form of collection.

2.7.2 Classification Systems

Regrettably, very little work has been done on classification theory as it relates to the classification of social phenomena. This means that when statisticians are creating ethnic classifications, they are largely working from an abstract definition or idea of what constitutes a classification. However, one recent work on classification theory that examines ethical consequences of classification systems stands out as an in-depth look at the work of classifiers and the sociological impacts of that work. The

significant point raised in *Sorting Things Out: Classification and its Consequences* by G.C. Bowker and S.L. Star (1999) is that classifications are both *powerful* and *invisible*. Bowker and Star draw heavily on Weber's work on bureaucracy and on

Foucault:

Foucault's practical archaeology is a point of departure for examining several cases of classification, some of which have become formal or standardised, and some of which have not. We have several concerns in this exploration, growing both from the consideration of classification work and its attendant moral dimensions. First, we seek to understand the role of invisibility in the work that classification does in ordering human interaction. We want to understand how these categories are made and kept invisible, and in some cases we want to challenge the silences surrounding them. ... We have a moral and ethical agenda in our querying of these systems. Each standard and each category valorises some point of view and silences another. This is not inherently a bad thing - indeed it is inescapable. But it is an ethical choice, and as such it is dangerous. (1999, p.5)

Bowker and Star provide case studies that illustrate the dangers inherent in classification and include the South African racial classification under apartheid, and the United States' ethnic immigration quota system. These theories of data collection and classification contribute significantly to the development of themes in this thesis.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the work of some of the founding fathers of sociology in the context of ethnicity. It has also reviewed some of the contemporary theories of ethnicity, and investigated the relevant literature in both Canada and New Zealand on ethnicity, as well as comparative works. Finally, theories of data collection and classification systems have been considered. As is true for any academic work, the sound development of this thesis required a thoroughgoing study of related works in the field. It is hoped that to the degree possible this review has delved into sufficient sources to uncover all relevant aspects of ethnic research both historical and contemporary.

It is also hoped that by applying the idea of invisibility and power to ethnic classifications, this thesis will go some way towards making the New Zealand and Canadian ethnic classifications visible, thus enabling a better, deeper analysis and understanding of ethnic data in both countries.

3. Methodology

Knocking at the Door: Insider Research

- 3.1 Introduction
 - 3.2 Position(s) of the Researcher
 - 3.2.1 Short Biography
 - 3.2.2 Benefits and Disadvantages of Insider Research
 - 3.3 Research Methods Used
 - 3.4 Conclusion
-

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: to provide some background regarding the position of the researcher and to describe the methods used in the preparation of this thesis. It was felt that the former was necessary because of the ‘insider’ position from which this thesis was written; hence, involvement with Statistics Canada and Statistics New Zealand is outlined and the ways in which these experiences fed into the research process are explored.

Regarding methods, the comparative framework of the research is explained further, as well as some of the successful and less successful methods employed to generate a comparison and collect information. A detailed methodological appendix is also provided (Appendix A). It contains further details on some of the methods discussed here.

3.2 Position(s) of the Researcher

3.2.1 Short Biography

While working on this thesis, I was an employee of Statistics New Zealand - the

official statistical agency of New Zealand¹⁹. I wrote the thesis as a part-time student in Sociology at the University of Canterbury.

Prior to coming to Christchurch, I studied sociology at McGill University in Montréal, Canada, where I wrote an honours thesis that was a comparative study of the immigration experiences of South Asian men and women in Montréal. The research method used for the honours thesis was in-depth qualitative interviews. After my third year at university, and with one year still to be completed of my degree, I applied for and was accepted onto a student work program at Statistics Canada in Ottawa. The time I spent there (May to September 1994) gave me a good understanding of some of the work of the department, but also helped establish personal contacts that continue to benefit me today.

In February 1999 I enrolled as a thesis student at the University of Canterbury, with the approval of the Statistics New Zealand line manager and my team leader. The timing and choice of subject was not coincidental - I felt that participating in the review of the ethnicity classification at work would afford me access and time to do all the things I needed for a comparative study of ethnicity as a thesis topic. In order to gain funding for tuition and study time from Statistics New Zealand, I was required to write an application that contained a proposal for the research and which demonstrated that the topic of study was relevant to my work. My manager approved this application and the management committee responsible for study leave. A comparative study of the collection of ethnicity data seemed timely and convenient. Within Statistics New Zealand, the work practices of Statistics Canada are often referred to, and the two organisations have frequently compared notes. Thus my proposal to study and compare the way in which the ethnic variable is collected in

¹⁹ Although a government department, Statistics New Zealand is independent of government and produces statistics that are free from political interference.

both countries was readily accepted.

In May 2000, a formal external review of ethnicity began - the Review of the Measurement of Ethnicity (RME).²⁰ I am a member of the project team and thus have had the opportunity to participate in the research and discussion on the topic of ethnicity in the census. This coincided with the final stages of the academic work, but the thesis will be finished before the results of the review will be known. In August 2000, I was promoted to team leader for the social classifications team. I took on more management duties, but continued in an advisory role on the ethnicity review team.

The positions held within the Classifications and Standards section is reflected in the attention devoted in this thesis to comparing the *classification* of ethnicity in Canada and New Zealand. Some further explanation of this preoccupation may be helpful. The Classifications and Standards Section of Statistics New Zealand is solely occupied with the development of classifications for use in Statistics New Zealand surveys. The interesting part of this work is that it requires the statistician to be both an expert in the topic being classified (i.e., the political and sociological components of ethnicity), as well an expert in classification principles (logical/technical skills such as ensuring mutual exclusivity, balance, robustness, scope and coverage in the classification, etc.).

While questionnaires and questions are very visible aspects of collecting ethnicity data, the classifications which are used to code responses and produce the actual data are the 'missing link' in most statistical work undertaken by the department. Its main purpose is to ensure that the data are collected, coded and stored in a structure that has a sound conceptual basis. The main benefit of having

²⁰ For more information on the RME, consult the Statistics New Zealand website on www.stats.govt.nz/ethnicity

standardised classifications is data comparability; for example, if two different surveys use two different ethnic questions, the data may be comparable only if the same classification is used. The focus in my professional work on social classification and classification principles has translated into an interest in comparing the modes of classification, as well as the actual question modules, used by Statistics Canada and Statistics New Zealand to collect ethnicity data. I believe this inclusion of classification issues (such as the coding, imputation, derivation, and the classification of multiple responses) is unique. Other work in this area has centred exclusively on ethnic questions in censuses (Booth 1985; Farley 1991; White, Badets & Renaud 1993; Sillitoe & White 1992; Ahmad 1999).

3.2.2 Benefits and Disadvantages of Insider Research

The main methodological concerns for this thesis relate to the position of the researcher, and how this affects the research.²¹ As is obvious from the biographical information given above, my position in relation to the topic under study is different from most graduate students. There are certain tensions between being a student of ethnicity and a statistician within an official statistical agency.

The main benefits of the insider position have been a) the level of knowledge obtained in the workplace that can be applied to academic work, b) a degree of authority or authenticity when writing about census data, and c) easier access to documentation and expertise than other researchers.

In particular, access to the people who worked on previous censuses has been beneficial in some of the historical research, and access to people who are experts in their field has increased the level of accuracy in the analysis. Access to documentation has taken the form of access to electronic discussion databases,

²¹ Ethical considerations are taken into account in the Methodological Appendix (Appendix A).

departmental working papers, unpublished papers, email correspondence, archived files, and the Statistics New Zealand Library in Wellington.

The main constraints associated with being an insider is that there are limitations to the nature and amount of work-related information that can be used towards academic work, as noted in the section on Ethical considerations in the Methodological Appendix. It has also been challenging to analyse the ethnicity questions and classification issues from an academic perspective rather than with a statistician's eye; the thesis reflects this to some extent as will be seen with the rigorous detail given in Chapter 5.

3.3 Research Methods Used

One method employed in this study was to supplement written sources with interviews. To this end I conducted two interviews with prominent statisticians at Statistics Canada and Statistics New Zealand. Firstly, a practice interview was conducted with a colleague in May 1999. This was helpful to get a feel for how to approach the subject - the interviewee's role in the development of ethnic statistics.

The first real interview took place in July 1999 in Ottawa with Canada's Deputy Chief Statistician, Mr. Bruce Petrie. The third and final interview was conducted with Mr. Len Cook, the New Zealand Government Statistician in November 1999. Although some of the general information gleaned from the interview subjects has made its way into the thesis, the interviews themselves did not generate the potential for comparison that was initially expected. Thus, they served more as background research than key components for the comparison.

3.4 Conclusion

In weighing up the advantages and disadvantages of the insider position, the negative impact of my position can be said to have been minimal. The most salient weakness

would be the lack of contact with other sociologists, and the over-emphasis on statistical issues that stem from my position as full-time statistician and part-time sociology student. However, these weaknesses are balanced by the strengths gained by my unique position of being a researcher situated within an official statistical agency. Because of this, the accuracy, quality, and depth of the research and analysis are greater than they otherwise would have been.

Chapter 4

4. Historical comparison of factors affecting the collection of ethnic statistics in Canada and New Zealand

The Waka and the Voyageur

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4.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the historical development of the collection of ethnic statistics in Canada and New Zealand. It also seeks to compare aspects of Canadian and New Zealand early settler societies, and to assess their impact on modern-day statistical collections. The rationale for examining the history of each country is that the way ethnicity is viewed by the population today and how it is treated in contemporary statistical collections are a product of historical factors.

The chapter is divided into three sections that examine one theme each: a) the colonial economies of each country, b) the immigration and population patterns of each country and c) the way the governments were organised from the point of view of the official statistical system. Each section explores the developments of their respective themes for both Canada and New Zealand. These themes have been

identified because they have contributed to the development of the ethnicity variable from a sociological perspective.

4.2 The Colonial Economies of New Zealand and Upper/Lower Canada

4.2.1 Overview

The nature of the respective colonial economies was a key factor in the development of the concept of ethnicity in each country. The way in which the colonial powers (i.e. the British) interacted with the indigenous/founding peoples set the foundation for ethnic and race relations for future generations. Interaction between the two or more 'races' in each country was dictated by the economic relationships of the time. For the purposes of this discussion, the history of each country will be divided into two eras. First, the pre-settlement era, in which the resources of the colonizers were focused on extracting wealth from the land. Second, the settlement era, in which the colonizers sought to settle and populate the land. The first era required a co-existing relationship with the indigenous people to facilitate trade, while the second era required absolute control of the non-British populations in order to take over land for colonial settlement.

This comparative analysis, however, is complicated by the fact that in one country, Canada, there was a series of colonizers (the French, then the British) plus a wide variety of indigenous people. In contrast, in New Zealand there was one dominant colonizer, the British²², and a single indigenous population, Maori²³. Thus

²² Although the French did make a brief appearance in the South Island- 63 French settlers established Akaroa in 1840 (www.akaroa.co.nz/history)- they were not a serious threat to the British in New Zealand.

²³ It could be argued that the Maori were not a single indigenous population, since before European settlement the various rohe, iwi and hapu did not see themselves as a single people. However, compared to the native North American tribes, who spoke separate languages, had varying myths of origin, and had very different kinship systems, the Maori were and are relatively united. Recently, it has been argued that Maori are not an ethnic group (Chapple 2000). The argument is that they do not share a common language (the fact that few Maori actually use Te Reo today is cited as evidence of

the economic relationship in New Zealand between the colonizers and the indigenous people was more straightforward.

Another main difference between the two countries is that colonisation began much earlier in Canada than it did in New Zealand. While the colonial economy of modern-day Canada began with the fur trade in the early part of the 17th century, the pre-settlement era in New Zealand could only be said to have begun almost two hundred years later - around 1800.

4.2.2 Pre-settlement to Settlement

Canada and New Zealand were territories that went through an initial period of isolated economic activity before they became 'serious' colonies, and settlement began in earnest. Canada and New Zealand, as well as Australia, are linked in the literature of colonization as 'White Settler Societies' (Baker 1983, Denoon 1983, Pearson 1990, Stasiulis & Yuval-Davis 1995). The main thing to note is that they are set apart from other colonized places and peoples, such as the 'tropical' colonies.²⁴ Thus, Canada and New Zealand can be labelled 'mass settlement' societies, whereas other British colonies (such as in the Caribbean and Africa) were 'limited settlement' societies. This meant that Canada and New Zealand could be seen by their settlers as new 'homelands, where white, British society could be cloned and improved, as well as lands rich in natural resources to be exploited. The fulfilment of this vision was possible since the lands of Canada and New Zealand were relatively lightly populated

this) and do not share 'customs of life' i.e. Maori participate in varied lifestyles and socio-economic status, etc. This argument has been rejected for the purpose of this thesis. Maori are treated as an ethnic group because this is an established sociological and anthropological assertion both in New Zealand and overseas.

²⁴ The British treated Canada and New Zealand differently from colonies in Africa, Asia, South America and the Caribbean. In general fewer British settled permanently in the hotter countries. Canada and New Zealand also differed from the United States, which featured mass slavery; and neither Canada nor New Zealand were (arguably) the recipients of indentured imported labour, thus also setting Canada and New Zealand apart from Australia. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, an interesting research question would be how Canada and New Zealand manage to escape the maladies of slavery and indentured labour, and the factors they had in common that resulted in this similarity.

by their indigenous peoples²⁵, and proved successful in that both Canada and New Zealand became white-majority settlements with all the institutions and trappings of British society. In contrast, tropical colonies were not earmarked for mass white settlement, nor did whites become the majority in those former colonies.

In Canada, the fur trade flourished from the mid-1600s until late into the 19th century. The fur trade was well established before any significant French or English settlements began. Also, a core of French missionaries conducted the 'business' of converting the native peoples to Christianity. This pre-settlement economic activity led to close contact between the French and the natives. The French relied on the expert trapping and navigational knowledge of the natives and their network of outposts. In exchange for this expertise, the natives received European goods. It has been noted that initial contact between Europeans and Amerindians did not have a negative impact on the latter:

Native adaptations were selective and within established cultural patterns. The fact that beaver could be trapped and traded during two brief periods in spring and summer meant that trading with the French did not adversely affect subsistence production. Given that fur traders had little opportunity to hoard European goods, the fur trade also did not significantly disrupt property relations among people such as the Huron and Montagnais. (Stasiulis & Jhappan 1995, p.102)

In contrast, the assertion has been made that it was missionaries who sought to undermine the social organisation of aboriginal/indigenous people, especially reducing the status of native women who, for example, were often in control of economic activity and products within native kinship systems.

Among the Huron, Montagnais-Nascapi and the Six Nations, women's labour produced the majority of staples and women were in control of the distribution of these subsistence goods....

²⁵ Although the British did acknowledge the existence of Maori, as evidenced in the Treaty of Waitangi, they did in fact consider Canada (and Australia) *terra nullis* - uninhabited land. In both cases, where the indigenous people were recognised (New Zealand) and not (Canada and Australia), the result has been the same - near-decimation of indigenous people, their land and culture. This indicates that despite the treaty, the British approached New Zealand with a *terra nullis* mentality.

Female power in Iroquoian societies was linked to the longhouse, a social unit composed of three to six matrilineally related households or domestic groups.... Here, men's access to the products of women's labour was regulated through their residency in the matrilineal longhouse, making men more dependent on their wives than vice versa. (Stasiulis & Jhappan 1995, p. 100)

As can be expected, European men found this female power unnerving. It was contrary to the patriarchal system they sought to impose. Religious conversion was thus one way that Europeans sought to undermine the matriarchal power structures of some tribes.

The Jesuits encountered the impossibility of instilling a hierarchical Christian order in egalitarian societies, where [aboriginal] women exercised considerable autonomy and power in sexual, political and economic matters. The key to Jesuit success was in securing female submission, chiefly to individual men, God and Church through Christian marriage, baptism and burial rites. This meant undermining the institutional basis for women's authority and autonomy in matrilineal and matrilineal kin corporate structures. ... Aboriginal women were clearly central to the success of the fur trade in ways that were deeply troubling for Protestant missionaries who arrived later. Native women were sexually exploited through 'prostitution with its attendant horror, venereal disease'.... In fur trade society, Amerindian women suffered a secular decline in their influence which coincided with the evolution in choice of marriage partners among traders: 'mixed-blood' wives replaced Native wives and were finally supplanted by white women in the early nineteenth century. (Stasiulis & Jhappan 1995, p 102-3)

The initial symbiotic trade relationship between Europeans and natives changed dramatically when the French were defeated by the English at the Plains of Abraham in 1759, and mass British settlement began in earnest at the turn of the 19th century. Obviously, the need for land for British settlers marked the beginning of a long and successful process of disenfranchisement of natives and the confiscation of their land by the Canadian government.

Similarly, initial contact between Maori and Europeans in the late 1700s (pre-settlement) was not immediately destructive to Maori society. There was respect on both sides, and Maori were rightly self-confident since they vastly outnumbered

Europeans until the 1860s. The early colonial economy was based on trade such as whaling, sealing, timber and the extraction of other natural resources. Only when New Zealand became a crown colony and was actively recruiting settlers did relations between Pakeha and Maori deteriorate, resulting in the Land Wars (1860-1890s), and eventuating in the marginalisation of Maori in the new European-created state.

It was at the settlement stage in both countries that the notions of 'race' and ethnicity began to take root and grow. Both Amerindians and Maori, who initially were considered trading partners and necessary to the economic exploitation of the land, became 'obstacles' to Europeans acquiring land as each country became a 'white settler society' with no place for the indigenous peoples. This means that the shift in indigenous people's status in society was linked to economic pressure for land in both countries.

One main difference between New Zealand and Canada was that in the New Zealand pre-settlement era, the early British settlers did not exclusively align themselves with Maori, and there were other settlers and populations to interact with:

The number of pre-Wakefield [pre-1840] settlers was not large - 2,000 to 3,000 in most estimates - but it was considerably more significant than these raw figures suggest. This is because the settlers did not stand alone but were the New Zealand end of an economic relationship with New South Wales and the South Pacific trading economy. It was a relationship furthermore, of some long standing... it extended back at least four decades, and had been established to exploit the timber, flax and other raw materials New Zealand had to offer. The numbers involved in this relationship were also much larger than those who lived in New Zealand itself, and included, for instance, the crews of visiting whaling fleets... and those involved in processing and selling New Zealand products in New South Wales. (Simpson 1997, p.60)

Another difference was how the indigenous people in each country adapted or coped with the European invasion. Denoon (cited in Pearson 1990, p.38) asserts that densely populated, agricultural communities had a better chance of defending themselves from European intrusion. Using this theory, a major difference between

New Zealand and Canada can be identified: the indigenous people in Canada were more nomadic peoples, whereas many Maori were settled and lived in large, military-style complexes. Thus some Maori were better equipped to fight/negotiate with the British than their North American counterparts. This is reflected today in the demographic 'success' of the indigenous peoples in each country. Maori are currently 15 percent of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 1996 Census), whereas aboriginal people²⁶ of Canada made up only 2.8 percent of the population in the last Canadian census (Statistics Canada, 1996 Census).

An interesting question to ask of the chronology of these events is what caused the shift from pre-settlement to settlement. For both countries, real settlement began as a result of deteriorating conditions in Britain²⁷. Culminating factors such as industrialisation, the pauperisation of the working poor, overcrowding and disease resulted in the British government implementing a series of policies to encourage migration to its colonies. However, additional factors were at work in Canada and New Zealand, and the effects of these policies were different.

In Canada, the competition between France and Britain, and the resulting victory of Britain, precipitated Britain's need to consolidate its dominance by peopling the newly won land and having British culture take root. There continued to be threats from France and the new republic to the south (the United States), thus British settlement was actively encouraged. In Britain, politicians saw the migration of certain groups - such as young single women, and 'undesirable' migrants in English cities such as the Irish - as a quick fix to many domestic problems.

New Zealand did not face similar threats to its autonomy. Unlike the situation in Canada, where the United States was (and continues to be) a threat to Canadian

²⁶ People reporting at least one aboriginal group: North American Indian, Inuit or Métis.

sovereignty (for example, the unsuccessful American invasion of Canada known as the War of 1812), Australia was never a military threat to New Zealand²⁸. In fact, New Zealand was seen as an 'extension' of the Australian colonies well into the 20th century.

Finally, both the Canadian and New Zealand governments rushed to people the land quickly with (white) settlers. The difference, however, was that the New Zealand settlers tended toward less labour-intensive pastoral development, while the Canadian Prairies were targeted for grain and other crops, which required far more human resources. Perhaps the combination of pastoral land use and the smaller landmass in New Zealand explains the less desperate need for labour, and this in turn explains the smaller-scale and more restricted immigration policy that occurred in New Zealand, as described in the next section.

4.3 Immigration and Population

4.3.1 Overview

Following on from the previous discussion, this section traces the impact of waves of immigration and other changes in population on the development of each nation's sense of identity and thus, ethnicity. As in the preceding section, this section divides the two nation's history into two discrete eras; Pre and Post World War II. For the analysis of migration, then, the distinction is made between pre-war and post-war migration. For both countries, the first bout of migration was focused on settlement of the colonizers (the British), but the nature of that intake changed as the

²⁷ For an excellent account of conditions in England, see Chapter 2 in Simpson (1997) called 'The State of Britain in 1830'.

²⁸ New Zealand, as an island nation, is more defensible in a military sense, while Canada is at a geographic disadvantage, sharing the largest unprotected border in the world with the U.S..

demand for labour in the industrial era increased. The post-war era saw a diversification in sources of immigration that reflected this economic change.

4.3.2 Canada (Pre-WWII)

Earliest Canadian history is not dominated by immigration. In fact, there were very few migrations, but nevertheless, population changes took place. The 'sojourner' stage of pre-settlement began in 1500s and ended with the British defeat of the French in 1760. Until then, the French were half-hearted settlers, with only 12,000 settling permanently in 150 years of colonial rule (Stasiulis & Jhappan 1995, p.104).

However, until the 18th century, it was colonial policy to 'Frenchify' the colony by encouraging intermarriage. This was almost exclusively practised in the union of male 'voyageurs' with native women. In the west (in what is now Manitoba), this policy resulted in a transformation of the population- the creation of a 'new' nation, called the Métis,²⁹ which was neither native nor European, but a unique mix of the two, with a distinctive culture and political consciousness.

After 1760, a series of migrations did occur, which again informed and influenced ethnicity. Between 1760 and 1790, over 40,000 United Empire Loyalists fled the United States as political refugees. Stasiulis & Jhappan describe them as follows:

Interestingly, though primarily English-speaking and Protestant, the Loyalist were ethnically and racially heterogeneous (German, Highland Scottish, English, Abenaki and Six Nations Indians) and consisted of families headed by soldiers and frontier farmers. Among the Loyalists were some 3,000 blacks who had been emancipated by the British on condition that they served with the king's forces. These black migrants became the first large influx of freed and fugitive slaves to pre-abolition Nova Scotia. (Stasiulis & Jhappan 1995, p.108)

²⁹ People of the Métis Nation are the descendants of the union between Europeans and native (mostly female) population associated with the fur trade in the prairies from 1670-1870. Sometimes *Métis* is used to refer to people who may identify with the ethnicity, but not necessarily with the political entity of the Métis Nation. (Fleras & Elliott, 1992b, pp102)

The Maritimes continued to foster a growing black community as fugitive slaves sought relative freedom in the Maritimes via the 'underground railway'.

The early 1800s saw an increase in migration from the British Isles, a response to the American character of earlier migration. With an influx of Americans from the war of independence, it was felt that Canada's 'Britishness' was under threat.

'Britishness' was the goal in actively recruiting the new migrants. Later, between 1846 and 1854, the Dominion saw over 400,000 Irish immigrants enter the country via Montréal, fleeing the Potato Famine.

When the British defeated the French in 1760, the French colonists that chose to stay on were an isolated group, and according to Elliott (1979a), were 'numerically weakened by mass French Canadian emigration to the United States' (p.161). The U.S. Census of 1901 indicated that one third of all French Canadians in North American lived south of the Canadian border, and many settled in New England textile manufacturing communities (Elliott 1979a, p.161). Richard Joy, cited in Elliott (1979a) refers to this event in French Canadian history as the 'fatal haemorrhage' (p. 161).

In addition to white European migration to Canada, there were other early non-white migrations, on a smaller scale, such as the Chinese:

Chinese came in 1858 from California and, beginning in the spring of 1859, from Hong Kong, on chartered ships. Their numbers may have reached 6,000 or 7,000 in what is now British Columbia in the early 1860's. They were almost all men and they engaged not only in prospecting for gold but in various other enterprises: prospecting for jade, importing, transporting, fishing, gardening, and serving as laundrymen, restaurateurs, and labourers. They won a reputation as satisfactory workers among contractors for road-building and stringing telegraph wires. In 1864 they moved into domestic service. The departure of Chinese from Vancouver Island and British Columbia in the middle and late 1860's, inevitable because of the end of the gold rush, was heightened by discrimination against them, manifest by the early 1860's although not yet embodied in legislation. In the 1880's, however, new immigration of Chinese began from both the United States and Hong Kong as Andrew Onderdonk, who received the contract for the British Columbia

portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, employed Chinese labourers to build some of the most difficult sections of the railroad. (Burnet & Palmer 1988, p. 21)

Black migration to Canada makes up a small but important component of Canadian migration history. The earliest Canadian black community is known to have developed in Nova Scotia:

Blacks had been in Nova Scotia from the beginnings of European settlement. A black died of scurvy at Port Royal in 1606... there were black slaves in Arcadia, ... and black free men among the labourers on the French side of the fighting with the English. The British from 1713 on brought in slaves, some blacks took part in the construction of Halifax in 1749, and free blacks were given the same opportunities as whites during the New England migration after 1759 to settle the lands vacated when the Arcadians were expelled. Before the Loyalist migration, the number of black slaves has been estimated to be from a few hundred to as high as 500, between 3 and 5 percent of the population. ... Loyalist migration brought a considerable increase of the black population. Between 1,000 and 1,500 blacks were brought as slaves, and about 3,000 as free people. (Burnet & Palmer 1988, p. 17)

Apparently the British had promised freedom and land to blacks, called the 'Black Pioneers', who would desert their American masters and support the British. Not surprisingly, the black loyalists did not receive the same benefits as white loyalists upon arrival, but despite discrimination, 'slavery was never specifically recognised by statute in Nova Scotia, and from 1800 on slaves could easily obtain freedom' (Burnet & Palmer 1988, p.18). Another wave of black migration occurred at the end of the War of 1812, and more than 2,000 blacks settled in Nova Scotia as a result, called the 'Refugee Negroes'. The Refugee Negroes were treated marginally better than the Black Pioneers (Burnet & Palmer 1988, p.18). There was also much smaller black migration to Upper Canada and British Columbia. In British Columbia, black migrants came to Vancouver in 1858, not because of the Gold Rush, 'but because of increasingly restrictive legislation against them in California' (Burnet &

Palmer 1988, p.21). Although the black settlers intended to settle permanently, it is thought that the majority returned to the United States at the end of 1860's after the abolition of slavery.

Between 1880-1920 there was a large influx, for the first time, of non-British European migrants to Canada. Table 4.1 shows the number of people for selected non-British ethnic groups, and Table 4.2 shows the proportion of non-British and non-Canadian born (Other) increasing between 1881 and 1921.

TABLE 4.1: ETHNIC GROUPS OTHER THAN BRITISH ISLES AND FRENCH FOR CANADA., 1871, 1881, 1901, 1911, 1921.

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921
Austrian	-	-	11,000	44,000	108,000
Belgian	-	-	3,000	10,000	20,000
Czech-Slovak	-	-			9,000
Finnish	-	-	3,000	16,000	21,000
German	203,000	254,000	311,000	403,000	295,000
Greek	-	-		4,000	6,000
Hungarian	-	-	2,000	12,000	13,000
Italian	1,000	2,000	11,000	46,000	67,000
Jewish	-	1,000	16,000	76,000	126,000
Lithuanian	-	-	-	-	2,000
Netherlands	30,000	30,000	34,000	56,000	118,000
Polish	-	-	6,000	34,000	53,000
Romanian	-	-	-	6,000	13,000
Russian	1,000	1,000	20,000	44,000	100,000
Scandinavian	2,000	5,000	31,000	113,000	167,000
Ukrainian	-	-	6,000	75,000	107,000
Yugoslavic	-	-	-	-	4,000
Other European	4,000	6,000	5,000	7,000	18,000
Chinese	-	4,000	17,000	28,000	40,000
Japanese	-	-	5,000	9,000	16,000
Other Asiatic	-	-	2,000	6,000	10,000
Other Ethnic Groups	52,000	174,000	177,000	158,000	153,000

Source: Kalbach and McVey 1971, pp. 198-99.

Table 4.2: Birthplace, 1881 - 1921, Canadian Census, percent

	Canadian-born	British-born	Other
1881	86.06	11.07	2.87
1891	86.68	10.15	3.17
1901	86.98	7.84	5.18
1911	77.98	11.58	10.44
1921	77.75	12.12	10.13

Source: Census Reports, Statistics Canada

4.3.3 Canada (Post-WWII)

Similar to the pre-war period, post-W.W.II Canada was characterized by a need for able-bodied men and women, but this time the need was not purely to settle the vast tracks of land. Workers were needed in the newly industrialized economy; mostly unskilled, to build cities (especially in Western Canada), and to manufacture goods (for domestic consumption and for export to the world's largest market, the U.S.).

Acute labour shortages in mining, agricultural work, lumbering, railway maintenance, hospital work and domestic service provoked the state to bring in postwar refugees (Polish veterans, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Displaced Persons) and 'bulk order' Italians as indentured labour. (Stasiulis & Jhappan 1995, p.115)

People from all over Europe immigrated to Canada for the purpose of providing labour, but many also brought with them their families and dependants. Domestic workers, most often women, were especially in demand, and were vulnerable to exploitation by their employers through low wages, long hours, few benefits and poor working conditions. Meanwhile Québec made a demographic recovery just before and into the post-war period:

It was not until the Great Depression of the 1930s that Quebec emigration to the United States and European immigration to Canada ceased sufficiently for Quebec to begin to recoup demographic losses through excessive fertility. The phenomenally high birth rate in Quebec has been termed 'the revenge of the cradle' because of its potentially important political implications. However, *la revanche* was short-lived. In the postwar years the birth rate fell; immigration to North America resumed, and Quebec's efforts to rebuild its numerical strength *vis à vis* English Canada were for naught. (Elliott 1979a, p.161)

The end of the 'revenge of the cradle' coincided with the start of the 'Quiet Revolution' in Québec in the 1960s, which saw the modernization of the province and women's fertility came into line with other industrialized areas³⁰. The 'Quiet Revolution' emerged saw a drive by that province to increase French-speaking immigration. This was initially limited to Europeans, but eventually was extended to French-speaking Africans and people from the Caribbean such as Haiti.

In 1961, 90 percent of all immigrants to Canada were of European origin. However, due to acute labour shortages, immigration policy was liberalised to include non-Europeans in 1962 and again in 1967. The United Kingdom continued to be a top source of immigration in the 1970s, but between 1981 and 1991 there was a dramatic turn-around in the sources of immigration; only 25 percent of immigrants were sourced from European origins by 1991.

³⁰ To counteract the declining fertility rate, the Québec government introduced the 'baby bonus' in 1988, which pays women for each child, up to \$7,500 for the third and subsequent children (Krotki & Reid 1994, p.47).

TABLE 4.3: THE LEADING SOURCE COUNTRIES³¹, IN DESCENDING ORDER, OF IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, SELECTED YEARS: 1951 TO 1986

1951	1960	1968	1976	1984	1986
Britain	Italy	Britain	Britain	Vietnam	United States
Germany	Britain	United States	United States	Hong Kong	India
Italy	United States	Italy	Hong Kong	United States	Vietnam
Netherlands	Germany	Germany	Jamaica	India	Hong Kong
Poland	Netherlands	Hong Kong	Lebanon	Britain	Poland
France	Portugal	France	India	Poland	Britain
United States	Greece	Austria	Philippines	Philippines	Jamaica
Belgium	France	Greece	Portugal	El Salvador	Philippines
Yugoslavia	Poland	Portugal	Italy	Jamaica	Guyana
Denmark	Austria	Yugoslavia	Guyana	China	El Salvador

Source: Kalbach 1990, p 21.

Table 4.3 shows a marked and abrupt change in the migration flows to Canada in the years after the Second World War. In 1951, all the leading source countries were European, except the US, and the majority were Northern European, except Italy and Yugoslavia. There was little change in 1960, except it is notable that Greece entered the top ten. However, 1968 shows a very interesting change: for the first time a non-European (non-white) nationality - Hong Kong - enters the top ten. For the year 1976, Table 4.3 shows further diversification of the migration flow with a variety of nationalities for whom most migrants would be non-white: Jamaica, Lebanon, India, Philippines and Guyana.

For 1984, Table 4.3 shows an increase in Chinese and Southeast Asian migration, with two Asian countries- Vietnam and Hong Kong - topping the list for the first time. Central America is also represented for the first time - El Salvador - the majority of whom would be refugees of the civil war there. China also made its first appearance. By 1986, European countries are in a minority on the list, making up only two of ten top source countries.

³¹ Country of last permanent residence

4.3.4 New Zealand (Pre-WWII)

As noted earlier, there was limited settlement (2,000 - 3,000 people) in New Zealand before 1840. The first of the mass settlement began in 1840 and increased rapidly from then on. This was the year of the first officially sanctioned immigration from the British Isles. Table 4.4 shows that this migration was predominantly from European countries, and that while the number of English-born in New Zealand increased steadily between 1858 and 1886, the proportion of English-born decreased steadily from 40 percent in 1856 to 22 percent in 1886. In contrast, the New Zealand-born increased from 32 percent in 1858 to 52 percent in 1886. The other sources of migration remained relatively stable.

Table 4.5 again shows the New Zealand-born population increasing and the English-born proportion decreasing. Other European or white migration remained relatively stable; however, it is interesting to note that the China-born population actually decreased from 1896 to 1921.

Similar to the indigenous population of Canada, Maori underwent dramatic demographic decline due to disease, loss of land, and other negative effects of interaction with Europeans. Later, unlike their North American and Australian counterparts, Maori experienced demographic growth due to natural increases as did the Québécois. The demographic history of Maori is well-documented in comments on the Statistics New Zealand website:

Since 1840, when Maori were the dominant ethnic group in New Zealand, the Maori population has fallen dramatically, recovered, and from the 1950s, sustained a steady growth.

The effects of early colonisation, wars and epidemics saw the Maori population fall to a low of about 40,000 by the end of the nineteenth century. At the time non-Maori outnumbered Maori by more than 16 to 1.

By 1901, the Maori population's recovery was under way with high birth rates leading to rapid growth apart from during the years around the 1918 influenza epidemic. Growth slowed after World War II due to lower fertility and deaths

during the war, but the Maori population continued to grow more quickly than the non-Maori population.

In 1996 New Zealanders identifying with the Maori ethnic group numbered more than half a million, 15.1 percent of the total population. The Maori population is expected to reach nearly one million by 2051 and comprise 22 percent of the total population.

The annual growth rate of the Maori population is expected to slow down, though it is likely to continue to grow more rapidly than the non-Maori population. The growth rate is expected to fall from 1.9 percent in 1997 to 0.7 percent in 2051, compared with the non-Maori population's growth rate falling from 1.2 percent to just below zero in the same period.

The higher annual growth rates for Maori can be attributed to higher fertility rates for Maori women than non-Maori and the Maori population having a relatively larger number of women in the main reproductive ages. (Statistics New Zealand, www.stats.govt.nz)

Apart from Pre-W.W.II European migration and Maori population changes, New Zealand also had a small number of other groups contribute to the diversity of the country. Similar to Canada, Asian migration to New Zealand occurred early on, but in very small numbers:

Though a Bengali is reported to have jumped ship to marry a 'local' New Zealand woman in 1810, (Leckie 1995) and isolated individuals from India and China have stayed in the country ever since, the beginnings of large-scale immigration from Asia can be traced to the mid-1860s. ... The Dunedin Chamber of Commerce contracted with Ho A-mei, a Hong Kong Chinese merchant in Melbourne, to recruit miners from the Victorian goldfields to work the abandoned mines in Otago. (Palat 1996, p.37)

TABLE 4.4: PLACE OF BIRTH, NEW ZEALAND, NON-MAORI POPULATION, SELECTED YEARS 1848-1886

Country of Birth	1858		1861		1864		1867		1871		1881		1886	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
England	23,680	40	36,128	36	58,444	34	65,614	30	67,044	26	119,224	24	125,657	22
Ireland	4,554	8	8,831	09	20,317	12	27,955	13	29,733	12	49,363	10	51,408	9
Scotland	7,976	13	15,534	16	30,940	18	34,826	16	36,871	14	52,753	11	54,810	9
Wales	233	0	472	0	1,029	1	1,379	1	1,345	1	1,963	0	1,981	0
New Zealand	18,702	32	27,604	28	41,235	24	64,052	29	93,474	36	223,404	46	300,190	52
Australian Colonies	1,410	2	2,579	3	9,533	6	11,313	5	12,426	5	17,277	4	17,245	3
British Colonies	1,431	2	1,848	2	3,109	2	3,798	2	4,062	2	4,014	1	3,953	1
United States of America		0	720	1	1,115	1	1,213	0	1,249	0	841	0	683	0
France		0	319	0	505	0	553	0	551	0	848	0	786	0
Germany		0	780	1	1,999	1	2,838	1	2,416	1	4,819	1	5,007	1
Other Countries	1,342	3	838	1	2,189	1	3,667	2	5,859	2	13,269	3	11,409	2
Not Specified (incl. At Sea)		0	3,368	3	1,743	1	1,520	1	1,363	1	2,158	0	3,353	1
Total	59,328	100	99,021	100	172,158	100	218,728	100	256,393	100	489,933	100	578,368	100

Source: New Zealand Census Reports, Statistics New Zealand

TABLE 4.5: PLACE OF BIRTH, NEW ZEALAND, NON-MAORI POPULATION, SELECTED YEARS 1896-1921.

Country of Birth	1896		1901		1906		1911		1916		1921	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
New Zealand	441,661.00	63	516,106.00	67	606,247.00	68	702,779.00	70	794,739.00	72	906,283.00	74
Australia	21,631.00	3	26,991.00	3	47,256.00	5	50,029.00	5	45,585.00	4	48,045.00	4
England	116,541.00	17	111,964.00	14	116,560.00	13	133,811.00	13	140,997.00	13	149,348.00	12
Wales	2,148.00	0	1,765.00	0	2,144.00	0	2,206.00	0	2,197.00	0	2,575.00	0
Scotland	50,435.00	7	47,858.00	6	47,767.00	5	51,709.00	5	51,951.00	5	51,654.00	4
Ireland	46,037.00	7	43,524.00	6	42,460.00	5	40,958.00	4	37,380.00	3	34,419.00	3
India	1,238.00	0	1,180.00	0	1,230.00	0	1,206.00	0	1,359.00	0	1,925.00	0
South Africa	388.00	0	469.00	0	601.00	0	1,126.00	0	1,218.00	0	1,286.00	0
Canada	1,412.00	0	1,544.00	0	1,547.00	0	1,534.00	0	1,443.00	0	1,708.00	0
Other British countries	863.00	0	1,080.00	0	1,182.00	0	1,368.00	0	1,539.00	0	1,850.00	0
Norway	1,261.00	0	1,279.00	0	1,396.00	0	1,344.00	0	1,233.00	0	1,048.00	0
Sweden	1,514.00	0	1,548.00	0	1,618.00	0	1,518.00	0	1,391.00	0	1,206.00	0
Denmark and Iceland	2,125.00	0	2,120.00	0	2,277.00	0	2,262.00	0	2,224.00	0	2,113.00	0
Germany	4,595.00	1	4,217.00	1	4,174.00	0	4,015.00	0	2,999.00	0	2,188.00	0
China	3,719.00	1	2,902.00	0	2,602.00	0	2,611.00	0	2,041.00	0	2,986.00	0
United States of America	1,749.00	0	1,657.00	0	1,998.00	0	1,891.00	0	1,761.00	0	1,872.00	0
Other foreign countries	4,117.00	1	4,870.00	1	5,802.00	1	5,930.00	1	7,007.00	1	6,594.00	1
Unknown/At Sea	1,926.00	0	1,645.00	0	1,717.00	0	2,171.00	0	2,985.00	0	1,813.00	0
Total	703,360.00	100	772,719.00	100	888,578.00	100	1,008,468.00	100	1,100,049.00	100	1,218,913.00	100

Source: New Zealand Census Reports, Statistics New Zealand

4.3.5 New Zealand (Post-WWII)

After the Second World War, one of the biggest changes for New Zealand was the transformation in the Maori population. Table 4.6 shows that in 1945, 74 percent of Maori were rural. By 1956, this had decreased to 65 percent and by 1976, only 62 percent of the Maori population were rural.

TABLE 4.6: MAORI POPULATION IN CITIES, TOWNS AND RURAL AREAS, 1936-76

Year	Rural %	Small Towns %	24 main centres (census) %	Total Number
1936	83	6	11	82,299
1945	74	8	17	98,724
1951	71	9	20	115,583
1956	65	9	24	137,082
1961	54	14	32	167,032
1966	38	18	44	201,095
1971	29	20	51	227,298
1976	24	21	56	269,951

Source: New Zealand Official Yearbooks, cited in Pearson 1990, p.111.

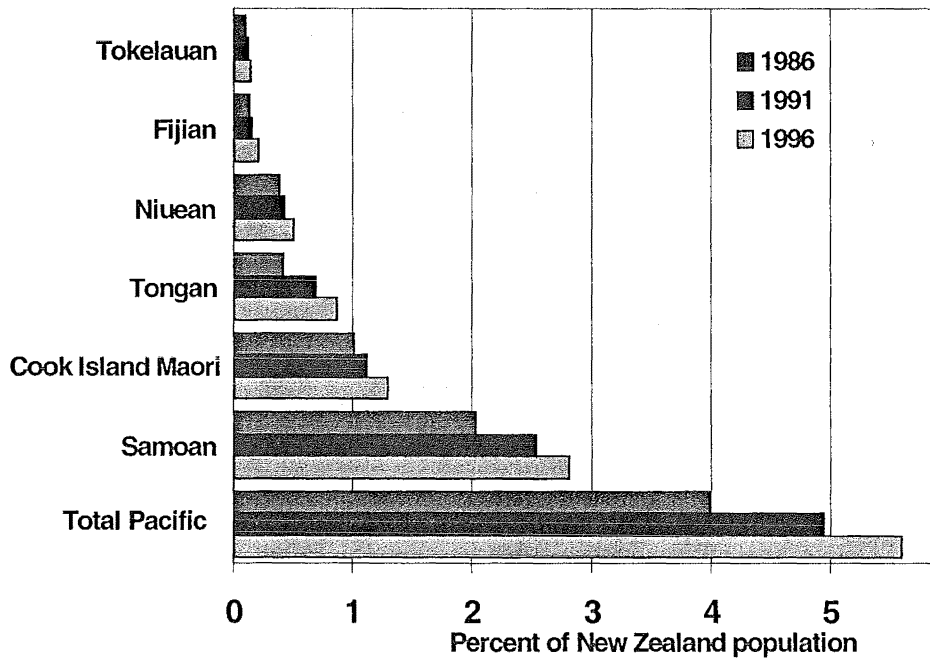
This mass urban migration of Maori changed the face of New Zealand cities, especially Auckland, and it also meant fewer Maori were living on the marae, which had profound implications on Maori language and culture. In the 1996 Census, only 12,000 people reported speaking Maori and not English, and over 140,000 reported speaking both English and Maori. However, in 1998, 40 percent of Maori children enrolled in early childhood education were attending kohanga reo (Maori language nest), and 7.2 percent of the school population were learning the Maori language³².

The Pacific population in New Zealand has also undergone dynamic demographic change. In the 1946 Census, there were only 2,000 people reporting Pacific origins. The 1960s however saw increased migration of Pacific Islanders to

³² Source: Maori Language Commission Website: www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz

New Zealand, and by the 1971 Census there were over 50,000 Pacific islanders resident in New Zealand (Cook et al 1999, p.3). This migration resulted from the country's need for unskilled labour. The nature of Pacific Island migration changed over this period. Previously, unskilled men were admitted, but this changed to include unskilled women as well. This change facilitated the establishment of substantial Pacific Island communities in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch.

FIGURE 1: PEOPLE OF PACIFIC ETHNICITIES IN NEW ZEALAND, 1986-1996



Source: Cook et al 1999

TABLE 4.7: NET MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND FROM SELECTED PACIFIC COUNTRIES

March Year	Cook Islands	Fiji (see note)	Niue	Tokelau	Tonga	Samoa	Total Pacific
1979							-1,516
1980							-676
1981	63	-1	42	16	-123	104	-577
1982	242	278	85	3	-79	194	195
1983	107	271	45	-41	-95	396	713
1984	-33	287	63	-2	70	486	1,122
1985	118	409	16	-31	94	872	1,423
1986	92	293	34	6	0	744	1,071
1987	200	582	92	-8	131	1,126	2,137
1988	160	1,925	82	-18	71	985	3,298
1989	-39	1,958	49	29	42	948	2,896
1990	-61	1,519	39	31	-33	105	1,494
1991	-60	848	3	53	-101	229	1,170
1992	-365	430	22	9	-395	-754	-1,157
1993	-282	528	30	0	-87	-492	-197
1994	-136	581	15	13	33	13	678
1995	13	864	3	40	159	566	1,986
1996	231	1,001	33	39	140	1,165	3,063
1997	568	1,180	62	17	276	1,016	3,388
1998	410	993	44	25	186	611	2,468
1999	244	974	56	-29	224	615	2,108
Total	1,472	14,920	815	152	513	8,929	25,087

Note: Fiji data includes people of Indian ethnicity.

Source: Cook et al 1999

4.3.6 Summary

The main similarities between Canada and New Zealand in relation to immigration and population are the treatment of Chinese and other non-white immigrants, as well as the impact of the expansionist needs of the British Empire that required the populating of land in colonial times. Both countries discouraged non-white migration, and both countries targeted Asian, in particular, Chinese migrants, with quotas, head tax, and legislative limits. In Canada, there was an outright ban on Chinese immigration from 1924 to 1947. The situation in New Zealand was little better:

Chinese men came to New Zealand as itinerant workers following the discovery of gold in the 1870s. They constituted a bachelor society.... While the number of migrants arriving was small (between 1870 and 1881, 6,000

people arrived while 3,100 left), a series of highly discriminatory policies and legislation ensued. ... Twenty-one bills were introduced into Parliament from 1879 to 1920 to limit or exclude the number of 'Asians' coming to New Zealand. (Pearson [1990] cited in Larner & Spoonley 1995, p.44)

Canada and New Zealand still suffer from 'an Asian threat' mentality as can be readily observed in both government policy and the media. Racism in all forms is alive and well in each country. It would be difficult to say which country is more anti-Asian. Pearson (1990) suggests that 'The New Zealand Chinese appear to have experienced less hostility than similar communities in, for example, Canada or Australia' (p.83), however, it is difficult to find evidence to support the view that New Zealand society was more tolerant and open to Asian migration than its sister colonies, Australia and Canada. New Zealand's lack of diversity, considering its close proximity to Pacific nations and Asia would suggest the opposite.

Both countries moved from scarcely populated colonial outposts to centres of British settlement as a result of British government policy. Both countries received land-hungry migrants initially, and then both countries suffered labour shortages due to growing agricultural and industrial needs. An important difference in immigration policy between the two countries is that policy regarding Asian and other non-white migrants seemed to have opened up sooner and faster in Canada. This has allowed a greater proportion of non-British migrants early entrance to Canada than were admitted to New Zealand. Another difference is the presence of Pacific islanders as a unique cultural presence in New Zealand, of which there is no equivalent in the Canadian context.

Another difference can be identified regarding labour. Canada had a greater and earlier demand for labour than did New Zealand. This resulted from the push to

populate arable land in the Canadian Prairie provinces. The emphasis in New Zealand was, and still is, on pastoral use of land, which is less labour-intensive.

Another main difference that stands out is the role and position of the indigenous peoples, and the ethnic make-up of the 'founding peoples' in each country. Canada has a wide variety of ethnic groups that stake a claim in the founding of the nation for various regions- the French (in Québec), the British, Métis (in Manitoba), Indians (West Coast), Ukrainians (Prairies) - some whose rights are enshrined in the constitution, others whose rights are not. In contrast, New Zealand has two clear 'partners' - the Crown (i.e. British) and Maori. Other groups do not have a formalised place in the negotiations and the continuing dialogue on nationhood. In that sense Canada can be said to be a more multicultural nation than New Zealand.

It could also be asserted that the indigenous people in New Zealand have had a stronger role to play in the founding of the country, and continue to have a stronger and more sustainable place in New Zealand society than do the indigenous people in Canada.

4.4 Government Organisation and Legislation

The previous sections on 'Colonial Economy' and 'Immigration & Population' overviewed economic and migration developments in each country that have contributed to modern-day notions of ethnicity. The last section of the chapter seeks to focus on the development of government-based statistical collections, focusing further on the advent of the census in each country.

In particular, this section looks at two aspects of governmental influence on statistical collections. Firstly, how the governments developed in each country. This includes the gradual transfer of power from the Colonial Office in London to each

colony, as well as the process of becoming a self-governing Dominion, and the transfer of responsibility for statistical collections from colonial administrators to departments within the each country's own governments. Secondly, the legislation and events that facilitated these changes are noted and compared, and further themes identified and explored for each country.

Firstly, the main periods are outlined, and then a detailed table describes changes in government for both countries. These periods will be called 'statistical periods' because they are demarcated by events that changed the way statistics were collected at the time.

4.4.1 Canada

The period from 1608 to 1760 was the time of French rule in Canada. During this period, the missionaries and the governor reported trade and population figures back to France. There was little permanent settlement during this period and the fur trade largely dominated relations. Jean Talon, the first Governor of New France, left a statistical legacy, as he enumerated the European Population in 1666. This was the first North American census.

The next statistical period dates from 1760 to 1867. This period includes the start of English rule (the time immediately after the defeat of the French in 1760), and the division of the Canadas (Upper and Lower Canada) in 1791, and then confederation (union of the Canadas) in 1867. The period was a time of casual statistics gathering, characterized by brief reports to the Colonial Office in London by the Colonial governor, until the first English-administered full census in 1851. This 1851 Census was for Upper and Lower Canada only.

The period after confederation, between 1867 and 1912, saw a push for centralized statistical collections by the local administrators and elites. This was due to the emergence of federalism, within which statistics were and still remain an important part of resource allocation. The censuses were linked with the Ministries of Agriculture and Immigration. The desire to populate the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta drove the need for population statistics. Other programs, such as much-needed economic and production statistics, were ignored.

After 1912 emerged the modern statistical era – which saw an increased need for statistics, the expansion of government, and an accompanying need for administrative statistics. The findings of a then-new committee, the Departmental Commission on Official Statistics of Canada, appointed in May 1912, included the following recommendations for the program of a centralised federal statistical office:

The Commission recommended that a central statistical office should organize ... [the] taking of a quinquennial census of population and property, establishing an annual census of production, coordinating the statistical branches of the Department of Customs and the Department of Trade and Commerce, re-organising canal statistics, creating wages and consumption statistics, improving insurance statistics, developing price statistics, and enlarging the scope of the Canada Year Book.

(Statistics Canada 1993, p.13-14)

The ‘modern era’ of statistics, while widening the scope of official statistics, also had the benefit that after 1926 most collections are comparable in time series format.

4.4.2 New Zealand

In New Zealand there were similar statistical periods to those of Canada. The period from 1769 (Cook's 'discovery') to 1830 was a time where trade and settlement were beginning, but New Zealand was not yet established as a Crown Colony, and thus statistics were patchy or non-existent. From 1830 to 1850 the Colonial Office sent brief reports to London - in the form of the "Blue books"³³. These form the basis of the first New Zealand statistics. The period from 1850 to 1910 saw increased self-government, and thus local responsibility for statistics, but London was still looked to for direction in statistical collections. The first census in New Zealand was held in 1851, but the collection was limited to Europeans³⁴.

The elevation of New Zealand to the status of Dominion in 1910 saw a national approach to statistics, and the beginning of the modern statistical era.³⁵ But it was not until 1936 that an independent statistical office was established, thus taking the form of the department as it is today.

From Table 4.8, the following conclusion can be drawn. For Canada and New Zealand a similar series of events in government organisation transpired, but the timelines differed. New Zealand was slightly 'behind' similar developments in Canadian government organization; the Canadians established an independent statistical office first. But the 'early start' that the Canadians had has not resulted in

³³ The Blue books contained the required statistics, but were not intended for publication. Three copies were to be prepared: one for the Colonial Secretary's Office, one for the New Zealand desk in the Colonial Office, and the other for the House of Commons Library. (Statistics New Zealand 1997, p.13) The 'Blue books' were so named for the colour of their covers.

³⁴ The first attempt at collecting data on the Maori population occurred in the Census of 1858. Separate enumeration of Maori continued until 1926, and a special Maori questionnaire was used until 1951. (Statistics New Zealand 1997, p.15)

³⁵ For detailed accounts of the development of official statistics in New Zealand see H.S. Roberts (1999) *A History of Statistics in New Zealand*, New Zealand Statistical Association, Wellington. For historical social statistics, including ethnicity, see D. Thorns & C. Sedgwick. (1997) *Understanding Aotearoa/New Zealand: Historical Statistics*. Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.

the New Zealand office being significantly behind today. In fact, in terms of technology and breadth and quality of data, New Zealand exceeds Canada in some areas.

TABLE 4.8: A COMPARISON OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN AND NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT ORGANISATION GOVERNING STATISTICAL COLLECTIONS.

Government Organisation: Statistics		
Year	New Zealand	Canada
1665		Jean Talon conducted first North American Census in New France on behalf of King Louis XIV
1760		British won imperialist war with New France. End of French regime and general statistics-taking, beginning of British rule, with ad hoc statistics taking.
1769	New Zealand 'claimed' by Cook for British government	
1791		Division of Upper and Lower Canada
1830	New Zealand becomes a Crown Colony	
1840	Treaty of Waitangi	
	British Crown Colony status. Start of Blue Books (Colonial Office)	
1841		Union of the Canadas
1847		Legislated statistics-taking by Act creating Board of Registration and Statistics
1851	First New Zealand Census (excluding Maori) by Census Ordinance.	First British North America census administered to Lower and Upper Canada
1853	Self-government	
1857		Minister of Agriculture responsible for Census
1858	First Maori Census	
1867		Confederation -Dominion Status
1867		Minister of Agriculture became responsible for immigration - responsible for census. First Canada Yearbook published.
1892	First New Zealand Yearbook published.	
1905		First permanent Statistical Office created, i.e. not attached to another department.
1910	Dominion Status	
1912		Census and Statistics Office transferred from the Dept. of Agriculture to the Dept. of Trade and Commerce.
1912		Bureau de la statistique du Québec ³⁶

³⁶ Established illegally, out of fears of Federal control of Quebec immigration.

Government Organisation: Statistics		
Year	New Zealand	Canada
1915	Census and Statistics Office created - branch of Internal Affairs	
1918		Dominion Bureau of Statistics established by Statistics Act 1918
1931	Census and Statistics Office transferred to the Department of Industries and Commerce	
1936	Creation of independent Census and Statistics Department	
1956	Dept renamed to Department of Statistics	
1960		Bureau becomes a Department.
1971		Renamed Statistics Canada
1993	Renamed Statistics New Zealand	

A main difference is that Canadian Confederation in 1867 established a federal system that increased the demand for statistics and necessitated increased centralization. However, the gradual process of confederation - with the last addition to the Dominion being Newfoundland in 1947 - saw federalism implemented in stages. In contrast, by 1850, New Zealand was administered as a whole.

Some key similarities include the fact that the dates of the first British-administered national censuses were close, and both countries published their first yearbooks within 20 years of each other. Both countries struggled to create independent statistical offices, though Canada succeeded in 1918 while New Zealand had to wait until 1936.

4.5 Conclusion

The main findings of this chapter are that the initial colonisation of both Canada and New Zealand had similar stages, but the economic drives were slightly different. Canada's main attraction for the French and British was to capture the fur trade and exploit other resources, whereas New Zealand was an economic and geo-

political extension of the larger Australian and South Pacific economy. The key difference between the colonial histories of each country seems to be the character, status and position of the indigenous people, and the number and intentions of colonising forces, and the relationship between them. As discussed in Chapter 2, this is reflected in the multicultural nature of Canada enshrined in legislation, compared to the bi-culturalism of New Zealand, taken up in recent times by reference to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Immigration in both countries favoured British migrants, but both countries were forced to open up to non-British Europeans, and eventually non-white sources of migration. The scale of immigration to New Zealand was less grand, but both followed similar policies, especially anti-Chinese policy and sentiment.

Finally, the development of government-collected statistics in both countries followed a similar path. Although New Zealand lagged behind Canada initially, it has 'caught-up' in recent times with an official statistical system today that is comparable to any in the world.

The next chapter looks in detail at how each statistical office has chosen to measure ethnicity by analysing the questions and classifications used in the Population Censuses of Canada and New Zealand.

Chapter 5

5. Detailed Analysis

Mucking In: Pavlovas and Pea Soup:

- 5.1 Introduction
 - 5.2 Overview of Ethnic Statistics
 - 5.2.1 Ethnic Statistics in Canada
 - 5.2.2 Ethnic Statistics in New Zealand
 - 5.2.3 Ethnic Statistics in Australia
 - 5.2.4 Ethnic Statistics in the United States of America
 - 5.2.5 Ethnic Statistics in the United Kingdom
 - 5.3 Comparison of Recent New Zealand and Canadian Censuses, 1996 and 1991
 - 5.3.1 Introduction
 - 5.3.2 Question Wording
 - 5.3.3 Question Helpnotes; Availability and Content
 - 5.3.4 Question Placement
 - 5.3.5 Scope of the Population, Undercount, Imputation
 - 5.3.6 Multiple Response
 - 5.4 Comparison of the 1986 and 1981 Censuses
 - 5.4.1 Introduction
 - 5.4.2 Question Wording
 - 5.4.3 Question Helpnotes; Availability and Content
 - 5.4.4 Question Placement
 - 5.4.5 Scope of the Population, Undercount, Imputation
 - 5.4.6 Multiple Response
 - 5.5 Comparison of the 1971 and 1951 Censuses
 - 5.5.1 Introduction
 - 5.5.2 Question Wording
 - 5.5.3 Question Helpnotes; Availability and Content
 - 5.5.4 Question Placement
 - 5.5.5 Multiple Response
 - 5.6 Summary
 - 5.6.1 Introduction
 - 5.6.2 Summary Tables
-

5.1 Introduction

While Chapters 2 and 4 explored aspects of the Canadian and New Zealand experiences vis-à-vis ethnic statistics (a review of the literature and an overview of historical events respectively), this chapter undertakes to systematically compare the

censuses for selected years, by looking at the questionnaire modules for each. Before the detailed analysis, however, a few generalized comments would seem to be in order on the Canadian and New Zealand experience. In addition, it was felt that a brief overview of the practice in Australia, the United States, and the UK would provide some valuable context for the New Zealand and Canadian approaches.

5.2 Overview of Ethnic Statistics

5.2.1 Ethnic Statistics in Canada

The British North American colonies of Nova Scotia and St. John Island (now Prince Edward Island) conducted the first censuses, which identified the ethnic and racial origins of the populations, in 1767. Since then, every Canadian census has collected race or ethnic origin except in 1891 when a question on French Canadians replaced the one on origins.

It has been noted that few instructions on coding ethnicity were given to enumerators in these early censuses, although examples were provided in material supplementing the census forms (White et al 1994, p.227). Traditionally, ethnic origin was identified through the paternal ancestors. The period from 1901 to 1941 saw the 'racial' origins of the population measured in this manner, with instructions regarding aboriginal ancestry varying greatly in this period.³⁷

It was not until after W.W.II that racial origin was dropped from the Canadian census:

After the Second World War, the notion of racial origin was abandoned as a census classification principle. In the 1946 Censuses of Manitoba,

³⁷ According to White et al (1994): 'In 1901, respondents with both aboriginal and European origins were to report "half-breed." This rule was changed for the 1911 to 1931 Censuses when respondents of mixed aboriginal/European background were instructed to report the mother's aboriginal origin and tribe. But again in 1941, persons of mixed aboriginal/European origins were to report "half-breed"'(p.227).

Saskatchewan and Alberta, the term 'race' was replaced by 'ethnic' and since 1951, the terms 'ethnic groups' and 'ethnic and cultural origin' have been used in National censuses. (White et al 1994, p.227)

In its place came a measure of ethnicity heavily reliant on language. This 'ethno-linguistic' definition was used in the 1951, 1961 and 1971 censuses. The 1971 version was the first self-enumerated census.

The 1981 Canadian census included two major innovations: the elimination of the 'paternal ethnic inheritance' requirement of ethnicity (measuring descent through the male line), and the acceptance of multiple responses. Also, the connection between language and ethnic origin was lessened in the 1981 census, with the census guide cautioning respondents not to confuse language with ethnic or cultural roots. Respondents were asked to report specific national rather than linguistic groups, e.g. Austrian not German (White et al 1994, p.230). Only one in five households received the sample questionnaire in 1981, which contained the ethnic origin question.

In the 1986 Canadian census, the 'temporal reference point' was dropped in the ethnicity question. This was the part of the question that directed people to report their ancestors' ethnic origin *upon coming to the continent*. It was thought that this change may have led some respondents to report their ethnic identity rather than their ethnic origin. Also in the 1986 census a mark-in entry of 'Black' was included for the first time. Since the helpnotes failed to inform respondents that they could also write in other African ethnic origins, the black community interpreted this as creating a false 'ethnic' group, 'Black'. They felt this was really a race category, and denied the ethnic diversity within the black community in Canada (White et al 1994, p.230).

The 1991 Canadian Census again emphasised the ancestral origins component of ethnicity. This was achieved with yet again a change to the question, emphasizing ancestors.

The most recent census, the 1996 census, saw three main changes. Firstly, a new 'socio-cultural' section of the census form was introduced. This suite of questions included those on place of birth (Q13), citizenship status (Q14), immigration status (Q15, Q16), and then ethnic origin (Q17), aboriginal population (Q18, Q20, Q21) and 'Population Group' aka race (Q19) under one heading called 'Socio-cultural Information'. The population group question (Q19) was essentially a race question. The new question contained mark-in categories for: White; Chinese, South Asian; Black; Arab/West Asian; Filipino; South East Asian; Latin American; Japanese and Korean. This 'colour' approach was new to the Canadian census. The change in the ethnic question and the legislative reasons for collected and deriving this information is explained below:

Members of Visible Minorities

Legislative Definition

In the 1995 Employment Equity Act, "members of visible minorities" means persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour'.

Operational Definition

Information on the visible minority population in 1981, 1986 and 1991 was derived primarily from responses to the ethnic origin question, in combination with responses to the place of birth and mother tongue questions. In each of these censuses, the ethnic origin question asked for information on one's cultural/ethnic origin and included one or more visible minority groups as a pre-coded response or as an example. The visible minority population has conventionally included the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Arab and West Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Latin American, Japanese and Korean. In addition to these specified sub-groups, there are two residual groupings in the 1996 Census (visible minority n.i.e. and multiple visible minority). The former includes responses that could not be classified into one of the specific sub-groups; the latter includes multiple responses such as the combination of Chinese and South Asian, or Black and Japanese.

In the 1996 Census, Question 19 was used instead of the ethnic origin question to provide data on members of visible minorities for employment equity purposes. The operational definition of the visible minority population was developed by Inter-departmental Committees on Employment Equity Data comprising representatives from Human Resources Development Canada, Treasury Board Secretariat, Statistics Canada, the Canadian Human Rights Commission and the Public Service Commission. This definition was based on information from Question 19....

The majority of the visible minority population was identified using mark-in responses to Question 19 while a small proportion was identified by either a single write-in response (see box 15 Other -Specify) or by multiple responses. Multiple responses were comprised of either (i) two or more mark-ins or (ii) a write-in and one or more mark-ins. The following summarizes how the visible minority population was identified.

Persons who reported a single mark-in response of Black, Chinese, South Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Japanese, Korean, Latin American and Arab/West Asian were considered to be an accurate reflection of the visible minority population. This process

identified 89.9% of the visible minority population.

Persons who reported a single write-in response which indicates that the respondent is likely to be a visible minority, but for which a specific visible minority group could not be identified, were assigned to the visible minority group (e.g., Pacific Islander, Guyanese, Mauritian, South American, West Indian, etc.). This process identified 2.2% of the visible minority population.

Persons who reported a multiple mark-in response to any of the following listed groups: Black, Chinese, South Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Japanese, Korean, Arab/West Asian and Latin American. This approach identified 1.9% of the visible minority population.

Persons who reported a multiple response of White in combination with the following groups: Black, Chinese, South Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Japanese or Korean. This represented 4.1% of the visible minority population.

Finally, persons who reported a multiple response of a selected write-in response (e.g., East Indian, Vietnamese, West Indian, etc.) and any of the following groups: Black, Chinese, South Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Japanese, Korean, Arab/West Asian or Latin American. This represented 1.9% of the visible minority population.

In addition, while all persons who reported Black, Chinese, South Asian, Filipino, Japanese, Korean were included in the visible minority population regardless of their other responses to Question 19, the same procedure was not followed for persons who reported Latin American or Arab/West Asian.

Persons who reported Latin American and White or Arab/West Asian and White were excluded from the visible minority population, as were those who checked Latin American or Arab/West Asian and wrote-in a European response. This was done primarily because of the heterogeneous nature of these two groups. Similarly, a Latin American mark-in or an Arab/West Asian mark-in, in combination with a White mark-in, could not be taken as a definite indicator of belonging to the visible minority group.

Persons who reported Latin American or Arab/West Asian and a non-European write-in response are included in the visible minority population. For example, respondents who marked-in Latin American and wrote-in Peruvian are included in the Latin American count or respondents who marked-in Arab/West Asian and wrote-in Lebanese are included in the Arab/West Asian count. However, persons who reported Latin American or Arab/West Asian and who provided a European write-in such as Spanish or French have been excluded from the visible minority population because these multiple responses could not be considered as a definite indicator of belonging to the visible minority group.

Source: *1996 Employment Equity Data Report, Release No. 2* (Human Resources Development Canada, 1999)

The second change to the Canadian ethnic question in 1996 was that the ethnic origin question no longer contained any mark-in categories. Rather, respondents were instructed to 'Specify as many groups as applicable' and were provided with four write-in lines. Although example groups were provided, comparability with 1991 data was compromised.

The final change for 1996 was the use of 'Canadian' for the first time as an example in the list of ethnic origins. Presumably because of this, 30.9 percent of

respondents reported their ethnicity as 'Canadian'. This was a large increase from the 3.8 percent of 1991, and had major repercussions for data comparability.

5.2.2 Ethnic Statistics in New Zealand

Throughout the history of official statistics in New Zealand, biological criteria have been used to classify the Maori population. For the purposes of the census and other official purposes, 'Maori' were considered to be people who could claim 50 percent or more Maori 'blood'. In 1974, a legislative change was made to the definition.

According to the Maori Affairs Amendment Act, a Maori was a person with Maori ancestry, no matter how far removed. The 1976 census reflected this change by asking a degree-of-race question, plus an additional question regarding being descended from a New Zealand Maori. This additional question on descent was not repeated in 1981 because the quality of the resulting data for 1976 was considered to be poor.

Thus, up until the 1986 census, all New Zealand respondents were asked to state their degree of blood for one or more groups. During the planning for the 1986 census, public submissions objected to the requirement to state 'fractions' of racial origin. As a result, an 'ethnic origin' question was asked for the first time in 1986, without a degree/fractions element.

An interdepartmental review committee was initiated in 1981 to review ethnic statistics, as part of the requirements to review the collection of official statistics under the Statistics Act 1975.

Concern about official ethnic statistics extended beyond the Population Census to other areas such as health, migration and justice statistics, and related not only to issues of relevance and reliability but also to the very justification for producing these statistics. (Statistics New Zealand 1999, p.11)

The committee decided that self-identification would be the most appropriate way to operationalise the concept of ethnicity in data collection. The use of the 'European' category in the classification was also discussed. The Report of the Committee was not published until 1988.

The 1991 ethnicity question dropped the 'origin' element of ethnicity and favoured a question asking about belong to an ethnic group, i.e. 'which ethnic group do you belong to?' The 1991 New Zealand Census also contained a Maori Ancestry question. There were now three ways of defining and identifying the Maori population:

1. Maori ethnic group (any person ticking 'New Zealand Maori' in the ethnicity question)
2. Sole Maori (people who only ticked 'New Zealand Maori' on the ethnicity question)
3. Maori Ancestry/Descent (people who answered 'yes' to the Maori ancestry question).

In 1996, these questions were repeated and the same dilemma occurred. The 1996 New Zealand ethnicity question was more explicit in asking for multiple groups and it included for the first time other European categories of Irish, Scottish, etc. It has been contemplated that the increased number of European choices changed the question to an ancestry-based variable. This may have inadvertently effected the 'Sole Maori' group.

The 2001 ethnic question signals a return to the 1991 question, with a few minor changes³⁸. When the data are produced in late 2001, there is bound to be debate on the impact of this change to the data.

³⁸ The 'NZ' of "NZ Maori" has been dropped, as has the word 'Pakeha' from the 'NZ European' descriptor.

As with the Canadian experience, in recent times no two ethnicity questions in New Zealand have been alike. This presents challenges to the users and producers of ethnic statistics in both countries.

The next section will show that controversy over ethnic data is not confined to the Canadian and New Zealand censuses.

5.2.3 Ethnic Statistics in Australia

During the operation of the 'White Australia Policy' between 1901 and 1966, the Australian census recorded the race of non-Europeans in great detail. Since then, a direct question on race or ethnicity has not been part of the Australian census. Rather, variables such as language, country of birth and religion were used to derive ethnic data. The treatment of aboriginal peoples also differs in Australia; data on 'full-blood' aboriginal people was not collected until after 1967, and data on part-aboriginal people had been collected in earlier censuses. Also, Australian censuses have always collected detailed information on religion.

In 1986, a question on ethnic 'ancestry' was developed for the first time. Since the Australian census is administered via a household form, it is likely that in most cases one person completes the questions for everyone else in the household; thus the data are provided by proxy. The ancestry question was not repeated in 1991 or 1996. In commenting on the usefulness of such a question, Jupp says:

It was useful for locating ethnic groups that are not tied to a single birthplace, such as Chinese, or those forming a minority within a particular birthplace, such as Maoris. It was less useful in locating those of Celtic origin, such as Scots and Irish, many of whom preferred to call themselves 'Australian'. (Jupp 1995).

For the years 1991 and 1996, Australia once again derived 'ethnicity' from the census form questions on country of birth, language, religion, year of arrival, and indigenous status.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) has recently published a new classification for use in the 2001 census: the Australian Standard Classification of Ethnic and Cultural Groups (ASCECG). In it, they provide the following tentative definition of ethnicity.

ASCCEG is designed to be used for the classification of information relating to a number of topics such as ancestry, ethnic identity, and cultural diversity. Although these topics have elements of difference, it is considered that the fundamental concept common to them all, and thus underpinning the classification, is *ethnicity*.

It is difficult to define ethnicity in a way that is both useful and generally acceptable and it is not the function of this document to attempt an extensive definition of the concept. However, because the words 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic' are associated with many different meanings it is useful to provide some definitional material. *The Macquarie Dictionary* (Third Edition, 1997) provides the following meanings:

1. Relating to or peculiar to a population, especially to a speech group, loosely also to a race.
2. Relating to the origin, classification, characteristics, etc., of such groups.
3. Of or relating to members of the community who are migrants or descendants of migrants and whose native language is not English.
4. Recognizable as coming from an identifiable culture.

For the purposes of the ASCCEG it is sufficient, and not controversial, to say that the term 'ethnicity' refers to the shared identity or similarity of a group of people on the basis of one or more factors, including the following which were enunciated in a report entitled *the Measurement of Ethnicity in the Australian Census of Population and Housing*, Report to the Australian Statistician by the 1986 Population Census Ethnicity Committee (ABS Cat. No 2172.0). This report was prepared under the Chairmanship of the late Professor W.D. Borrie, CBE, and is referred to henceforth as the Borrie Report.

The Ethnicity Committee considered that the most enlightening attempt to define an ethnic group is that contained in a United Kingdom Law Lords statement reported in *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1983. The Law Lords noted that the key factor is that the group regards itself, and is regarded by others, as a distinct community by virtue of certain characteristics, not all of which have to be present in the case of each ethnic group. The distinguishing characteristics, which may be involved, include:

1. A long shared history, the memory of which is kept alive;
2. A cultural tradition, including family and social customs, sometimes religiously based;
3. A common geographic origin;
4. A common language (but no necessarily limited to that group);
5. A common literature (written or oral);
6. A common religion;
7. Being a minority (often with a sense of being oppressed); and
8. Being racially conspicuous (ASCCEG, pp.2-3)

The ASCCEG subsequently discusses the relative merits of the ‘self-perception’ approach to ethnicity, which is the stance recommended in the Borrie Report. In particular it asserts that a self-perception approach to ethnicity allows for an ‘Australian’ category to be added to the classification (p.4). But there are drawbacks to the ASCCEG; the difficulties of a geographically based classification and the lack of mutual exclusivity of categories such as ‘Australian’ are noted.

The 2001 Australian census includes an ancestry question. It is closely followed by religion question that contains categories relevant to ethnicity in Australia (e.g. Greek Orthodox). They are reproduced below:

<p>18 What is the person's ancestry?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For example: Vietnamese, Hmong, Dutch, Kurdish, Australian South Sea Islander, Maori, Lebanese. • Provide more than one ancestry if necessary. • See page 7 of the Census Guide for more information. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English • Irish • Italian • German • Greek • Chinese • Australian • Other – please specify <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>
---	---

<p>19 What is the person's religion?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Answering this question is OPTIONAL. • For example, Salvation Army, Hinduism, Judaism or Humanism. • If no religion, mark last box. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Catholic • Anglican (Church of England) • Uniting Church • Presbyterian • Greek Orthodox • Baptist • Lutheran • Islam • Buddhism • Other - please specify <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No religion
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5.2.4 Ethnic Statistics in the United States of America

A race question has been asked in every United States census since 1790. Before the American Civil War (pre-1870), ‘Free Inhabitants’ and ‘Slave Inhabitants’ were

enumerated separately. Indian reservations were also enumerated separately. In 1970, a question on Spanish origin was asked for the first time. And in 1980, race was asked on a self-identification basis for the first time, along with a question on ancestry (on a sample basis).

More recently, the 1990 United States census included three questions pertaining to ethnicity: race, Spanish origin, and ancestry (this question was included in the 'short' or sample form only, consequently only a small proportion of the population received it. For the first time, up to three races were coded in the American census. Much has been of this new dimension of the data by American statisticians and media alike (Wallman 1998, O'Hare 1998). An ancestry question is included in the sample questionnaire. The relevant 2000 US Census questions are reproduced below.

→ NOTE: Please answer BOTH Questions 7 and 8.

7. Is Person 1 Spanish/Hispanic/Latino? Mark the "No" box if *not* Spanish/Hispanic/Latino.

<input type="checkbox"/> No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, Puerto Rican
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, Cuban
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino — Print group. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

.....

8. What is Person 1's race? Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be.

<input type="checkbox"/> White	
<input type="checkbox"/> Black, African Am., or Negro	
<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of group or principal tribe. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

.....

<input type="checkbox"/> Asian Indian	<input type="checkbox"/> Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian
<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/> Korean	<input type="checkbox"/> Guamanian or Chamorro
<input type="checkbox"/> Filipino	<input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese	<input type="checkbox"/> Samoan
<input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian — Print race. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Pacific Islander — Print race. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

.....

Some other race — Print race.

.....

The 2000 US Census Long Form, in addition to the Hispanic and race questions, contains an additional question on ancestry:

10 What is this person's ancestry or ethnic origin?

(For example: Italian, Jamaican, African Am., Cambodian, Cape Verdean, Norwegian, Dominican, French Canadian, Haitian, Korean, Lebanese, Polish, Nigerian, Mexican, Taiwanese, Ukrainian, and so on.)

There are also questions on citizenship and language, but no question on religion.

5.2.5 Ethnic Statistics in the United Kingdom

Traditionally, an ethnicity or race question has not been asked in the British census. However, as Heather Booth notes, 'Questions identifying foreigners have been included in official statistics [in the UK] since the census of 1841 when place of birth was asked' (1985, p 254). Neither the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, nor the General Register Office (responsible for the British Census of Population) considered including a question on ethnic group until 1981.

However, an ethnicity question was not added to the 1981 census after tests showed a great deal of resistance from the public, and objections from academics and others. By 1991, however, the social climate in Britain allowed the Office of National Statistics to ask an ethnic group question. The 2001 U.K. Census contains an ethnic question that distinguishes the Irish from the rest of the white population, and there are categories for people of 'mixed' background. Of note is that in the U.K., the word 'Asian' refers to people of South Asian or Indian background, and excludes the group Chinese, whereas in New Zealand, Asian would include Chinese. Also in the 2001 U.K. census is a religion question which immediately follows the ethnic group question, and contains categories for Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh, to further distinguish the 'Asian' population. The wording of the 2001 UK Census ethnic question is reproduced below:

8 What is your ethnic Group?
 Choose ONE section from A to E, then the appropriate ✓ the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background

A White
 British Irish
 Any other White background
please write in
 []

B Mixed
 White and Black Caribbean
 White and Black African
 White and Asian
 Any other Mixed background,
please write in
 []

C Asian or Asian British
 Indian Pakistani
 Bangladeshi
 Any other Asian background
please write in
 []

D Black or Black British
 Caribbean African
 Any other Black background
please write in
 []

E Chinese or other ethnic group
 Chinese
 Any other, *please write in*
please write in
 []

5.3 Comparison of Recent New Zealand and Canadian Censuses, 1996 and 1991

5.3.1 Introduction

This section will examine four ethnic questions; the New Zealand questions from 1996 and 1991, and the Canadian questions from those years. Question wording is compared, then the helpnotes that accompanied the census forms, and then question placement, population scope, some technical issues and multiple responses are investigated.

Before conducted the detailed analysis, it may be useful to give some background to the most recent censuses in Canada and New Zealand. The New

Zealand census form has always been administered to 100 percent of the population. Thus, everyone is asked to provide information regarding their ethnicity on census night. This is because the Statistics Act of 1974 requires the ethnic origin of everyone to be collected in the census.

The Canadian census form, including the ethnic origin question, was administered to 100 percent of the Canadian population until 1971. In that year, the Canadian census was administered using two forms: the 'short form', containing basic questions and the 'long form' containing more detailed questions. In 1971, two thirds of the population received the short form, and the remaining one-third received the long form. After 1971 the proportion of the population that received the long form fell to 20 percent. This was mainly done to reduce costs and respondent burden but also to retain quality and accuracy

The 1996 and 1991 censuses of populations for both New Zealand and Canada were 'self-completed'. This means that the census forms were generally delivered to households by enumerators and completed by respondents themselves; then, either posted back or collected by the enumerators. The wording of the census questions and the availability of helpnotes are particularly important for self-administered scenarios.³⁹

The New Zealand censuses forms for the years 1996 and 1991 consisted of a household form (called a Dwelling Form or 'DF') and individual forms for each person in the household (Individual Form or 'IF'). The DF contains questions on the dwelling and on the relationships of the people in the dwelling and is filled out by one person; the IF asks about personal information and is filled out by each individual in

the dwelling. Everyone in New Zealand, including overseas visitors, answers questions on ethnicity in the IF on census night.

The Canadian censuses for 1996 and 1991 consisted of a short form and a long form. The short form contains basic questions on the dwelling and the people in the dwelling, and is administered to 100 percent of the population. The long form, which contained the questions on ethnicity, was sent to 20 percent of Canadian households. The 'householder', or a responsible person in the household, was charged with completing the ethnic information for all the people in the household.

5.3.2 Question Wording

There are normally three parts to a question 'module'. There is the actual question ('Which ethnic group do you feel you belong to? etc.) sometimes referred to as the 'stem' of the question, there are any instructions to the respondent (e.g. 'Tick as many as apply') and there are the 'response categories' (also known as 'tick boxes', 'mark-in entries' or 'pre-coded' responses). In some cases, there are no response categories but rather an open-ended question with space for write-in answers. The ethnic questions in the New Zealand censuses have used response categories since 1986. The Canadian censuses have used both, sometimes providing response categories and sometimes instructing respondents to write in responses.

The wording of the ethnicity questions in both countries has not remained the same through time. Changes in the wording of the question can, and have, affected how respondents react to the question and how they answer the question. However, it is very difficult to measure these differences (Statistics New Zealand 1999).

³⁹By 'helpnotes' is meant any instructions to the respondent attached to the form designed to help the respondent answer the ethnic question(s) correctly. Instructions that appear on the question itself are considered part of the 'questionnaire module'.

In 1996, the wording of the New Zealand question on ethnicity was “Tick as many circles as you need to show which ethnic group(s) you belong to:” followed by a list of tick boxes. The 1996 New Zealand ethnicity question is reproduced below:

10 Tick as many circles as you need to show which ethnic group(s) you belong to.

NZ Maori
 NZ European or Pakeha
 other European → Which of these groups?
 Samoan English
 Cook Island Maori Dutch
 Tongan Australian
 Māori Scottish
 Chinese Irish
 Indian other
 other (such as FILIPINO, KOREAN) → Print your ethnic group(s)

In 1996, the Statistics Canada question on ancestry was “To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person’s **ancestors** belong?” This was followed by a list of 24 examples. Four write-in boxes appear in each column (one per person) next to the question, above which appears the request to “Specify as many groups as applicable”. The question module is below:

<p>17. To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person’s ancestors belong?</p> <p><i>For example, French, English, German, Scottish, Canadian, Italian, Irish, Chinese, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit (Eskimo), Ukrainian, Dutch, East Indian, Polish, Portuguese, Jewish, Haitian, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali, etc.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Specify as many groups as applicable</p> <p>21 <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/></p> <p>22 <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/></p> <p>23 <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/></p> <p>24 <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/></p>
---	---

The 1996 questions are similar in that they both allow more than one response, but perhaps the New Zealand question is more explicit with “Tick as many” Also, the New Zealand question is more action-oriented, beginning with a verb “Tick”,

whereas the Canadian question seems more academic, starting with ‘To which’.

Another obvious difference is that, because each New Zealand individual fills out a form, the New Zealand question is more direct, asking the respondent his or her own ethnicity. In contrast, the Canadian question asks for proxy data (‘this person...’) making it more remote. Finally, the New Zealand question is asking for something other than ancestry - it is asking for identity or cultural affiliation with the words ‘belong to’. The Canadian question is explicitly asking about ancestors, and the bolded text is quite significant. The fact that the example list includes ‘Canadian’ could confuse respondents since no one actually has ‘Canadian’ ancestors except Aboriginal people.

The wording of the 1991 New Zealand ethnicity question was significantly different from that of the 1996 question. The 1991 question read:

<p>What ethnic group do you belong to? <i>Tick the box or boxes which apply to you.</i></p> <p>New Zealand European</p> <p>New Zealand Maori</p> <p>Samoa</p> <p>Cook Island Maori</p> <p>Tongan</p> <p>Niuean</p> <p>Chinese</p> <p>Indian</p> <p>Other (such as Fijian, Tokelaun)</p> <p>Please State -----</p>
--

The wording of this question encouraged a single response in two ways. Firstly, in the stem of the question it states ‘ethnic group’ in the singular, thus implying the

respondent would have only one ethnic group. Secondly, it initially states ‘Tick the box’, encouraging the respondent in the first instance to select only one box (the plural, ‘boxes’, confusingly follows). This question not only emphasised a single response but also emphasised the ‘non-white’ ethnicities, and thus gave less encouragement to report the ‘Other European’ categories of English, Scottish, Irish, etc.

The 1991 Canadian ethnic origin question was most notably different from the 1996 question in that it contained a shaded box disclaimer about the question (see below):

ETHNIC ORIGIN
To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person’s ancestors belong?
Mark or specify as many as applicable.
Note:
While most people of Canada view themselves as Canadian, information about their ancestral origins has been collected since the 1901 Census to reflect the changing composition of the Canadian population and is needed to ensure that everyone, regardless of his/her ethnic or cultural background, has equal opportunity to share fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada. Therefore, this question refers to the origins of this person’s ancestors.

Below the question, with an arrow pointing toward the write-in spaces for the columns (Person 1, Person 2, etc,) are examples:

*Examples of other ethnic or cultural groups are:
Portuguese, Greek, Indian from India, Pakistani, Filipino, Vietnamese, Japanese, Lebanese, Haitian, etc.*

Notably missing from the list of examples is ‘Canadian’. There were 15 tick boxes and two write-in spaces.

5.3.3 Question Helpnotes: Availability and Content

The 1996 New Zealand Census was accompanied by a four-page helpnotes booklet (A3 folded in half). Regarding Question 10 (the ethnicity question), it states:

Q10
This question is about the ethnic group or groups (cultural groups) you belong to or identify with. It is not asking about nationality or citizenship.

Similarly, the 1996 Long Form for the Canadian Census came with a document titled *1996 Census Guide and reasons why the questions are asked*. It is 28 pages long, and is in booklet form (A5 size). In the guide, there are two areas in which ethnic origin is explained. The first gives the rationale behind the question, and the second provides instructions for respondents on how to correctly answer the question. In a shaded inset box, the “Socio-cultural Information” questions are summarised:

... Question 17 [ethnic origin] tells us about the ethnic and cultural diversity of Canada's population. This question provides information required under the *Multiculturalism Act* and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Information from this question, when combined with other census data, also tells us about the characteristics of the ethnic or cultural groups living in Canada. This information is used extensively by ethnic or cultural associations, government agencies and researchers for a wide range of activities such as health promotion, communications and marketing.

Question 18 [Aboriginal Status], 20 [Band Member Status], and 21 [Treaty Indian Status], provide information about Aboriginal or First Nation peoples, which is used to administer legislation and employment programs under the *Indian Act* of Canada and the *Employment Equity Act*.

Question 19 [Population Group/Race] tells us about the visible minority population in Canada. This information is required for programs under the *Employment Equity Act*, which promotes equal opportunity for everyone.

On the next page of instructions the questions are further explained (without the ‘Socio-cultural information’ sub-heading):

QUESTION 17 - Ethnic Origin
This question refers to the ethnic or cultural origins of a person's ancestors. An ancestor is someone from whom a person is descended and is usually more distant than a grandparent. Other than Aboriginal persons, most people can trace their origins to their ancestors who first came to this continent. Ancestry should not be confused with citizenship or nationality.

For all persons, report the specific ethnic or cultural group or groups to which their ancestors belonged, not the language they spoke. For example, report "Haitian" rather than "French", or "Austrian" rather than "German".

For persons of **East Indian** or **South Asian** origins, report a specific group, do not report **Indian**. For example, report "East Indian from India", "East Indian from Guyana", or indicate the specific group, such as "Punjabi" or "Tamil".

For persons with Aboriginal ancestors, report a specific group. For example, report "Cree", "Mimac", "Ojibwa", "North American Indian", and "Metis". Do not report **Indian**.

QUESTION 19 - Population Group

This question tells us about the groups that make up the visible minority population (Chinese, South Asian, Black, Arab/West Asian, Filipino, South East Asian, Latin American, Japanese, and Korean). The *Employment Equity Regulations* that accompany the *Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are "*non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour*".

Population group should not be confused with citizenship or nationality.

For persons who belong to more than one group, mark the circles that apply. Do not print "bi-racial" or "mixed" in the box provided.

The guide for the Canadian census is much more extensive than that for the New Zealand census. However, we do not know how these guidelines and help notes actually affect the data, or if many respondents even refer to them.

In the 1991 New Zealand census, one notable difference from the 1996 form was that the helpnotes were integrated into the IF in 1991, whereas they were separate documents in 1996. The 1991 New Zealand helpnotes for ethnic group also contained the word 'Caucasian' which was omitted in the 1996 helpnotes (and is a questionable term). The helpnotes pertaining to the 1991 New Zealand census ethnic question are:

7 Which ethnic group do you belong to?

- If you belong to only one ethnic group, tick the box which applies to you. If you belong to more than one group, tick the boxes which describe the ethnic groups to which you belong.
- If you belong to any European or Caucasian ethnic group other than New Zealand European, for example English, Scottish, Dutch, American, Australian, tick box 23 and print the group in the space provided.
- If you belong to any other ethnic group not listed, such as Fijian, Japanese, Tokelauan, tick box 23 and print the group in the space provided.

The 1991 New Zealand helpnotes, similar to the 1996 New Zealand helpnotes, do not explain the use or reason for collecting the data. In addition, the 1991 notes fail to help clarify the information that is being collected by instructing people to NOT report their nationality or citizenship. The use of 'Caucasian' is unique to 1991.

The 1991 Canadian Census Guide had the following instructions:

This question provides information that can be used extensively by ethnic or cultural associations to study the size, location, characteristics and other aspects of their respective groups.

While most people of Canada view themselves as Canadian, information about their ancestral origins has been collected since the 1901 Census to reflect the changing composition of the Canadian population and is needed to ensure that everyone, regardless of his/her ethnic or cultural background, has **equal opportunity** to share fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada. Therefore, this question refers to the origins of this person's **ancestors**.

Ethnic or cultural origin refers to the ethnic "roots" or ancestral background of the population, and should not be confused with citizenship or nationality. Canadians have many ethnic or cultural origins – such as Inuit, North American Indian, Métis, Irish, Scottish, French, Ukrainian, Chinese, Japanese and East Indian (from India).

When determining cultural origin, report the specific ethnic group to which ancestors belonged rather than the language they spoke. For example, report Haitian rather than French, or Austrian rather than German.

For persons of South Asian origin, do not report Indian. Please specify Indian from India, Indian from Fiji, Indian from Guyana, etc., or indicate the group such as Punjabi, Tamil, or Pakistani.

These helpnotes combine the function of rationale and instructions to respondent, and illustrate some of the association of language with ethnicity in Canada (compared to the concept in New Zealand) and also some of the difficulties of classifying 'Indian' responses in Canada.

5.3.4 Question Placement

The order of questions on a form is important because it can sometimes impact on the normative processes that the respondent undergoes when answering questions (called

‘ordering effects’); some questions can influence the answers to other questions⁴⁰. It is sometimes thought that a citizenship question may discourage respondents in the New Zealand census from reporting citizenship in the ethnic question, but this has not been tested. As discussed earlier, the ethnicity question in the New Zealand census is found on the IF. This means that respondents are responsible for reporting their own ethnic group. The 1996 New Zealand ethnicity question appeared on the front page of a four-page form. It was the tenth question, preceded by Country of Birth (Q8), and Year of Arrival in New Zealand (Q9). Immediately following on from ethnicity was the Living/Working in New Zealand indicator (Q11). Questions on Language (Q12), Maori Descent (Q13), Iwi (Q14), and Religion (Q15) appeared on the second page of the IF.

The ethnicity question in the Canadian census was found on the ‘Long Form’. This is a longer version of the census questionnaire that is given to a 20 percent sample of the population. It is a ‘household’ form; that is, there is only one form per household, and one person in the household is responsible for completing it (however, individuals may complete sections). The 1996 ethnic ancestry question was found on page 8 of a 32-page questionnaire. It appeared in a group entitled ‘Socio-cultural

⁴⁰ For example, look what happens when the same questions are asked in different order:

1. Do you think the US should let Communist newspaper reporters come in and send back to their papers the news as they see it?
2. Do you think a Communist country should let American newspaper reporters come in and send back to their papers the news as they see it?

% Agreeing to questions:	Yes to #1	Yes to #2
Heard #1 first	54%	75%
Heard #2 first	64%	82%

Source: S. P. Borgatti, 1996.

Information”.⁴¹ The ancestry question (Q17) was preceded by Place of Birth (Q13), Citizenship (Q14), Landed Immigrant Status (Q15), and Year of Immigration (Q16).

Ancestry (Q17) is followed by Aboriginal Status (Q18), and Population Group (race) (Q19), Band Member (Q20), and Treaty Indian Status (Q21). It is well worth noting that there was no Canadian religion question in 1996. The following table, collated from the census forms, compares the order of the questions.

TABLE 5.1: COMPARISON OF CONTEXT AND PLACEMENT IN QUESTIONNAIRE OF ETHNIC GROUP/ANCESTRY QUESTIONS IN RELATION TO OTHER ETHNICITY-RELATED QUESTIONS, 1996

Question #	New Zealand Census	Question #	Statistics Canada
Q8	Country of Birth	Q9-12	Language questions
Q9	Year of Arrival	Q13	Country of Birth
Q10	Ethnic Origin	Q14	Citizenship
Q12	Language	Q15	Landed Immigrant
Q13	Maori Ancestry	Q16	Year of Landed Immigrant arrival
Q14	Iwi	Q17	Ethnic Origin
Q15	Religion	Q19	Population Group

In 1991, the New Zealand ethnicity question appeared on page two of the eight page IF. The question was not preceded by any other ethnicity-related questions. Most notably, country of birth was asked after ethnicity. They appeared in this order:

Ethnic Group (Q7), New Zealand Maori ancestry (Q8), Iwi Affiliation (Q9), Country of Birth (Q10), and Religion (Q12).

In 1991, the Canadian ethnic origin question (Q15) appeared on page eight of a 28-page Long Form. It was preceded by these questions: Language (Q7-Q10), Place of Birth (Q11), Citizenship (Q12), and Immigration questions (Q13-Q14). This was followed by Registered Indian Status (Q16), and Religion (Q17). As noted previously, there were no race or ‘population group’ questions in 1991.

⁴¹ There is no such directional information or advance organizing in the New Zealand

5.3.5 Scope of the Population, Undercount, Imputation

In New Zealand, an IF must be filled out for everyone in the country on census night. This includes absentees (people not present at their usual place of residence) and overseas visitors. In Canada, until 1991, the census included only permanent residents of Canada. Thus, visitors, including those working and studying in Canada at the time of the census were excluded from being counted. This changed for 1996, when visitors were included.

The 1996 New Zealand census had a net undercount rate of 1.2 percent.⁴² The highest undercount rate was for the Pacific Island ethnic group at 3.1 percent, closely followed by the Maori ethnic group at 2.9 percent. The undercount for the remainder of the population was 0.8 percent. This impacts the quality of the data for this group. In Canada, the net undercount was 2.6 % in 1996 (undercount by ethnic group not available).

Imputation is the practice of guessing or estimating a value in the case of non-response. New Zealand does not impute ethnicity; if someone reports 'no ethnic group,' then the response is coded to 'Not Stated'. Approximately 150,000 people in the 1996 New Zealand census reported no ethnic group.

The Canadians, however, have evolved a complex system of imputing non-response:

In general, if a child has a blank response, he or she is imputed the answer of another child in the household. If there is no other child or if all the children are blank, the child is imputed the sum of his parents' ethnic origin. For example: if the father is English and the mother is French, the child's ethnic origins will be English and French.

questionnaire.

⁴² The census 'undercount' represents the percentage of 'missed' persons i.e. the persons who should have been enumerated. The 'net' undercount is calculated by subtracting the overcount rate (an estimate of those enumerated in error) from the gross undercount rate.

For other cases, a donor is found. The conditions to find another donor (Hot deck assignment) are generally the following: mandatory matching condition (also called stratification) of same Mother Tongue and non-mandatory constraints of Aboriginal self-reporting, Population Group, Sex, Age and Census Sub-Division (CSD) type (this is a geography unit equivalent to municipalities.) The system starts looking for a donor by getting records with the same Mother tongue as the record to be imputed, then within these records with the same Mother Tongue, it looks at the closest neighbour to the right then the neighbour to the left, then to the right and the left again until it finds a perfect donor. The latter has the same Mother tongue, Same Aboriginal self-reporting answer, same Population Group answer, same Sex, same Age, and same CSD type. However, there is a search limit set by the analyst responsible for the variable. The search limit for ethnic origin is 50 records. This is cost related and to avoid imputing an answer from somebody at the other end of the country. If after 50 records, the system has not found a perfect match, it looks at the records it has set aside because these records do match some of the non-mandatory constraints. Each non-mandatory constraint has a weight determined by the analyst. The record with the lowest weight becomes the donor (Bourbonais 1999).

Since 1951, Canada had 'allowed' two nationality terms to be coded to the classification: 'Canadian' and 'American'. They are in the 'Other' grouping in output. Since the 1986 Census, New Zealand has coded responses of 'New Zealander' to the 'European' grouping - "New Zealand European" category. 'American' is coded at the lowest level to American/US.

5.3.6 Multiple Responses

Accepting multiple responses to a question on ethnicity or race is a relatively new concept. For example, in 2000 the Bureau of the Census in the United States accepted more than one response to the race question for the first time. Of course, the reality is that people have been of 'mixed' race or ancestry since before the first census-takers. However, it is the nature of statistics that people with multiple ethnicity are not well represented in official collections. The number of responses is usually limited for practical purposes. The rules and procedures for limiting responses will always

obscure the reality of the respondents through the storage and subsequent presentation of the data.

The table below shows multiple response rates for ethnicity in the years 1991 and 1996:

TABLE 5.2: MULTIPLE RESPONSE RATES FOR ETHNIC ORIGIN/ETHNICITY

	1996	1991
Canada	36%	29%
New Zealand	15%	5%

Sources: Statistics Canada & Statistics New Zealand

For 1996, New Zealand's 'priority order recording system' was in place to reduce multiple responses to three responses or less. The order of priority, at the highest level of the classification, was:

1. NZ Maori
2. Pacific Island
3. Asian
4. Other
5. European

The prioritisation rule for the Canadian ethnic question was simply that the first six written responses were taken (from left to right). This could mean that there is considerable difference in the two countries' data sets, since the New Zealand data set has 'systematically' minimised European ethnicities in favour of Maori and other groups, whereas the Canadian system does not follow a particular prioritisation logic. However, it would be impossible to quantify the differences. In general, the New Zealand system favours the retention of smaller ethnic groups over larger ethnic groups, and thus, may retain more information about obscure ethnic groups than would the Canadian system.

The next section examines similar issues for the 1986 and 1981 censuses in New Zealand and Canada, but some sections may be omitted because information from those surveys is not accessible.

5.4 Comparison of the New Zealand and Canadian censuses, 1986 and 1981

5.4.1 Introduction

The most dramatic change in the New Zealand ethnic census question happened between 1981 and 1986. The change was from a degree-of-blood question to an ethnic identity style question. The Canadian ethnic question was less dramatically different in those years, although the specification of 'coming to this continent' was removed in 1986. The two questions are compared in detail below.

5.4.2 Question Wording

The wording for the 1986 New Zealand ethnic origin question was:

What is your ethnic origin?
Tick the box or boxes which apply to you.

European

New Zealand Maori

Samoan

Cook Island Maori

Niuean

Tongan

Chinese

Indian

Other (such as Fijian, Tokelauan)

Please state _____

The Canadian 1986 census question was:

17. To which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you or did your ancestors belong? (See Guide)

.1.1.1.1 Mark or specify as many as applicable

French

English

Irish

Scottish

German

Italian

Ukrainian

Dutch (Netherlands)

Chinese

Jewish

Polish

Black

Inuit

North American Indian

Métis

Other ethnic or cultural group(s). *For example, Portuguese, Greek, Indian (India), Pakistani, Filipino, Japanese, Vietnamese., (specify below)*

Other (specify)

Other (specify)

Other (specify)

In contrast the New Zealand question, the wording for the Canadian equivalent was: ‘To which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you or did your ancestors belong? (See Guide) *Mark or specify as many as applicable.*’ The main difference between the 1986 questions is the Canadian element of ancestry, and the attempt to define the concept being measured by adding ‘cultural groups’, and also the reference to the Guide. They are similar in the mild solicitation of multiple responses. Note that Indian is a mark-in box in the New Zealand form, but is only listed as an example, ‘Indian (India)’ on the Canadian form. Perhaps this was to avoid confusion with the ‘North American Indian’ category.

The 1981 New Zealand question on ethnic origin was split into two sections. The first was ‘a) If of only one (full) origin, tick box which applies:’ and the second,

b) 'if of more than one origin, give particulars.' This wording encouraged people to identify whether they were of single or multiple ethnic origins. The word 'full' was used to describe single origin, which invoked the concept of race and blood; i.e., 'full-blooded Maori'. All the tick boxes provided for 'Section A' of the question contain the word 'full', as in 'Full European, full Caucasian', 'Full N.Z. Maori', 'Full Samoan', etc. In the multiple origins, Section, B, a write-in line was provided, followed by rather complex examples indicating the need for fractions of blood origin: $\frac{1}{2}$ European, $\frac{1}{2}$ N.Z. Maori; $\frac{3}{4}$ N.Z. Maori + $\frac{1}{4}$ Nuiean; $\frac{1}{2}$ Chinese + $\frac{1}{4}$ European + $\frac{1}{4}$ Samoan.

The 1986 New Zealand question was a dramatic change from the 1981 question. The first example was particularly strange; the department wanted to know if a respondent had one-eighth Maori blood. This could be construed as obsessive, and certainly may have led respondents to question the usefulness of the data. Note that in the output and classification, to be Full European, you needed to have three-quarters European blood, but to be Full Maori, only half or more was needed.

The wording of the 1981 Canadian question was 'To which ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors belong on first coming to this continent?' The question obviously does not apply to native peoples, but there are nonetheless tick boxes titled 'Native Peoples' to the right of the main column of tick boxes. The question asks for only one group, thus discouraging multiple responses, and unlike the 1986 Canadian question, adds a temporal factor in the phrase 'on coming to this continent'.

The 1986 New Zealand questionnaire module for ethnicity contained only one write-in space. In contrast, the Canadian equivalent contained three separate write-in spaces marked 'Other (specify)'. The Canadian form also provided many more

examples for the other ethnic groups - a full seven groups are listed as examples, whereas the New Zealand form listed only two examples. The 1981 New Zealand question for ethnic origin contained two write-in lines; one for Part A of the question to identify 'full' origins, and one for Part B to identify 'mixed' origins.

5.4.3 Question Helpnotes: Availability and Content

The 1986 Canadian Census Guide contained the following instructions:

Question 17

Ethnic or cultural group refers to the "roots" or ancestral origin of the population and should not be confused with citizenship or nationality. Canadians belong to many ethnic and cultural groups, such as Inuit, North American Indian, Métis, Irish, Scottish, Ukrainian, Chinese, Japanese, East Indian (from the subcontinent of India), Dutch, English, French, etc.

Note that in cases where you use language as a guide to your ethnic group, you should report the specific ethnic group to which you belong, e.g., Haitian rather than French, Austrian rather than German.

The ethnic origin question will provide information which is used extensively by the many ethnic or cultural associations in Canada to study the size, location, characteristics and other aspects of their respective groups.

The New Zealand 'Guide to filling in your Personal Questionnaire' for the 1986 census simply states:

9 Ethnic Origin

If you have more than one origin, tick as many boxes as are necessary to describe your ethnic origin.

Note the lack of examples or definition of the concept.

The 1981 Canadian ethnic question advised: 'See guide for further information.' The guide asked aboriginal people to ignore the phrase 'on first coming to this continent.' It also cautioned respondents not to confuse language with ethnic or cultural roots. The 1981 New Zealand question had an asterisk beside the question title: Ethnic Origin (*). At the bottom of the page (page two), is stated '* See Census Guide'. Note that this is not very prominent on the page, and could easily be missed.

The 1981 New Zealand Census guide provides the following comments for the

Ethnic Origin question:

The following notes for guidance apply:

This question refers to the blood mixture of races within a person. To calculate this mixture, add one-half of mother's ethnic origin to one-half of father's ethnic origin. The following examples may help you to correctly calculate ethnic origin.

Example 1: Mother = Full European
Father = Full European
Children = $\frac{1}{2}$ (Full European) + $\frac{1}{2}$ (Full European)
= Full European

Example 2: Mother = Full Japanese
Father = $\frac{1}{2}$ Chinese + $\frac{1}{2}$ Fijian
Children = $\frac{1}{2}$ (Full Japanese) + $\frac{1}{2}$ ($\frac{1}{2}$ Chinese) + $\frac{1}{2}$ ($\frac{1}{2}$ Fijian)
= $\frac{1}{2}$ Japanese + $\frac{1}{4}$ Chinese + $\frac{1}{4}$ Fijian

Note that the words 'race' and 'ethnic origin' and 'blood mixture' are used interchangeably. This guide note is clearer than the 1986 instructions about the concept being measured. The fact that the ethnic origin is 'calculated' removes any element of choice or self-identification for this question.

5.4.4 Question Placement

The 1986 New Zealand question on ethnic origin appeared on the second page (overleaf) of a four page IF. Country of Birth (Q7) precedes Ethnic Origin (Q9), which is followed by Religion (Q10). There was no question on Maori Descent. The Canadian 1986 question on ethnic origin for Person 1 appears on the sixth page of the 20 page Long Form. Ethnic Origin is repeated for Person 2, Person 3, etc. For Person 1, the ethnic origin question (Q17) is preceded by Country of Birth (Q14), Citizenship (Q15), and Year of Immigration (Q16) and was followed by language questions.

In the 1981 New Zealand Census, Ethnic Origin (Q12) was preceded by Country of Birth (Q10) and Religious Denomination (Q11). The 1981 Canadian census ethnicity question (Q26) was preceded by Country of Birth (Q23), Citizenship

(Q24), Year of Immigration (Q25), and is followed by Religion (Q27) and Language (Q28 and Q29).

5.4.5 Scope of Population, Undercount and Imputation

In the Canadian censuses, between 1941 and 1991, information on 'Foreign Residents' was not collected. This means that the 1986 and 1981 censuses did not collect information on people who were not permanent residents - people such as overseas students, holders of work permits, refugee claimants. In contrast, the 1986 New Zealand census universe included such people, since 'A Personal Questionnaire is legally required to be filled in by or for every man, woman and child (including baby) living in New Zealand at midnight'. (IF, Statistics New Zealand 1986)

The 1981 Canadian form instructs "To Foreign Residents. If all members of this household are Foreign Residents (see below), mark this box, and do not complete this questionnaire."

Foreign Residents are defined as:

- Government representatives of another country attached to the legation, embassy or other diplomatic body of that country in Canada, and their families;
- Members of the Armed Forces of another country, and their families;
- Students from another country attending school in Canada, and their families
- Workers from another country in Canada on Employment Visas, and their families; and
- Residents of another country visiting in Canada temporarily.

5.4.6 Multiple Responses

In the 1986 New Zealand census, up to three responses were coded. In the 1981 New Zealand question, although there were two write-in lines, only one response, either Part A or Part B, would have been accepted. Since output was in 'fractions', all responses contributed to the classification of the person's ethnicity. In the Canadian question, the maximum number of responses accepted in 1986 was 18 (three write-in

allowed), and in 1981 was 16 (one write-in allowed). The table below shows the multiple response rates for the years 1986 and 1981.

TABLE 5.3: MULTIPLE RESPONSE RATES FOR ETHNIC ORIGIN/ETHNICITY

	1986	1981
Canada	28%	12%
New Zealand	4%	9%

Source: Statistics New Zealand and Statistic Canada

The next section sets out the components of the last pair of census years for comparison.

5.5 Comparison of the New Zealand and Canadian censuses, 1971 and 1951

5.5.1 Introduction

In 1971, for both countries, the censuses were self-completed. However, in the 1971 Canadian census, only one in three households (33.3 percent) received the Long Form questionnaire that contained the ethnic origin question.

In 1951, enumerators administered the censuses in both New Zealand and Canada. The 1951 Canadian census was the first to ask about ‘origin’ rather than race, while the New Zealand question continued to be ‘degree of blood’, a practice continued until 1986. Also, 1951 was the first time that the Canadian census included tick boxes (pre-coded categories) for the ethnic origin question. It included instructions for the enumerator to determine the ethnic origin by asking language spoken of immigrants. Additionally, it was the first time that ‘Canadian’ and ‘American’ were accepted as responses. Mixed ancestry was classified as ‘unknown’ in 1951.

5.5.2 Question Wording

The 1971 New Zealand ethnic origin question was worded in the following way:

If of Full European descent, no matter where born, place tick in the box.
If not, state whether full N.Z. Maori, Cook Is. Maori, Indian, etc., as the case may be. If of more than one origin, give particulars as $\frac{3}{4}$ European- $\frac{1}{4}$ N. Z. Maori or $\frac{1}{2}$ N.Z. Maori- $\frac{1}{2}$ Samoan.

The 1971 Canadian question was worded as follows:

To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?

The response categories for the question were as follows:

English	Native Indian - Band	Polish
French	Native Indian - Non-Band	Scottish
German	Netherlands	Ukrainian
Irish	Norwegian	Other, write here
Italian		
Jewish		

The New Zealand 1951 ethnic question was:

8. If of European race, no matter where born, write "European."
Otherwise state whether Maori, Syrian, Lebanese, Indian, Chinese, &c., as the case may be. If of more than one race give particulars, as $\frac{3}{4}$ European - $\frac{1}{4}$ Maori, $\frac{1}{2}$ Maori - $\frac{1}{2}$ Indian, &c.

The Canadian Census of 1951 (Q17) simply contained a list of groups, with the label 'Origin'. They were: English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh & Manx, Czech & Slovak, Finnish, German, Italian, Jewish, French, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, Swedish, Hungarian, Native Indian, Unknown.

5.5.3 Question Helpnotes: Availability and Content

There were no additional instructions for the ethnic origin question in the 1971 or 1951 New Zealand censuses. The 1971 Canadian census had both instructions for respondents (instruction booklet) and information for enumerators and users of the data (content manual).

The instructions for answering the 1971 Canadian ethnic question were as follows:

15. Ethnic or cultural group refers to descent (through the father's side) and should not be confused with citizenship. Canadians belong to many ethnic or cultural groups - English, French, Irish, Scottish, German, Ukrainian, Jewish, Native Indian, Negro, Chinese, Lebanese, etc.

Use as guide if applicable in your case:

1. The language you spoke on first coming to this continent, if you were born outside of Canada.
2. If born in Canada, the language spoken by your ancestor on the male side when he came here.

The content manual included the following instructions for 1971 Canadian ethnic question:

<p>Additional Information</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. It is important to distinguish carefully between "citizenship" or "nationality" on the one hand, and "ethnic" or "cultural" groups, on the other. "Ethnic" or "cultural" group refers to the group from which the person is descended; citizenship (nationality) refers to the country to which the person owes allegiance.2. For census purposes, a person's ethnic or cultural group is traced through his father. For example, if a person's father is German and his mother Norwegian, the entry will be "German".3. If the ethnic origin of an adopted child is not known, ethnic origin of the adoptive father may be reported.4. Procedure for person reporting British or British Isles: If a person is of "British Isles" but does not know if he is English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh, he should enter "British Isles" in the "Other" space. <p>Additional Guidelines</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Ethnic or cultural group refers to that group from which the person is descended, and is not to be confused with citizenship or nationality which refers to the country to which a person owes allegiance.2. If the ethnic origin of an adopted child is not known, the ethnic origin of the adoptive parents should be reported.3. If a person is from the British Isles but does not know if he/she is English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh, he/she should enter "British isles" in the "Other" space.4. Because this question refers to the time when a person or his/her ancestors came to this continent, the answer would refer to the ethnic groups or cultures of the Old World, except for Native Indians and Inuit.5. If the person states that he/she really does not know what to reply to this question, he/she should write in "Unknown" in the space provided. For "Other". <p>Why We Ask This Question</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">(a) This question provides an indication of the cultural or ethnic composition of Canada's people, for example: those of British or of French decent, Native Peoples, and those whose ancestors came from the many other cultural groups (e.g., Japanese, Ukrainian, Portuguese).(b) Statistics from this question are used extensively by many groups such as sociologists, government officials, advertisers, market researchers and ethnic societies.(c) Because many new immigrants soon acquire English or French as their working language, many ethnic or cultural groups cannot be identified by the questions on language. Furthermore, certain groups, such as Irish and Scottish, cannot be identified on the basis of language. Consequently, there is a need for a specific question on ethnic origin.

The 1951 Canadian census also had extensive instructions of the “origin” question in the Enumeration Manual:

17. ORIGIN

It is important to distinguish carefully between “citizenship” or “nationality” on the one hand, and “origin” on the other. Origin refers to the cultural group, sometimes erroneously called “racial” group, from which the person is descended: citizenship (nationality) refers to the country to which the person owes allegiance. Canadian citizens are of many origins - English, Irish, Scottish, Jewish, Ukrainian, etc.

For Census purposes a person’s origin is traced through his father. For example, if a person’s father is German and his mother Norwegian, the origin will be entered as “German”.

You will first attempt to establish a person’s origin by asking the language spoken by the person (if he is an immigrant), or by his paternal ancestor *when he first came to this continent*. For example, if the person replies that this paternal ancestor spoke French when he came to this continent, you will record the origin as “French”. However, if the respondent should reply “English” or “Gaelic” to this question, you must make further inquiries to determine whether the origin is English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh.

If the respondent does not understand your first question, or you cannot establish the person’s origin from the answer you receive, you will ask “Is your origin in the male line English, Scottish, Ukrainian, Jewish, Norwegian, North American Indian, Negro, etc.?”

Ordinarily, persons born and bred in Canada or the United States will report some European origin, such as English, French, or Spanish. However, if a person *insists* that his origin is Canadian or American, you are to accept that answer and write it in the space provided.

Do not confuse Question 12 (Language first spoken in childhood) with this question. Above all, do not assume that the answer given to Question 12 establishes the answer to the question on origin.

For persons of mixed white and Indian parentage, the origin recorded will be as follows:
(a) For those living on Indian reserves, the origin will be recorded as “Native Indian”.
(b) For those not on reserves the origin will be determined through the line of the father, that is, by following the usual procedure.

If a person states that, because of mixed ancestry, he really does not know what to reply to the question on origin, you will mark the oval “Unknown”.

5.5.4 Question Placement

The 1971 New Zealand ethnic question (Q8) was preceded by a Country of Birth (Q7), and followed by Religion (Q9). The 1971 Canadian census question on ethnicity (Q15) was preceded by questions on Country of Birth (Q11), Year of Immigration (Q12), Parent’s Birthplace (Q13), Citizenship (Q14), and was followed by a question on Religion (Q16), and Languages (Q17).

The 1951 New Zealand ‘ethnic’ question was located on the IF (called the ‘Personal Schedule’ then), which every person in New Zealand had to complete. The question was preceded by Country Of Birth/Birthplace (Q7a), and Years in N.Z. (Q7b) and was followed by Religion (Q9). The Canadian 1951 origin question was seventeenth on the questionnaire, preceded by Place of Birth (Q14), Period of Immigration (Q15) and Citizenship (Q16).

5.5.5 Multiple Responses

In New Zealand, a ‘degree of blood’ question meant, in theory, unlimited multiple responses are accepted. However:

The accuracy and validity of the data was also called into question by claims that many people of mixed ancestry do not know or cannot calculate their blood fractions with precision and responded to the census question by guessing their blood percentages. In practice this meant choosing the closest simple fraction, a phenomenon known to statisticians as heaping (Statistics New Zealand 1999, p.7).

In Canada, only one response was permitted in 1951 and 1971. For written responses that indicated multiple origins, it is likely that these were coded manually by ‘expert coders’. According to the *1981 Census Dictionary*:

In 1971, **multiple responses** were reduced to single entries during data capture using the rules given below:

1. If more than one self-coded entry was reported but an office-coded entry was not reported, the darkest mark was retained as the ethnic origin.
2. If one self-coded entry and an office-coded entry were reported, the self-reported answer was retained as the ethnic origin
3. If more than one self-coded entry and an office-coded entry were reported, the darkest mark among the self-reported origins was retained as the ethnic origin.

5.6 Summary

5.6.1 Introduction

This section provides a summary of the elements that have been compared in this chapter, and a conclusion that brings together common elements of the comparisons, as well as points for analysis in the final chapter.

5.6.2 Summary Tables

The following tables help to summarise the comparisons made in this chapter.

TABLE 5.4: SUMMARY OF CANADIAN QUESTIONS AND SURVEY DESIGN FOR MODERN CENSUSES

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986	1991	1996
Enumerator-completed	X	X					
Self-completed			X	X	X	X	X
Sample Size	100%	100%	33.3%	20%	20%	20%	20%
Number of mark-in entries	18	30	13	15	15	15	0
Number of write-in entries	1	1	1	1	3	2	4
Maximum number of responses permitted	1	1	1	16	18	17	4
Paternal ancestry	X	X	X				
'on first coming to this continent'	X	X	X	X			
Linguistic association with ethnic origin	X	X	X				

Source: White et al 1994

TABLE 5.5: SUMMARY OF NEW ZEALAND QUESTIONS AND SURVEY DESIGN FOR MODERN CENSUSES⁴³

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986	1991	1996
Enumerator-completed	X	X					
Self-completed			X	X	X	X	X
Sample Size	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of mark-in entries	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	9	12
Number of write-in entries					3	3	3
Maximum number of responses permitted	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	3	3

Source: compiled by the author from various Statistics New Zealand sources

TABLE 5.6: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CANADA'S COLLECTION OF ETHNIC AND RACIAL ORIGIN DATA, BY CENSUS YEAR, 1767 TO 2001

⁴³ This table differs slightly from the previous one since some elements relevant to the Canadian census, such as 'on coming to this continent', are not relevant for the New Zealand census.

Census Year	Origins	Race	Racial origins	Ethnic Origins
1767	X	X		
1824		X		
1851	X			
1861	X			
1871	X			
1881	X			
1901			X	
1911			X	
1921			X	
1931			X	
1941			X	
1951				X
1961				X
1971				X
1981				X
1986				X
1991				X
1996		X		X
2001		X		X

TABLE 5.7: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF NEW ZEALAND'S COLLECTION OF ETHNIC AND RACIAL ORIGIN DATA, BY CENSUS YEAR, 1916 TO 2001

Census Year	Race	Racial/Ethnic Origin (Degree of Descent/Blood)	Ethnicity/Ethnic Group (Cultural Affiliation)
1916	X		
1921	X		
1926	X ⁴⁴		
1936		X	
1945		X	
1951		X	
1956		X	
1961		X	
1966		X	
1971		X	
1976		X	
1981		X	
1986			X
1991			X
1996			X

⁴⁴ The Householders Schedule uses 'quarter-cast' as an example, thus, closer to 'degrees'. However the Personal Schedule does not use 'quarter-cast' as an example, thus the year 1926 has been classified as a race question.

Census Year	Race	Racial/Ethnic Origin (Degree of Descent/Blood)	Ethnicity/Ethnic Group (Cultural Affiliation)
2001			X

The next chapter will provide some conclusions generated by the analysis from this detailed comparison of census years.

Chapter 6

6. Conclusion

Ethnicity into the 21st century

- 6.1 Overview
- 6.2 The 2001 Censuses in Canada and New Zealand
 - 6.2.1 Canada
 - 6.2.2 New Zealand
- 6.3 Conclusion: Issues resulting from Question Wording
 - 6.3.1 Key Years of Change
 - 6.3.2 Ancestry vs. Identity
 - 6.3.3 Data by Proxy
 - 6.3.4 Sample
 - 6.3.4 Race, Visible Minorities and the Use of Derivations
 - 6.3.6 Use of Response Categories
- 6.4 Conclusion: Question Helpnotes, 1951-2001
- 6.5 Conclusion: Question Placement, 1951-2001
- 6.6 Conclusion: Multiple Responses: 1951-2001
- 6.7 Eriksen's Model of Types of Ethnic Groups
- 6.8 Contrasting and Comparing: What has been learned?
- 6.9 Looking into the Future

6.1 Overview

This chapter will briefly look at the 2001 Canadian and New Zealand censuses, and then discuss some of the common themes from the selected censuses. The purpose of this chapter is to bring together the key points that have emerged from Chapter 5 as well as to develop some of the theory laid out in Chapter 2 and to speculate on what the future might hold for ethnicity based on past censuses.

6.2 The 2001 Censuses in Canada and New Zealand

6.2.1 Canada

The 2001 Canadian census will be held on May 15th. This will be the 100th anniversary of collecting 'origin' data on the Canadian population. This fact is not lost on Statistics Canada, and in their efforts to encourage good response rates for ethnicity, they have used the fact that the variable has been collected since 1901 to

further persuade Canadians to report their ancestral origins rather than their allegiance (e.g. Canadian citizen). The 2001 ‘socio-cultural’ information questions include Question 17 (ethnic origin), Question 18 (aboriginal status) and Question 19 (population group), reproduced below.

<p><i>While most people in Canada view themselves as Canadians, information on their ancestral origins has been collected since the 1901 Census to capture the changing composition of Canada's diverse population. Therefore, this question refers to the origins of the person's ancestors.</i></p> <p>17 To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?</p> <p><i>For example, Canadian, French, English, Chinese, Italian, German, Scottish, Irish, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit (Eskimo), East Indian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, Filipino, Jewish, Greek, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somall, etc.</i></p>	<p><i>Specify as many groups as applicable</i></p> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
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<p>18 Is this person an Aboriginal person, that is, North American Indian, Métis or Inuit (Eskimo)?</p> <p><i>If "Yes", mark "⊗" the circle(s) that best describe(s) this person now.</i></p>	<p><input type="radio"/> No ▶ Continue with the next question</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Yes, North American Indian ▶ Go to Question 20</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Yes, Métis</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Yes, Inuit (Eskimo)</p>
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The renewed interest in ethnicity in the 21st century is also evidenced by the re-inclusion of questions on religion and birthplace of parents.⁴⁵

The wording of the 2001 Canadian census ethnic origins question (i.e. ‘To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person’s **ancestors** belong?’) stands in sharp

⁴⁵ Religion was last included in the 1991 Canadian census; birthplace of parents was last included in the 1971 Census.

<p>19 Is this person:</p> <p>Mark "(X)" more than one or specify, if applicable.</p> <p><i>This information is collected to support programs that promote equal opportunity for everyone to share in the social, cultural and economic life of Canada.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center; opacity: 0.5; font-size: 2em; transform: rotate(-15deg);">FOR INFORMATION ONLY</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> White <input type="radio"/> Chinese <input type="radio"/> South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.) <input type="radio"/> Black <input type="radio"/> Filipino <input type="radio"/> Latin American <input type="radio"/> Southeast Asian (e.g., Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese, etc.) <input type="radio"/> Arab <input type="radio"/> West Asian (e.g., Afghan, Iranian, etc.) <input type="radio"/> Japanese <input type="radio"/> Korean Other — Specify <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%; margin-top: 5px;"></div>
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contrast to the list of examples, of which ‘Canadian’ is the first. In the strictest sense, ‘Canadian’ is outside the scope of the question, except for those people with indigenous ancestors, or, arguably, those people whose ancestors came to the North American continent so many generations previously that they legitimately cannot trace their origins. However, most people who respond ‘Canadian’ do not fall into either of those categories; they are people who think of themselves as Canadian rather than having a particular ethnic group, or else they are objecting to the question, given the highly publicised nature of the response ‘Canadian’. Statistics Canada has adhered to its own self-imposed convention that the list of examples given in a question must be in size order; ‘Canadian’ was the most frequent response from the last census, and thus must appear as the first example.

The questionnaire module as a whole reflects the tension surrounding the response of ‘Canadian’. On the one hand the instructions for the question seem to discourage people from citing ‘Canadian’ by explaining the requirement for ancestral origin, which is in line with the statistical conviction that ‘Canadian’ responses reduce

the usefulness of ethnic origin data. But on the other hand, ‘Canadian’ is given as the first example, reflecting its popularity as a response.

The 2001 question module is markedly different from the 1996 module which did not include the paragraph of italic instructions, and which listed ‘Canadian’ as the fifth example of an ethnic group.

6.2.2 New Zealand

The 2001 New Zealand census was held on March 6th. It contained a question similar to the 1991 New Zealand census question on ethnicity, rather than one similar to 1996. Unlike the Canadian question, there were no instructions, justification, or explanation of the question, other than the question wording itself and a short statement in the helpnotes⁴⁶.

Most notably, the word ‘Pakeha’ has been left out (as it appeared in 1996), and there is still no ‘New Zealander’ category. Moreover, the 2001 question differs from the 1996 in that there are no response categories for ‘English’, ‘Dutch’, ‘Australian’, ‘Scottish’, and ‘Irish’. The question is reproduced below:

Which ethnic group do you belong to?
Mark the space or spaces which apply to you.

New Zealand European

Māori

Samoan

Cook Island Māori

Tongan

Niuean

Chinese

Indian

other (such as DUTCH, JAPANESE, TOKELAUAN). Please state

⁴⁶ The helpnotes for the 2001 ethnicity question read:

What do you mean by ethnicity?

This question is about the ethnic group or groups (cultural groups) you belong to or identify with. It is not asking about nationality or citizenship.

6.3 Conclusion: Issues resulting from Question Wording

The following topics were identified during the analysis of Chapter 5, and have been included here to allow expansion of some of the ideas.

6.3.1 Key Years of Change

In general, the major benchmark for change in the ethnic questions in Canada and New Zealand occurred at different times and for dissimilar reasons. The key change in the New Zealand question occurred in the shift from the biological-based question in 1981 to the 1986 ethnic identity question. Because of this, the time series was interrupted, and Statistics New Zealand has been dealing with this disruption ever since. The change was a response to social unrest of that period, including the Maori renaissance and the ethnic revival that mobilised and politicised the country during the South African Rugby tour in 1981. The change involved a rejection of ‘race’ in favour of self-identified ethnic identity.

The Canadian sequence of events is markedly different from the New Zealand experience. The Canadian ethnic origin question did not change much from 1951 through to 1991. Although small changes occurred, the major change was in the introduction of a new question on ‘population group’ in 1996, which can also be described as a race question. Thus, the Canadians reversed the trend seen in New Zealand of moving away from race as a measurable statistical concept. This continued with a repetition of the ‘population group’ question in 2001. The reason for this change was also different from the New Zealand impetus for change in the early 1980’s; Statistics Canada was not responding directly to societal changes, but rather the change was implemented to meet legislative requirements for measures of ‘visible minorities’. This is due to government requirements to respond to increased migration

from non-traditional sources, as discussed in Chapter 4. The change was also a response to the increase in the 'Canadian' category, which made visible minority groups difficult to identify in the data, and reduced overall the usefulness of the origin variable for policy purposes.

However, Statistics Canada did, in a way, respond to public pressure, by including 'Canadian' as an example on the origin census question for the first time in 1996. This was also the year that response categories were abandoned in favour of written responses. Thus 1996 marks a departure in two important ways in the ethnic origin question: it was the first time that no response categories were used, and it was the first time that 'Canadian' was given as an example of an ethnic origin. To summarise, the period from 1981 to 1986 saw the key changes for the New Zealand census ethnic question, fuelled by increasing ethnic consciousness, whereas 1991 to 1996 marked a more important period of change for the Canadian ethnic question, fuelled primarily by demographic changes.

6.3.2 Ancestry vs. Identity

Although Statistics Canada introduced a new question in 1996 ('population group'), which could be interpreted as a 'race' question, this move did not actually signal a departure in the way ethnicity is measured in Canada. This is because both the ethnic origin and 'population group' questions are based on a biological (primordialist) concept of ethnicity. The ethnic origin question asks about people's ancestors' ethnic group, and the population group question asks about people's colour, race and/or visible minority group. Thus, the data derived from these questions divide the Canadian population into ethnic groups based on phenotypic characteristics.

This differs from the concepts measured by the New Zealand ethnicity variable. Rather than ancestry, the New Zealand question may illicit responses that

are based on current feelings of belonging to an ethnic group, or ‘ethnic identity’. These feeling may or may not be in line with one’s ancestral origins. Thus, the non-biological or situationalist base to the New Zealand question may go further in recognizing the subjective and self-identity element of ethnicity

One could generalise this finding to say that Canada is collecting a more primordial, non-voluntary aspect of ethnicity, while New Zealand is collecting the socially constructed, voluntary side of ethnicity⁴⁷. This view is elaborated in the next section, which shows that Canadian ethnic data are collected by proxy, while in New Zealand, the individual self-reports on ethnicity.

6.3.3 Data by Proxy

Both countries, at one time or another, have collected census ethnic data by proxy.⁴⁸ However, one key difference between the two countries is that all the 20th century census-taking in New Zealand has resulted in first-hand ethnic data (i.e., the information has been provided by individual respondents). The Canadian data, with the exception of that of the reference person, are by proxy. This difference creates a real disparity in the measures of the two countries. The Canadian data are objective in the sense that the respondent has little say in the origin that is reported for them. On the other hand, the Canadian data are dependent on the *perceptions* of the person filling out the form (thus subjective from an external point of view). The New Zealand data are subjective on two counts – on being both self-identified and self-reported. The first reflects the subjective beliefs of the respondent -- about how a person feels about an ethnic group (i.e., if they belong to the group), which is more

⁴⁷ This difference, however, is fairly recent, since New Zealand took a race-based approach to origin until 1986.

subjective than ancestry, but also it is their very own private opinion of the ethnic group to which they belong.

It would be interesting to speculate on how this difference in information gathering impacts the data. Firstly, the private nature of the New Zealand question might mean that respondents feel freer to report what they think of themselves, even if this would clash with other people's perception of them. Secondly, to a certain extent, the New Zealand respondents are freed from justifying or rationalising their choices since they are not answering to others in the household about information provided on the Individual Form. People of 'mixed race', for example, may choose to report only one ethnicity without consequence; for example, a person with Chinese and Scottish ancestry may choose only Scottish. In contrast, the flatmate of a so- 'mixed race' person would be unlikely to ignore the visible minority component (Chinese) of that person's ancestry or population group. Thirdly, the Canadian data could have less of the factor that questionnaire designers call 'social desirability' effects, which is the phenomena of 'respondents giving answers they think will make them "look good"' (Dillman 1998). In the New Zealand case, the respondent is filling out the form him or her self and goes through a thought process of thinking how their response would look to other people (note that with self-administered forms, the effect is much less than with interviewer-administered forms). In the Canadian case, it is unlikely that the householder would go through that process on behalf of each person in the household, although they would do so for themselves.

⁴⁸ In the early days of census-taking, both countries (19th century New Zealand and 18th century Canada), race often would have been determined by the government official enumerating a household.

In the case of so-called family ethnicity, it is unlikely that the different approaches to information gathering would have a marked impact. For example, in relation to the Canadian data, a parent in a household is likely to report the ethnicity of the rest of the family fairly similarly as they would themselves⁴⁹. The difficulty with proxy data comes in multi-family households (where a member of one family is reporting the ethnicities of the rest of their family plus additional families), and in non-family households such as flatmates, students, boarders, etc. In these cases it is less likely that the person filling out the form has an accurate understanding of the other people's ancestry and population group. This difficulty is not endemic in the New Zealand context since every person fills out their own IF, in all types of households. This is qualified, of course, for children who are too young to fill out a census form, in which case it is likely a parent who does so. Conversely, in households where the children are the most fluent in English, the children are likely to fill out forms on behalf of non-English speaking adults.

It is possible that the fact that Canadian ethnic data are collected by proxy has resulted in increased nationality responses ('Canadian') compared to the non-proxy New Zealand data ('New Zealander'). We have already seen that the 1996 Canadian questionnaire encouraged responses of 'Canadian' because 'Canadian' was the first example on the list. But it is also possible that the person filling out a form for an entire household finds it easier or more desirable to report their fellow members of the household as 'Canadian' (which is likely to be technically accurate) rather than to guess an ethnic origin or to write 'unknown'. In addition, one would expect that it is easier for the New Zealand respondent to report 'New Zealander' as an ethnic group

⁴⁹ Bearing in mind, of course, that children's ethnicities are problematic in themselves. Often parents' views of children's ethnicity differ from each other, or from the child's perception.

because it is not posed as an ancestry question, and yet the opposite seems to be the case. ‘Canadian’ is the largest ethnic group reported in the Canadian census (which is ancestry based), with 5,326,995 (19 percent of the total population) reporting ‘Canadian’ origins. In contrast, ‘New Zealander’-type responses made up less than 2 percent of the total responses from 1996, a small percentage by comparison (see Table 6.1). At any rate, the figures show that the Canadian response is much more common than the New Zealand response:

TABLE 6.1: COUNTS FOR NZ NATIONALITY RESPONSES IN THE 1996 NEW ZEALAND CENSUS.

<i>.2</i>	<i>Response</i>	Count	%
	New Zealander	46,743	80
	New Zealand	6,388	11
	Kiwi	5,483	9
	Total	58,614	100

Source: 1996 Census, Statistics New Zealand

6.3.4 Sample

It is not statistically significant that the Canadian ethnic data is derived from a sample of the population (20 percent in 1996 and 2001). However, from a public relations perspective, it may be. In Canada, only one in five households have to contend with answering these sometimes-difficult questions on ethnic origins and population group. In contrast, every single individual in New Zealand is exposed to the question on census night. One would expect, then, that the potential for public debate and derision is greater in New Zealand. Yet in both countries the questions are ‘hot topics’ in the media and in the academic world (for the Canadian reaction see Howard-Hassman

1999 and Foot 2000, for the New Zealand reaction see Gregory 2001 and Roughan 2001). Both agencies are obliged to respond to public outcry regarding the question, and walk a fine line between public acceptance and statistical relevance of the question; nevertheless, the potential for protest that would disrupt the census is greatest in New Zealand, which relies on everyone answering the question on census night.

6.3.5 Race, Visible Minorities and the Use of Derivations

One little known fact about the difference between Canadian and New Zealand ethnic census data is that the Canadian data are, to some extent, imputed and derived. As shown in Chapter 5, the Canadians use a computer program to impute non-response to the question, with a complex series of rules and checks. This may be more acceptable because the data are a sample, not a census. In addition to this, Statistics Canada produces a derived measure of visible minority status to meet legislative requirements. Thus the data is edited and manipulated at both the input and the output stages of the process. In contrast, in recent censuses in New Zealand there has been an attempt to stay 'true' to the respondent's intention. All three elements in the Canadian census – the emphasis on race, the visible minority measures, and the manipulation of data – would be unacceptable in the New Zealand context, both to users and producers of statistics alike.

6.3.6 Use of Response Categories

Finally, a key element in recent censuses is that the New Zealand census has consistently used response categories (albeit ones that have varied over time), while the Canadian census has varied the use of response categories. For the years 2001 and 1996 the Canadians have not used response categories. This could be a direct strategy

used to deal with on the one hand the outcry from the public that Canadian is an ethnic group, and on the other hand, the statistical need to discourage respondents from reporting it. One could speculate that it would be desirable for Statistics Canada to avoid using a 'Canadian' tick box, since this would seem to give 'official' validation to 'Canadian' as an ethnic origin. Rather, Statistics Canada may prefer to acknowledge that 'Canadian' is a frequent response to the ethnic origin question, and thus must be included in the examples for the written response, regardless of the argument of whether it is a 'real' ethnic origin. The inclusion of 'Canadian' as an example response, as well as its shift to the first example on the list, is thus a compromise on behalf of Statistics Canada.

Statistics New Zealand uses response categories as a general rule. Although this approach is largely adopted for ease of processing (a tick mark is more easily machine-read than a written response), it is felt that response categories tend to shape or 'direct' the responses. Thus the majority of respondents may in fact be answering the question (selecting a tick box) before or without reading the question wording.

Both agencies will continue to evaluate the usefulness of such categories, and continue to diplomatically accommodate the public's request, while trying to maintain the statistical relevance of the data and avoid disrupting time series analyses. It is unlikely that either will fully condone nationality responses in the near future, and yet it seems equally unlikely that Statistics New Zealand will weather the current storm over 'Kiwi' and 'New Zealanders' as so-called ethnicities.

6.4 Conclusion: Question Helppnotes, 1951-2001

From Chapter 5, it is clear the Canadian census provided more extensive helppnotes for the ethnic question. This is in line with their attempts to explain why the data are

collected and thus improve response rates. In New Zealand, the reasons for collecting ethnic data are not legislated, and are therefore not as straight-forward or easily explained. Thus an ethnic question in New Zealand is more difficult to market to the public. Accordingly, little attempt has been made to do so in the past. It is felt by some that that Statistics New Zealand needs to do more to 'educate the public' on this issue. Perhaps Statistics Canada has been more successful on this front, as they have a clear legal 'mandate' for which to market the value and necessity of ethnic statistics.

6.5 Conclusion: Question Placement, 1951-2001

Although a lot may be made of question placement, the key issue is whether the New Zealand census ethnic data would benefit from a question on citizenship immediately preceding the ethnic question; whether this would discourage New Zealand respondents from answering with citizenship responses to the ethnic question remains to be seen. There are some within Statistics New Zealand who believe so; but others are sceptical. There is no way to know without testing the proposition, which has not been done in New Zealand, and this is unlikely to occur with limited budgets. The Canadian situation would indicate that it might not help, since the Canadian long form contains a citizenship question, which does not seem to deter nationality responses to the ethnic origin question. However, the Canadian citizenship question has two disadvantages: a) it occurs several questions before the ethnic origin, and b) it denies the respondent the satisfaction of reporting being 'Canadian'. Instead, tick boxes for 'Canada, by birth' and 'Canada, naturalisation' are provided. Further thought and research would have to take place before investing funds into such a testing program for New Zealand. The fundamental problem of 'naming' the majority ethnic group is not likely to be solved by question placement-driven solutions.

6.6 Conclusion: Multiple Responses, 1951-2001

While the U.S. 'allowed' multiple responses for race for the first time in 2000, Canada and New Zealand have been collecting multiple origins/ethnicity data for years. In this respect, the former British colonies are well ahead of the Americans. However, both agencies have had to struggle to process such data, for both input and output. Ethnicity data are complex phenomena, and when trying to classify and tabulate for populations with a wide mix, it tests the skills of even the most proficient statistician. On the input side, both agencies have struggled to cope with people who respond in excess to the maximum number of values allowed on the unit record database. The detailed approach to multiple response for the selected census years is described in Chapter 5. Generally computer systems cannot cope with an unlimited number of responses, so a decision has to be made in advance of processing how many values will be entered for the field for ethnicity. This decision, because of a lack of statistics on people with many ethnicities, has an arbitrary component, but can be based on international practice, previous censuses, trends (i.e., increasing inter-marriage of ethnic groups) and inevitably, practicalities such as processing timeframes and budget concerns. Note that tickbox questions encourage multiple response in two ways: the tickboxes make it 'easier' (i.e. less effort) to select more than one response than it would be to write in more than one response, and the mere fact of many boxes for ethnic groups in the question suggests more 'acceptability' (through the power of suggestion perhaps) of multiple response than would a single line to write in.

Thus the number of responses allowed at input differs, but so does the collecting (and/or coding) of the responses. In New Zealand, the selected responses are prioritised via a computerised system that gives priority to Maori and Pacific

Islanders over other groups; that is, it generally favours smaller groups over larger groups. See Appendix B for the priority ordering system used in New Zealand.

The Canadian approach to paring down the number of responses at input is to simply take the responses in the order given by the respondent. This approach is less ‘engineered’ than New Zealand, but also provides less protection to smaller groups who are more statistically affected by being dropped. Both practices have been in place for some time, at least since the 1980s, and after a cursory investigation their origins are still unclear. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to pursue this in detail, but it would be an interesting exercise.

The data output component is a difficult process also. The public prefer tables that ‘add up’ to 100 percent. This rigid parameter is difficult to apply to a complex (multiple values) variable such as ethnicity. For example, for the Sex variable, multiple responses are not allowed (respondents must either report being male or female), and thus a table presenting the information, such as female 52 percent, male 48 percent, will always add up to 100 percent. In contrast, for ethnicity any given person may have more than one ethnicity, and thus a simple table (with one ethnic group per column heading) cannot present the information in a way that will add up to 100 percent if each person is to be counted in each of the ethnic groups (columns) that they report. Thus it is difficult to present a table with columns in which any respondent giving more than one ethnicities would appear in more than one column. Statistics New Zealand has taken the approach of providing two types of tables – prioritised tables in which each person is allocated a single ethnic group, and total response tables in which people are counted in each ethnic grouping reported. Statistics Canada has taken the approach of creating combined ethnicity output categories as well as total response tables.

The future of the validity of the ethnic variable using multiple values would seem to be in the ability of statisticians to collect the data in an accurate and meaningful way, and their ability to present the data in a way that makes sense to the public. A glaring example of the misunderstanding of how ethnic data are collected in New Zealand is a recent article in the New Zealand Herald (24 February 2001). In that article John Roughan makes countless incorrect statements about how people are classified by ethnic group, such as 'the only people official classified as European/Pakeha (as we were in the last census) are those who have no other ethnicity' (Roughan 2001). This statement is untrue because anyone who reports fewer than seven ethnicities and a European ethnicity is counted in the European ethnic group in the census, and will be represented as European in the total response tables. Press coverage in the same strain as Roughan bolsters the argument for doing away with the system altogether.

6.7 Eriksen's Model of Types of Ethnic Groups

The comparison of Canadian and New Zealand ethnic groups has largely been omitted from this thesis. However, questionnaire and collection issues are frequently driven by the needs, issues and perspectives of the population being measured itself. The next step in resolving conceptual and technical problems for the measurement of ethnicity in each country may be to consider some of the main ethnic groups for which the measurement is being applied. Thus it may be helpful at this point to describe some of the main ethnic groups in Canada and New Zealand using a theoretical framework discussed earlier.

A brief application of Eriksen's ideal types, as discussed in Chapter 2 (which were: urban ethnic minorities; indigenous peoples; proto-nations; and other ethnic groups in plural societies,) can help to shed light on some of the differences between New Zealand and Canadian ethnic groups. The ethnic groups in Table 6.2 are not an exhaustive list but are an indication of the more prominent examples for each category.

TABLE 6.2: APPLICATION OF ERIKSEN'S MODEL FOR TYPES OF ETHNIC GROUPS, FOR CANADA AND NEW ZEALAND

Type of ethnic group	Canada	New Zealand
Urban ethnic minorities	North American Indian Jamaican, Haitian and other Caribbean	Maori Samoan, Tongan, Niuean, Cook Island, other pacific
Indigenous peoples	North American Indian, Métis, and Inuit	Maori, Moriori
Proto-nations	Quebec, Inuit in Nunavut, Métis	n/a
Ethnic groups in plural societies	Ukrainian, Italian, Portuguese, Greek, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Indian (Asian), Middle Eastern	Dutch, Dalmatian, Chinese, Indian (Asian)

As Table 6.2 demonstrates, both countries have urban ethnic minorities. In New Zealand the focus is on groups found in Auckland, but also to a lesser extent Christchurch and Wellington. In Canada, the main centres are Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, as well as Winnipeg. For New Zealand, the most obvious are Pacific peoples (Samoan, Tongan, etc). However, Maori also fall into this category with increasing urbanisation. Canadian urban ethnic minorities include Jamaicans and Haitians, but also the aboriginal people who are becoming increasingly urbanised in large cities such as Toronto and Winnipeg.

Maori (including Moriori) in New Zealand fall under the heading of indigenous groups, while the First Nations in Canada also are considered indigenous.

Proto-nations in Canada include the French in Quebec and the Inuit in Nunavut, and to a lesser extent, the Métis. New Zealand does not seem to have comparable proto-nations within its borders.

Finally, both Canada and New Zealand can be said to be pluralistic societies and have ethnic groups that have arisen as a result of that plurality. In Canada these would be various non-English speaking European settlers such as Ukrainian, as well

prominent non-European groups such as, Chinese, Korean, Middle Eastern and South Asian; while in New Zealand the plurality is demonstrated with the Dutch, Dalmatian, Chinese, and South Asian ethnic groups as well.

6.8 Conclusion: General findings

The conceptual differences between the New Zealand and Canadian censuses are apparent from the wording of the questions. The New Zealand questions ask about 'belonging' to an ethnic group, and thus addresses issues of identity. The Canadian questions ask about ancestry or origin, which may be viewed as less subjective than the New Zealand focus on identity. The Canadian questions about 'population group', which may be said to be questions on 'race' or colour, further diverges from the New Zealand approach. The reasons for the Canadian approach may be due to legislative requirements, however, another contributing factor may be the history of race relations in Canada (especially the presence of a small but well-established and historically important black population), and to some extent its southern neighbour's race-approach to ethnicity, which probably makes it more 'acceptable' to ask a race question in Canada than in New Zealand. The lack of a legislative requirement in New Zealand also means that the ethnicity measure in New Zealand is more ambiguous, and its position in the official statistical system more tenuous, than its Canadian counterpart.

It has also been demonstrated that one of the major differences in the data is the element of self-identification, which would have been more prevalent in the New Zealand data than the Canadian data. As discussed in Chapter 2, one could assert that self-identified ethnic data could be interpreted as representing more 'voluntary' ethnicity than data collected in the Canadian sample. Conversely, since the census

questions in Canada are 'ancestral', this may mean that the Canadians are collecting a more 'objective' measure.

Demographic differences between Canada and New Zealand have been well illustrated using the Eriksen model, and highlight the salient differences in the main ethnic groups in both countries. Throughout the thesis attention has been given in particular to the differences in the 'founding' groups of each country (English and French in Canada, and English and Maori in New Zealand), and the composition of both indigenous and migrant groups in each country. Canada has two charter groups and a legislative mandate for visible minority measures; New Zealand has only one group specifically to be identified (Maori population), and no legislative impetus to collect data on 'other' groups, except according to the interests of social policy makers. A comparison that is not often made is the importance of culture related to language; that is, differences in how language is related to ethnicity. In Canada, language is a key marker of ethnicity, and for many years the ethnic ancestry question was guided by the language question in the census. Except for very early in its history, and until very recently, language has not figured prominently in Maori or any other ethnicity in New Zealand.

Technical considerations have also served to highlight differences between the two countries. On the technical side, Canada has a long form (20%) and short form (80%), whereas New Zealand only has one (100%) (the Statistics Act requires 100 percent for ethnic origin). Also, the New Zealand census has a much smaller population to cover, but provides more detail on that population. The Canadians use a sampling system for a much larger population. The New Zealand census includes everyone in New Zealand on census night, while the Canadian census excludes certain groups.

The less obvious differences are the concepts and classification behind the question. Canada prefers to measure ethnic *ancestry*, not identity. New Zealand, with the ethnicity question, seeks to measure *cultural affiliation* (no definition of this found). Neither agency has successfully defined the variable, and it could be argued that neither have 'got it right' yet. Another telling fact is that ethnicity is imputed in Canada, and it is not in New Zealand. Thus self-perception is stronger in the New Zealand measurement of ethnicity than it is in the Canadian measurement. However, the New Zealand census data also detracts from the self-perception concept by traditionally prioritising ethnicity in their output. The Canadian agency does not prioritise (although they do eliminate when more than the maximum is given). While both agencies accept nationality responses, the Canadians have added 'Canadian' to the classification, while New Zealand has resisted this.

Finally, while the Canadian classifiers are content to maintain an ethnic classification for use solely in the census, the New Zealand statisticians are promoting the classification as a standard for official ethnic statistics. Curiously, New Zealand has escaped some of the categorisations for whom quality is a problem, such as the difficulties of reporting 'Indian' in the Canadian .

Despite these difference, there are striking similarities in the collection of ethnicity in Canada and New Zealand; both statistical agencies successfully manage the needs of specific users and interest groups, and both organisations are grappling with the reporting of citizenship ('Canadian', 'New Zealander') to ethnicity questions and its impact on the data.

6.9 Conclusion: Looking into the Future

Technological advances have impacted greatly on recent censuses, especially the use of the Internet. The amount of information both agencies now make available on the World Wide Web may have implications for the collection of ethnicity data. The most direct impact is that ethnic communities themselves have more access to the ethnic data they provided during census time. Increased access to data could be translated into increased ownership and thus participation in the data collection process. For example, the Statistics New Zealand website (www.stats.govt.nz) contains a link to "Maori Information". Thus, one 'click' of the mouse makes data on Maori available to anyone. One challenge to the effectiveness of the Internet in the promotion and dissemination of ethnic statistics, ironically, is the so-called 'digital divide' (the socio-economic gap between those who have access to the Internet and those who don't), which itself is partially along ethnic lines. Statistics on the digital divide for New Zealand are hard to come by, but figures for the U.S. suggest that ethnic minorities there are less likely to have access to the Internet, and are therefore less likely to benefit from it⁵⁰.

The conceptual difficulties that both statistical agencies encounter regarding ethnicity are reflected in the fact that both are taking steps to better understand ethnicity by gather information from the community. While Statistics Canada considers a post-censal survey on Ethnic Diversity, Statistics New Zealand is consulting with users and producers of ethnic data during its Review of the

⁵⁰ "In the US the digital divide is a hot topic. Researchers say 60% of households with incomes of \$75,000 or above have internet access, compared to only twelve percent earning \$20,000 - \$25,000. Black and Hispanic families are only two-fifths as likely to have computers at home as white families. Rural dwellers are less likely to own computers and be connected to the internet - even though they stand to benefit from it more" (Hunt 2000).

Measurement of Ethnicity (RME)⁵¹. For both statistical agencies, the Internet will be a key tool in their core work, and Statistics New Zealand is already using the Internet extensively for work on the RME.

Although many challenges lie ahead, both Statistics Canada and Statistics New Zealand have shown their awareness of the difficulties inherent in collecting information relating to this variable, and have heeded and continue to seek the opinions of ethnic community groups, the media, the general public, as well as academics. But despite their responsiveness to community concerns, any decisions taken must be based on statistically sound concepts that balance the opposing views of the consumers and producers of statistics with the people who provide the data - Canadian and New Zealand citizens.

⁵¹ "In response to demand from users of ethnic statistics, Statistics New Zealand has begun a review of the measurement of ethnicity by official statistics. Its purpose is to re-examine the concepts and measurements of ethnicity that have been in use for some time. The plan is to update these if required, taking into account the views of members of ethnic groups, as well as of producers and users of the statistics. This review will cover all ethnic groups in New Zealand. While there will be a strong focus on the Maori group, attention will also be given to Pacific Peoples, Asian and all other groups. It is possible that more than one definition of ethnicity and more than one measure of it may emerge. The review will produce recommendations on how ethnicity should be measured by all government agencies that collect information on ethnic groups. It is intended that the definitions and measures produced by the review be robust and relevant enough to be used throughout the official statistical system for at least ten years. Once Statistics New Zealand has finished planning the review, a wide range of individuals and groups will be consulted. These will include Maori organisations, social researchers, government departments, ethnic councils, Statistics New Zealand's advisory committees, medical researchers and regional authorities". (www.stats.govt.nz/ethnicity)

Appendix A

Methodological Appendix

A.1 Overview

A.2 Methods Used

A.2.1 How the Comparison Developed

A.2.2 Things that worked, Things that did not

A.3 More on the 'Insider Position'

A.3.1 Timeline

A.3.2 Access to Special Tools and People

A.3.3 Ethical Considerations

A.3.4 Politics and Ethnicity

A.1 Overview

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a 'natural history' of the development of this thesis. Chapter three has already gone some way towards explaining the 'insider position' from which the research was conducted. The choice of years of comparison has been explained elsewhere (Chapter 1 and 5). This appendix will address additional methodological issues that did not seem appropriate to cover in the main thesis, and will then expand on the 'insider' position commented on in Chapter 3.

A.2 Methods Used

This section will explain more about how the comparison between Canada and New Zealand developed, some of the issues encountered, and how these were resolved along the way.

A.2.1 How the Comparison Developed

As explained in Chapter 3, a comparison of ethnic statistics was an extension of past academic interest and professional work I was already engaged in. As an Honours

Sociology student at McGill University, I had used the comparative method to good effect, interviewing South Asian subjects about their immigration experiences for my thesis. Also at McGill, I had completed a graduate seminar in ethnic studies, within the Centre for Ethnic Studies. Thus the academic interest in ethnicity was well established before I came to New Zealand in 1998.

In a professional capacity, I had worked in both Statistics Canada and Statistic New Zealand. In both countries, the Census of Population is the main form of collecting national ethnic data. A comparison of the two was a natural 'next step' for a masters thesis.

The initial idea for this thesis was initially to compare the ethnic classifications of the two countries. I was particularly interested in classification – the tool used to code and group ethnic responses in the census. This arose out of my responsibility for maintaining the New Zealand ethnic classification. A comparison with the Canadian classification would have provided valuable insight into that work.

However, it became clear to me that ethnic classification, while meaningful to me, was not particularly meaningful to the general public, nor had it been given much attention in academic circles. I soon realised that the classification was invisible (this notion is explored in Chapter 2), and that it was the ethnic questions that were the more prominent feature of ethnic data collection in both countries.

Thus, it was felt that a more meaningful approach might be to compare the ethnic questions for selected census years in each country. A limited classificatory comparison would occur by way of the comparison of the response categories for each question. Thus a detailed comparison of the classifications has not been undertaken in this thesis.

Comparing various census questions has enabled a 'deeper' analysis (than would a classification comparison), because it goes 'beyond' examining the data for ethnic groups in each country. Comparing census questions 'forces' us to question some fundamental assumptions when trying to understand why things are done differently in each country. Since the question is the 'public face' of ethnic data, and questionnaire designers must take into account the public's reaction to the question wording and the choice of response categories, analysing questions also 'forces' us to confront deeper sociological issues.

In contrast to the questionnaire designer, the classifier's main concern is to provide a way to categorise responses to the question in a meaningful way that will provide good, consistent data. The public's mindset, although not completely absent, is further from the thoughts of the classifier than the questionnaire designer (for good or for bad).

It was initially thought that a comparison of the classifications would provide some good insights into the ethnic data. However, ethnic data comparisons between Canada and New Zealand are rare, and few researchers would benefit from detailed comparisons of the content of categories. However, societal comparisons are not so rare (as shown in Chapter 2) and the two countries also have significant similarities in their colonial pasts. Thus, the deeper analysis (how the data are collected, and the histories of the development of the collection) rather than a straight data comparison is hopefully more useful to sociologists and others researchers. To give one example of this distinction: the treatment of minority ethnic groups is better reflected in the question wordings than in the classification, and provides a richer sociological comparison.

A.2.2 Things that worked, things that did not

One thing I discovered that lent depth to the analysis was the inclusion of helpnotes in the census process. These are the instructions (either to the interviewer or the respondent) on how to fill out the census form. While the questions do not reveal much, the helpnotes show a lot about attitudes to race and ethnicity prevalent at the time, especially for early censuses, and highlight the differences in the attitudes of the statistical agencies in later censuses. For example, the Canadian modules went to great lengths to explain the question and to ‘sell’ respondents on the importance of the data, whereas the New Zealand forms gave minimum explanations.

An extensive review of coding rules was not undertaken, as they are scantily documented, and in the case of manual coding were often done ad hoc or at the judgement of the coder or coder’s supervisor. However, when I was able to find the automated rules, these were included because again they reveal something about the way ethnic data are treated in the processing systems.

Two useful ‘tools’ for the writing of Chapters 5 and 6 were actually the writing of Chapters 2 and 4. In Chapter 2, it became clear what the gaps in the literature were, and I was then able to make decisions about how far to proceed into the ‘unknown’ rather than trying to cover already well-known concepts. Chapter 2 also made me aware of some of the theoretical work on classifications, and helped to explain why classifications were so ‘invisible’.

Chapter 4 was useful in supplementing some of my intuitive knowledge of the differences between Canada and New Zealand, gained from having lived and worked in both countries, with some objective views on the history of each country. I was surprised to realise that I knew more about Maori history, having been in New Zealand only a short time, than I knew about First Nations in Canada. This supports

my current view that the indigenous people in Canada have a much lower profile, and could learn from recent Maori experiences.

A.3 More on the 'Insider Position'

This section expands upon some of the issues commented on in Chapter 3.

A.3.1 Timeline

A brief timeline of the study and employment history may help to clarify the 'insider' position from which the research was conducted. Employment with Statistics New Zealand began in April 1998, at the Research Statistician level in the Classifications and Standards section. The application to study at the University of Canterbury was submitted in December 1998. Study commenced in February 1999. The Review of the Measurement of Ethnicity (RME) commenced in May 2000, and is due for completion in 2002. Promotion to Team Leader took place in August 2000. Writing of the thesis took place right through the summer months, and finished in March 2001.

A.3.2 Access to Special Tools and People

Any graduate student has access to on-line information and library materials, as well as some formal contact with statistical agencies. However, as an employee and statistician, I had easier access to published and unpublished materials, as well as easier access to the people working for the Statistics New Zealand and Statistics Canada.

Old contacts at Statistics Canada from the time I was working there helped me locate information, but also new contacts formed in New Zealand with colleagues at Statistics Canada were also drawn on. Most productively was the contact with my counterparts in Statistics Canada- those working on ethnic classification. They were particularly helpful. Because Statistics New Zealand is such a small organisation, it is

comparatively easy to find the person you want to talk to and get some of their time. And relatively speaking, the Government Statistician is quite accessible. I corresponded with the Statistics Canada contacts mostly by email, whereas co-workers in Statistics New Zealand were readily accessible by email, phone, and in person.

A.3.3 Ethical Considerations

This research was conducted under strict considerations of confidentiality. As an employee of Statistics New Zealand, I was aware and adhering to various codes and practices. I signed a secrecy agreement when joining the department, to protect the confidentiality of respondents of Statistics New Zealand surveys, under the Statistics Act. Also, as a public servant, I operate under the requirements of the Public Service Code of Conduct.

In addition, as a student of sociology at University of Canterbury, I was directed to comply with the Sociological Associate of Aotearoa (N.Z.) Code of Ethics.

In consideration of these requirements, I gained the approval for the research from Statistics New Zealand managers, and kept them informed of my activities. Also to this end, no data that would compromise the confidentiality of respondents were used. Finally, any materials used in this thesis are either publicly available (either in published form or on the Statistics New Zealand website), or the explicit consent of the author or agency was sought.

At all times during the research and writing of this thesis I have held these responsibilities foremost and have to the best of my knowledge observed all ethical considerations and complied with all requirements.

A.3.4 Politics and Ethnicity

Researching and writing about ethnicity in the period of 1999-2001 presented many opportunities and challenges. Unlike some topics of sociological interest, ethnicity is a very politically sensitive topic in New Zealand. In the period that this thesis was written, New Zealand has seen a change in government (Labour elected in November 1999), the implementation of controversial ethnically-driven social policy (Closing the Gaps and the subsequent 'repealing' of the focus on Maori and Pacific peoples), protests against apartheid-like treatment of Indians in Fiji, and increased racial tension around issues of abuse of Maori children, and police violence against Maori.

Statistics New Zealand is not immune to the politicisation of ethnicity. It has been criticised in the national press for changes to the ethnic question, and there is a certain cautiousness in approach to statistical work that touches on anything ethnic. It has become clear that any work that engages the concepts of race, ethnicity or ancestry, is susceptible to intense public scrutiny. The Chapple paper (2000), mentioned in Chapter 4, is one such example. Although it was a 'draft' paper which only appeared on the Ministry of Social Policy website for a short time, it was widely quoted in the media.

A.4 Conclusion

Working in the official statistics agency has made me more aware of the political implications of work on ethnicity than I otherwise would have been. For example, in November there were a rash of articles in the press (falsely) declaring that 'Pakeha' was no longer an ethnic category in the New Zealand census (Hamilton Press 2000, Wanganui Chronicle 2000, Greymouth Evening News 2000). The Deputy

Government Statistician went on national television to explain and defend the agency's actions.

The acknowledgement of the political implications of the ethnicity question and classification has meant that extensive consultation is being sought in the RME. The need for extensive consultation means there will be no 'fast' solutions to the perceived problems with the question and classification. The work should be completed in 2002.

Appendix B

Statistical Standard for Ethnicity (New Zealand)

STATISTICAL STANDARD FOR ETHNICITY

Long Title: The Interim Standard for Ethnicity 1996.1

Effective Date: 22 May 1996

PART 1 – Specification of Required Details

A. Introduction

The term ethnicity is used to refer to the ethnic group or groups that a person identifies with or feels they belong to.

History

Population Census

Over time there has been a shift from asking a question about race or ancestry to asking a question about ethnicity (cultural affiliation).

The race or ethnicity question used has been different in each of the last five Population Censuses. As a result of this, it is not possible to get a consistent measure of trends over time. The questions used in 1971 and 1976 were very similar. Both questions had one tick box asking respondents if they were of full European descent and required a written response for any other descent. Respondents with more than one origin were asked to give particulars (eg 3/4 European, 1/4 NZ Maori). The 1976 question, however, was headed “ethnic origin” and had a second part to the question in which Persons of the Maori race of New Zealand or descendants of such a person were required to tick a box.

In 1981 the question was also headed “ethnic origin” but changed considerably, introducing nine tick box categories. There were tick boxes for each of eight “full” origins (eg “Full Samoan”). The ninth tick box was “Other Full Origin” and respondents were then asked to specify what it was. Written responses were also required for respondents with more than one origin and fractions of descent were required, as in 1976 and 1971. Thus, a race concept was still being used.

In 1986 an actual question was asked: “What is your ethnic origin?” and the statement “tick the box or boxes which apply to you” appeared beneath the question.

Respondents were asked to tick a possible eight boxes which might apply to them. Those respondents who ticked "Other" were asked to state their origin. Fractions of descent were not required, and the terms "full origin", "Full European" and so on did not appear in the question. Thus, in 1986 there was a move towards using a concept of ethnicity rather than race, although the term "ethnic origin" was still in use.

In 1991 the question was reworded to "Which ethnic group do you belong to?" and the statement "Tick the box or boxes which apply to you" appeared beneath the question, as in 1986. The tick box categories remained the same, but the "European" category was changed to "NZ European" in an attempt to cater for the large number of respondents in 1986 who ticked "Other" and wrote "New Zealander".

For the 1996 Population Census, it was considered important that the question remain *essentially* the same as that used in 1991, to provide a measure of continuity over time. The main changes made were the rewording of the question to indicate that more than one box could be ticked and the inclusion of an "Other European" tick box and a separate list of tick box categories for Other European ethnic groups.

HLFS

In the Household Labour Force Survey (HLFS), the question is asked by an interviewer and respondents are shown a card that has a list of ethnic groups, including an "Other" category. Multiple responses - up to three - have always been coded. The HLFS question has only had one change of format since the survey began. In the original question there were nine ethnic group categories, but in December 1991 an additional category called "Other Pacific" was added.

HES

Data on ethnicity has been collected in the Household Economic Survey (HES) since 1974. The term "ethnic group" has always been used in the question. As in the HLFS, the question is asked by an interviewer and respondents are shown a card that has a list of ethnic groups. Ten categories are used and they are the same as those used in the HLFS. The "Other Pacific" category was added at the same time that it was added to the list used in the HLFS. A new method for collecting ethnicity was used from 1992/93. Under this method, respondents are able to choose up to three ethnic categories.

Vitals

Prior to September 1995, the birth and death registration forms asked for the "degree of Maori Blood" and "Pacific Island blood" of the father and mother of the person concerned. If the person's mother or father had Maori "blood", details of the Tribe were requested. If the person's mother or father had Pacific Island blood, respondents were asked to state the Island. The questionnaire module used now on these forms is very similar to that used in the population census. The term "ethnic group" is used and the question wording indicates that more than one response can be given. The tick box categories used are the same as in the population census.

Rationale for the Standard

Information on ethnicity is needed by government agencies, policy makers and administrators, researchers and ethnic or cultural associations to study the size, location, characteristics and other aspects of the different groups. The data is used, among other things, in the planning of services directed at the special needs of ethnic groups in areas such as health, education and social welfare; the allocation of funds from government agencies to ethnic groups; and the measurement and assessment of the economic and social well-being of various ethnic groups.

The collection of information about ethnic origin in the Population Census is mandatory under the Statistics Act 1975.

B. Definition of Output Variable

Ideal Definition

Ethnicity is the ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Thus, ethnicity is self-perceived and people can belong to more than one ethnic group.

An ethnic group is defined as:

A social group whose members have the following four characteristics:

- share a sense of common origins
- claim a common and distinctive history and destiny
- possess one or more dimensions of collective cultural individuality
- feel a sense of unique collective solidarity⁵²

Operational Definition

Ethnicity is the ethnic group or groups reported by respondents in the ethnic group question.

Impact on Data Quality

Responses to the ethnic group question are regarded as being the ethnic group or groups that a respondent identifies with or feels he or she belongs to. This may not, however, always be true. Some respondents, may not understand the meaning of

⁵² This definition was adopted in the report of the Review Committee on Ethnic Statistics. It is the definition of Smith (1981)

“ethnic group”. They may think the question is about nationality or ancestry (race), and may, for example, include all of their ancestral groups, even though they do not identify with or feel any sense of belonging to one or more of these groups. Such respondents might answer the question differently if the meaning of “ethnic group” was explained to them. Other respondents may give their nationality instead of their ethnicity. Thus, some responses to this question may not represent ethnic groups that respondents actually identify with or feel they belong to. To determine the extent to which these factors affect the data, it would be necessary to undertake research on how respondents interpret the question and on how this affects their responses.

In some instances, the ethnicity question is answered on behalf of another person (ie is answered by a proxy). This is common in sample surveys and also occurs in the census (eg when parents fill in their children’s forms). Proxy responses may be different to the response that the person themselves would have given, and so may tend to decrease the overall quality of the data.

C. Scope

Ethnic group is an attribute of the statistical unit "person".

In the Population Census, the scope of the variable is all people in New Zealand on Census night, including overseas visitors. In the HES, the scope of the variable is all people in private dwellings. In the HLFS, the scope of the variable is all people staying at the selected private and non-private dwellings when contacted in the survey week.

D. Discussion of Conceptual Issues

Similar Concepts

Ethnicity is different from nationality and ancestry (race).

“Nationality” is the country to which a person belongs, that is the country in which a person was born or the country for which a person has gained citizenship. People of the same nationality can belong to various ethnic groups. For example, in New Zealand there are people belonging to many different ethnic groups such as Chinese, Samoan and Dutch.

Although the concepts of ethnicity and nationality are different, the term used to describe a particular ethnic group is often the same as the term used to describe people of a particular nationality (eg Australian, American). This includes cases in which

people of a particular nationality can belong to distinctive communities (eg Chinese, Indian). Categories such as Chinese and Indian, however, have been consistently reported as ethnic groups (or origins) in New Zealand and/or Australian Population Censuses. This could be caused by confusion about the concepts of "nationality" and "ethnic group", decreased sensitivity (over time and geographical distance) to the ethnic divisions of the country of origin, or a perception that the dominant ethnic group in the host country does not appreciate these ethnic distinctions.

"Ancestry" is a person's family descent, while "race" refers to each of the major divisions of humankind, each of which has distinct physical characteristics. Thus race is based on ancestry (and thus physical appearance) and is different from ethnicity. For example, some people who have New Zealand Maori ancestry do not report New Zealand Maori as their ethnic group or as one of their ethnic groups. The opposite is also true - some people who do not have New Zealand Maori ancestry do identify New Zealand Maori as one of their ethnic groups. Again, although the concepts of ethnicity and race are different, the term used to refer to a particular group on an ethnic basis is generally the same as the term used to refer to that group on a racial basis.

Although ethnicity is not the same as nationality or ancestry (race), both nationality and ancestry can play an important part in determining what ethnic group or groups people feel they belong to.

Other Issues

Ethnicity is a relatively recent concept. The concept of "race" has been used for a much longer period of time, is still commonly used in other contexts (eg in the media) and is probably better understood among the general public. The concept of nationality is also probably better understood than the concept of ethnicity. Also, as discussed above, terms used to refer to particular races and nationalities are often used as ethnic group terms. For these reasons, it is likely that some respondents may answer the ethnicity question as if the question was about race or nationality (Refer to Part 1B).

A major issue relating to ethnicity is the term used to describe the majority ethnic group in New Zealand.⁵³ Different terms have been used in each of the last three censuses: "European" in 1986, "New Zealand European" in 1991 and "NZ European or Pakeha" in 1996. A significant number of respondents object to the term "European" (either on its own or qualified as "New Zealand European") or to the term "Pakeha" and prefer to describe their ethnic group as "New Zealander". In 1986, for example, 20,313 people ignored all categories offered and wrote in "New Zealander". The way in which this sort of response is coded is different for different surveys. Currently, in the census, responses of "New Zealander" - together with other similar responses such as "Kiwi" - are coded to the classification category "New Zealand European/Pakeha". In the HLFS and HES, however, responses of "New Zealander",

⁵³ Refer to the "New Zealand Standard Classification of Ethnicity 1993" (pages 15 - 17) for a more detailed discussion of this issue.

“Kiwi” and so on are coded to the “other” category. The issues of how to describe the majority ethnic group and how to deal with responses of “New Zealander” will need to be examined when a major review of the classification is undertaken.

Another issue is the use of the terms “New Zealand Maori” and “Cook Island Maori”. The category Maori is called "New Zealand Maori" to distinguish it from "Cook Island Maori". The view has been expressed that adding the words "New Zealand" to the Maori category is insulting to the tangata whenua (original inhabitants). Also, there has been some feeling that the term "Maori" should be dropped from the description of the Cook Islands people. The general view, however, is that the links of genealogy and similarity of language between the two groups make it best to continue with the present category descriptions.⁵⁴

The ethnic group(s) that people identify with or feel they belong to - and thus report - can change over time. This is referred to as *ethnic mobility*. Ethnic mobility creates problems when attempting to examine changes in dependent variables on the basis of ethnic group (independent variable). For this sort of data analysis it is assumed that a person's ethnicity remains constant. Two studies of ethnic mobility have been done. A study comparing people's responses in the 1981 census with their responses in the 1986 census found that responses for six per cent of the people in the sample had changed in some way. (This is an increase on the corresponding figure of four per cent that was found in a study of ethnic mobility between the 1976 and 1981 censuses.) It is difficult, however, to draw any firm conclusions from the 1981-1986 study as the sample size was small (approximately 5000 people). Furthermore, the questions used in 1981 and 1986 were different so the changes in responses may be partly due to changes to the question rather than to actual changes in people's ethnicity.

E. The Classification Criteria

Individual ethnic groups are classified into progressively broader ethnic groups according to geographical location or origin, cultural similarities, and size (in New Zealand).

At the lowest level of the classification (Level Four) larger groups are disaggregated (as appropriate) according to:

- geographical locality or origin (country, regions within a country or islands within a particular island group);
- cultural differences (which include distinctions such as language and religious belief);
- size; and

⁵⁴ The justification for using these two terms is taken from the “New Zealand Standard Classification of Ethnicity 1993”.

- Recommendation 8 of the Ethnic Review Committee report on ethnic statistics (Refer to Attachment 1) which states that Pacific Island Groups should be separately identified where possible.

Classification Criteria Logic

The criteria of geographical location or origin and cultural similarities and differences underpin the concept and nature of ethnicity. Many of the terms used for ethnic groups reflect geographical location or origin, and the way in which the categories are organised is determined largely by the geographical location or origin (ie the area where that ethnic group developed, or the area in which that ethnic group has its origins).

Geographical locality has a major impact on the development of distinctive ethnic groups. Groups of people in different parts of the world, have developed different cultures, and thus different (distinct) ethnic groups. In some cases this has occurred over relatively short periods of time. For example, over the past 150 years since New Zealand was colonised by European settlers, a new ethnic group that is different from the ethnic groups of these settlers has emerged: "New Zealand European/Pakeha".

Note that in some cases, ethnic groups that developed in areas that are geographically remote from each other are grouped under the same broad category. For example, "New Zealand European/Pakeha" and "English" fall under the same broad category of "European". Likewise, "Kenyan" and "African American" fall under the broad category of "African".

The size criterion helps to determine whether an ethnic group should be classified under an "other" category at a particular level. Generally the larger ethnic groups are disaggregated, while smaller ethnic groups fall into "other" categories. Ethnic groups with very small numbers fall into "not elsewhere classified" categories at Level Four.

The category of "New Zealand Maori" stands alone at all levels of the classification. This is in recognition of Maori as the tangata whenua (original inhabitants) of New Zealand and of New Zealand's unique position as the only territory where there is a commitment to the status, preservation and continuity of Maori cultural traditions (including language).

At every level except Levels Zero and One, certain Pacific Island groups are distinguished. This arose out of Recommendation 8 of the Ethnic Review Committee's report on ethnic statistics. Pacific Island groups represent a significant proportion of the migration flow into New Zealand. The proportion of the New Zealand population that is made up of people of Pacific Island descent is predicted to increase. Other reasons why it is important to differentiate Pacific Island groups include the impact of emigration on the Pacific Islands, especially those with which New Zealand has ties of citizenship, defence, development or aid agreements, and the responsibility of New Zealand for ensuring the maintenance of these Pacific Island cultures.

F. The Classification and Code Structure

Ethnicity is a hierarchical classification with five levels. Levels One to Four of the classification are listed below. Level Zero - an additional super-aggregated level - is not shown. Level Zero is the same as Level One except that there is no separate category for Asians (ie Asians fall under "Other Ethnic Groups").

"Not specified" is a category for non-respondents.

"Not further defined" categories are used for responses that contain insufficient detail to be coded to the lowest level of the classification, but can be coded to a less detailed category further up the hierarchy (eg British NFD, Chinese NFD, African NFD).

"Unidentifiable" is a category for responses that are so vague or ambiguous that they cannot be assigned to a meaningful code (eg mixed blood, half caste). Some responses of this type have occurred in the past.

"Not applicable" is a category for responses that are not ethnic groups (ie do not meet the ideal definition of ethnic group). Responses of this type (eg Aotearoan Internationalist) have occasionally occurred in the past.

1 European

11 New Zealand European/Pakeha

111 New Zealand European/Pakeha

11111 New Zealand European/Pakeha

12 Other European

121 British and Irish

12111 Celtic
12112 Channel Islander
12113 Cornish
12114 English
12115 Gaelic
12116 Irish
12117 Manx
12118 Orkney Islander
12119 Scottish (Scots)
12120 Shetland Islander
12121 Welsh

- 12199 British NEC
- 122 Dutch**
 - 12211 Dutch/Netherlands
- 123 Greek (incl Greek Cypriot)**
 - 12311 Greek (incl. Greek Cypriot)
- 124 Polish**
 - 12411 Polish
- 125 South Slav (formerly Yugoslav)**
 - 12511 Croat/Croatian
 - 12512 Dalmatian
 - 12513 Macedonian
 - 12514 Serb/Serbian
 - 12515 Slovene/Slovenian
 - 12599 South Slav (formerly Yugoslav) NEC
- 126 Italian**
 - 12611 Italian
- 127 German**
 - 12711 German
- 128 Australian**
 - 12811 Australian
- 129 Other European**
 - 12911 Albanian
 - 12912 Armenian
 - 12913 Austrian
 - 12914 Belgian
 - 12915 Bulgarian
 - 12916 Byelorussian
 - 12917 Corsican
 - 12918 Cypriot Unspecified
 - 12919 Czech
 - 12920 Danish
 - 12921 Estonian
 - 12922 Finnish

12923 Flemish
12924 French
12925 Greenlander
12926 Hungarian
12927 Icelander
12928 Latvian
12929 Lithuanian
12930 Maltese
12931 Norwegian
12932 Portuguese
12933 Romanian/Rumanian
12934 Romany/Gypsy
12935 Russian
12936 Sardinian
12937 Slavic/Slav
12938 Slovak
12939 Spanish
12940 Swedish
12941 Swiss
12942 Ukrainian
12943 American (US)
12944 Burgher
12945 Canadian
12946 Falkland Islander/Kelper
12947 New Caledonian
12948 South African
12999 European NEC

2 New Zealand Maori

21 New Zealand Maori

211 New Zealand Maori

21111 New Zealand Maori

3 Pacific Island

31 Samoan

311 Samoan
31111 Samoan

32 Cook Island Maori

321 Cook Island Maori

32111 Aitutaki Islander

32112 Atiu Islander
32113 Mangaia Islander
32114 Manihiki Islander
32115 Mauke Islander
32116 Mitiaro Islander
32117 Palmerston Islander
32118 Penrhyn Islander
32119 Pukapuka Islander
32120 Rakahanga Islander
32121 Rarotongan

33 Tongan

331 Tongan

33111 Tongan

34 Niuean

341 Niuean

34111 Niuean

35 Tokelauan

351 Tokelauan

35111 Tokelauan

36 Fijian

361 Fijian

36111 Fijian (except Fiji Indian/Indo-Fijian)

37 Other Pacific Island Groups

371 Other Pacific Island Groups

37111 Admiralty Islander
37112 Australian Aboriginal
37113 Austral Islander
37114 Belau/Palau Islander
37115 Bismark Archipelagoan
37116 Bougainvillean
37117 Caroline Islander
37118 Easter Islander

37119 Gambier Islander
37120 Guadalcanalian
37121 Guam Islander/Chamorro
37122 Hawaiian
37123 Kanaka/Kanak
37124 I-Kiribati/Gilbertese
37125 Malaitian
37126 Manus Islander
37127 Marianas Islander
37128 Marquesas Islander
37129 Marshall Islander
37130 Nauru Islander
37131 New Britain Islander
37132 New Georgian
37133 New Irelander
37134 Ocean Islander/Banaban
37135 Papuan/New Guinean/Irian Jayan
37136 Phoenix Islander
37137 Pitcairn Islander
37138 Rotuman/Rotuman Islander
37139 Santa Cruz Islander
37140 Society Islander (including Tahitian)
37141 Solomon Islander
37142 Torres Strait Islander/Thursday Islander
37143 Tuamotu Islander
37144 Tuvalu Islander/Ellice Islander
37145 Vanuatu Islander/New Hebridean
37146 Wake Islander
37147 Wallis Islander
37148 Yap Islander
37199 Other Pacific Island NEC

4 Asian

41 Southeast Asian

411 Filipino

41111 Filipino

412 Khmer/Kampuchean/Cambodian

41211 Khmer/Kampuchean/Cambodian

413 Vietnamese

41311 Vietnamese

414 Other Southeast Asian

- 41411 Burmese
- 41412 Indonesian (incl. Javanese/Sundanese/Sumatran)
- 41413 Lao/Laotian
- 41414 Malay/Malayan
- 41415 Thai/Tai/Siamese
- 41499 Other Southeast Asian NEC

42 Chinese

421 Chinese

- 42111 Hong Kong Chinese
- 42112 Kampuchean Chinese
- 42113 Malaysian Chinese
- 42114 Singaporean Chinese
- 42115 Vietnamese Chinese
- 42116 Taiwanese Chinese
- 42199 Chinese NEC

43 Indian

431 Indian

- 43111 Bengali
- 43112 Fijian Indian/Indo-Fijian
- 43113 Gujarati
- 43114 Tamil
- 43115 Punjabi
- 43116 Sikh
- 43199 Indian NEC

44 Other Asian

441 Sri Lankan

- 44111 Sinhalese
- 44112 Sri Lankan Tamil
- 44199 Sri Lankan NEC

442 Japanese

- 44211 Japanese

443 Korean

- 44311 Korean

444 Other Asian

- 44411 Afghani
- 44412 Bangladeshi
- 44413 Nepalese
- 44414 Pakistani
- 44415 Tibetan
- 44499 Other Asian NEC

5 Other Ethnic Groups

51 Middle Eastern

511 Middle Eastern

- 51111 Algerian
- 51112 Arab
- 51113 Assyrian
- 51114 Egyptian
- 51115 Iranian/Persian
- 51116 Iraqi
- 51117 Israeli/Jewish/Hebrew
- 51118 Jordanian
- 51119 Kurd
- 51120 Lebanese
- 51121 Libyan
- 51122 Moroccan
- 51123 Omani
- 51124 Palestinian
- 51125 Syrian
- 51126 Tunisian
- 51127 Turkish (incl. Turkish Cypriot)
- 51128 Yemeni
- 51199 Middle Eastern NEC

52 Latin American/Hispanic

521 Latin American/Hispanic

- 52111 Argentinian
- 52112 Bolivian
- 52113 Brazilian
- 52114 Chilean
- 52115 Colombian
- 52116 Costa Rican
- 52117 Creole (Latin America)
- 52118 Ecuadorian
- 52119 Guatemalan

52120 Guyanese
52121 Honduran
52122 Malvinian (Spanish-speaking Falkland Islander)
52123 Mexican
52124 Nicaraguan
52125 Panamanian
52126 Paraguayan
52127 Peruvian
52128 Puerto Rican
52129 Uruguayan
52130 Venezuelan
52199 Latin American/Hispanic NEC

53 African (or cultural group of African origin)

531 African (or cultural group of African origin)

53111 Black
53112 Creole (US)
53113 Jamaican
53114 Kenyan
53115 Nigerian
53116 African American
53117 Ugandan
53118 West Indian/Caribbean
53119 Somali
53199 Other African NEC

54 Other

541 Other

54111 Central American Indian
54112 Inuit/Eskimo
54113 Mauritian
54114 North American Indian
54115 Seychelles Islander
54116 South American Indian
54199 Other NEC

66666 Repeated Value
77777 Unidentifiable
88888 Not Applicable
99999 Not Specified

Not Applicable

This category is used for those responses or categories which are positively identified (ie the meaning and the intent are clear) but which fall outside the scope of the classification/topic as defined in the standard.

Unidentifiable

This category is used when a response is given but it is unclear what the meaning or the intent of the response is. This most commonly occurs when the response being classified is ambiguous or vague.

Not Specified

This category is only used where respondents have not given any response to the question asked (ie it is solely for non-response).

Not Further Defined (NFD) Categories

These categories allow vague responses to be coded.

- 10000 European NFD
- 12000 Other European NFD
- 12100 British NFD
- 12500 South Slav (formerly Yugoslav) groups NFD
- 30000 Pacific Island NFD
- 32100 Cook Island Maori NFD
- 37100 Other Pacific Island Groups NFD
- 40000 Asian NFD
- 41000 Southeast Asian NFD
- 42100 Chinese NFD
- 43100 Indian NFD
- 44100 Sri Lankan NFD
- 51100 Middle Eastern NFD
- 52100 Latin American/Hispanic NFD
- 53100 African NFD
- 54100 Other NFD

G. Application of the Classification to Other Variables

Not applicable.

H. Questionnaire Module(s)

Module Requirements

The field of application will be social and economic collections and the information could be collected via a self-completion questionnaire, personal interview or telephone interview.

Sensitivity of Information

Except for issues such as the terms used for particular ethnic groups and the coding of people who report themselves as “New Zealanders”, ethnic data itself will probably not be generally perceived to be of a sensitive nature. However, when ethnic data is crosstabulated with other variables such as income and output at a fairly disaggregated level, it may then be considered to be of a sensitive nature by people of some ethnic groups. As with all other statistical information, however, the information is output in such a manner as to prevent individual respondents from being identified.

Questionnaire Module Wording

The standard questionnaire module for census purposes is:

Tick as many circles as you need to show which ethnic group(s) you belong to.

NZ Maori
 NZ European or Pakeha
 other European → Which of these groups?
 Samoan
 Cook Island Maori
 Tongan
 Niuean
 Chinese

English
 Dutch
 Australian
 Scottish
 Irish

Indian
 other (such as Fijian, Korean) →

other → Print your ethnic group(s)

This is used as the de facto standard questionnaire module for full coverage self-administered surveys.

The standard questionnaire module for sample surveys is:

(This is yet to be developed.)

Questionnaire Module Rationale

The question should capture the diversity of European ethnic groups in New Zealand as well as other ethnic groups such as Pacific Island and Asian ethnic groups. The question should clearly indicate that more than one answer can be given. It is recommended the question remains essentially the same in order to get a consistent measure of trends over time.

I. Input Variable Categories

Input Variable(s)

The input variables are the level four categories, as shown in Part 1F.

Maximum Code Length

The maximum code length for ethnic group is five characters.

J. Codefiles

Codefile Entries

The codefile is available upon request from the Classifications and Standards Section (CSS).

Codefile Development

The codefile was developed from the 1991 Population Census codefile and from knowledge of particular responses that have occurred in the past (eg in the 1995 Census Dress Rehearsal).

K. Response Coding

All responses are coded to five-digit code, as per the codefile.

A maximum of three responses can be coded. If a respondent gives more than three responses, a priority recording system is used to determine which ethnic groups should be coded. This system gives priority to non-Pakeha/European groups and special priority to Maori and Pacific Island groups. For details of this priority system, refer to Attachment 2. (This priority system is also applied when multiple responses need to be assigned to one ethnic group for output purposes. Refer to Part 1N.)

Coding Process for Difficult Responses

If a response is not in the codefile, a decision must be made as to which is the most appropriate category for the response to be coded to. If the response meets the criteria for being treated as a unidentifiable or not applicable response, it should be coded to unidentifiable or not applicable, as appropriate. Vague responses may be able to be coded to a “not further defined” category. Responses of specific ethnic groups (eg Bosnian) that are not currently included in the classification should be coded to the appropriate NEC category. In some instances, consultation may be required to determine which category a response should be coded to.

Impact of the Coding Process on Data Quality

If an appropriate category for each difficult response can be identified, and difficult responses are coded in a consistent manner, data quality should not be adversely affected. As most sections of the classification contain NEC categories, an appropriate code for most difficult responses should be able to be identified.

For all surveys and for the census, a record of coding decisions for difficult responses should be kept in a Classifications and Standards database.

L. Output Variable Derivation

The different types of output used are described in Part 1N.

If the output involves overlapping categories or single ethnic groups, the output variable categories are obtained directly from the corresponding input categories. If the output involves combination categories (eg European/Maori), the output variable categories are derived from determining which combination category the response falls into, according to the particular response made. If multiple responses are to be assigned to one ethnic group, the priority order is applied to determine which ethnic group is assigned.

M. Output Variable Imputation

Imputation is not recommended because ethnic group is self-identified. If the question is not answered, the "not specified" category is used.

N. Output Variable Categories

There are three forms of output. The form of output used in any particular table needs to be made clear to users. The three forms of output are as follows:

1. Prioritised output

In this form of output, each respondent is allocated to a single ethnic group using the priority system. This form of output produces data that is easy to work with because each individual appears only once, so the tables sum to give the total population and percentages add to 100.

It is noted that this approach departs from the principle of self-identification. This is because it “forces” a multiple response into a single ethnic category. This single ethnic category may or may not be the ethnic group that respondents would choose themselves, if asked to select one of their responses.

For the census, prioritised output at levels one and three are standard outputs. Prioritised output at level one is for use in general topic reports; prioritised output at level three is for use in reports in which ethnicity is of particular interest.

For Census data tables in which ethnicity is not the main variable, prioritised output at level one of the classification will usually be used. If this is not sufficiently detailed (eg for reports on Immigrants and the Pacific Islands) prioritised output at level two or three can be used.

For the HLFS and HES, ethnic group data will be prioritised and will be at level zero of the classification.

2. Total response (overlapping category) output

In this type of output, respondents are assigned to each of the ethnic groups that they specified. Because individuals who indicate more than one ethnic group are counted in each group they indicate, the sum of the individual groups does not equal that of the total population. This is seen as a problem in some situations (eg the distribution of funding based on population numbers). It has worth as an output option, however, because it more accurately represents the data requested in the ethnicity question.

For the census, total response output at level one of the classification and for the 50 most commonly reported ethnic groups will be standard outputs.

Total response output at level one will provide a useful summary measure, although is likely to contain a significant amount of double counting. Total response output for the 50 most commonly reported groups will give detailed information about ethnic groups.

3. Sole/combination output

In this form of output, there are sole ethnic group categories for respondents who report only one ethnic group, and combination categories for respondents who give more than one ethnic group.

Sole/combination output is a standard output for the census. Two sets of categories will be used, one of which is more detailed than the other.

The proposed categories for the aggregated sole/combination ethnic group output are as follows:

Single Ethnic Group

- European
- NZ Maori
- Pacific Island
- Asian
- Other Single Ethnic Group

Total Single Ethnic Group

Two Ethnic Groups

- European and NZ Maori
- European and Pacific Island
- European and Asian
- European and Other
- Two European Groups
- NZ Maori and Pacific Island
- NZ Maori and Asian
- Pacific Island and Asian
- Two Pacific Island Groups
- Two Asian Groups
- Any Other Two Groups

Total Two Ethnic Groups

Total Three Ethnic Groups

- Not applicable/unidentifiable
- Not Specified

Total

The meaning of “other” in the category “European and Other” should be footnoted.

The proposed categories for the detailed sole/combination ethnic group output are as follows:

Single Ethnic Group

NZ European/Pakeha

Other European

Total single European

NZ Maori

Samoan

Cook Island Maori

Tongan

Niuean

Tokelauan

Fijian

Other single Pacific Island Group

Total single Pacific Island Group

Southeast Asian

Chinese

Indian

Other Asian

Total single Asian Group

Middle Eastern

Latin American/Hispanic

African

Other single ethnic group

Total single ethnic group

Two Ethnic Groups

NZ European/Pakeha and Other European

NZ European/Pakeha and NZ Maori

NZ European/Pakeha and Pacific Island

NZ European/Pakeha and Chinese

NZ European/Pakeha and Indian

NZ European/Pakeha and Other

Other European and NZ Maori

Two Other European groups

Other European and Other

NZ Maori and Pacific Island

NZ Maori and Asian (if numbers are sufficient)

NZ Maori and Other (if numbers are sufficient)

Two Pacific Island Groups

Two Asian Groups (if numbers are sufficient)

Any Other Two Ethnic Groups

Total NZ European/Pakeha and any other single ethnic group

Total Other European and any other single ethnic group

Total NZ Maori and any other single ethnic group

Total Two Ethnic Groups

Three Ethnic Groups

European, NZ Maori and Pacific Island

Other Three Ethnic Groups

Total Three Ethnic Groups

Not applicable/unidentifiable

Not Specified

Total

The meaning of “other” in these combination categories should be footnoted. As indicated, the use of some categories is subject to sufficient numbers being obtained. For both sets of these sole/combination categories, the meaning of “single ethnic group”, “two ethnic groups” and “three ethnic groups” needs to be explained.

It should be noted that the subtotal categories for particular combinations of two ethnic groups are not mutually exclusive. For example, a person who belongs to the NZ European/Pakeha and NZ Maori ethnic groups would be counted in two of these subtotal categories: “Total NZ European/Pakeha and any other single ethnic group” and “Total NZ Maori and any other single ethnic group. For this reason they have been listed as a group after the two ethnic group categories rather than being dispersed among the other categories.

The categories and form of output to be used for vitals output (births and deaths) has not been determined as yet. It is likely, however, that a combination of prioritised and total response output categories will be used, and that rates will be calculated using either total response or using respondents who gave only one ethnic group response.

Alternative Output Variable Category Sets

For sample surveys, prioritised ethnic group data may be output at level one. Use of this alternative output, however, will depend on the size of the Asian category and the associated sample error.

O. Derived Variables Using the Output Variable

In the past, ethnicity has been used to derive the ethnic group of a household and the ethnic group of a family. The ethnicity of a household has been determined by the ethnic group of the occupier or the spouse of the occupier. If the ethnic group of the occupier and his or her spouse was different, the priority system has been used to determine which ethnic group the household is assigned to. Likewise, traditionally the ethnicity of a family has been determined by the ethnic group of the parents or parent. If the ethnicity of the parents in a two-parent family was different, the priority system was used to determine which ethnic group the family was assigned to.

This approach to determining the ethnicity of households and families is currently under review. The validity of this approach, given the current social climate, has been questioned. In the future, a different approach to relating households and families to ethnicity may be developed.⁵⁵

P. Robustness of Standard

The standard is susceptible to changes in the social and political environment, to changes that take place over time, and to changes in immigration. These changes might result in changes to category descriptors, new categories or the subdivision of broad categories. Level Four of the classification contains gaps in the code sequences so that new categories can be added if required.

Social and political changes can make it more or less desirable to identify with a particular ethnic group, and thus can affect the numbers of people who identify themselves as belonging to a particular ethnic group.

Political change can result in changes to the name used for a particular ethnic group. For example, the “South Slav” group was previously known as the “Yugoslav” group. Some categories include older terms used for a particular ethnic group as well as the more current term (eg “Khmer/Kampuchean/Cambodian”). In some instances, this is because of a change in the name of the country concerned (eg “Thai/Tai/Siamese”; “Iranian/Persian”). Political change can also result in the emergence and recognition of new ethnic groups (eg Israeli).

Over time, particular terms may become less relevant or useful. For example, some people question the term “New Zealand European” because many people who fall into this category are fourth- or fifth-generation New Zealanders who have no connection with Europe.

Changes in the ethnic groups to which immigrants belong also affect the standard. Changes in immigration patterns may be due to factors such as political change (including war) or to changes in immigration policy. Increased immigration of people of a particular ethnic group (eg Koreans, Somalis) may mean that a new category is required.

Q. Quality

⁵⁵ For a discussion of this issue, refer to the paper “Recommendations for Defining the Ethnicity of Households and Families for the 1996 Census Topic Reports”.

Quality Targets

Non-response for ethnic group should be less than three percent.

PART 2 – Roles and Responsibilities

A. Subject-matter Responsibilities

Standard Implementation and Maintenance

The Classifications and Standards Section has overall responsibility for ensuring that the standard is implemented. However, the actual implementation work is done by the Survey Development and Design Division and the Survey Applications Development Division. The Survey Operations Division is responsible for data collection, while the Information Management Division is responsible for how the data is actually stored. The Social Policy Division is responsible for consulting with users of the standard, and providing edit specifications and appropriate output variable categories.

Quality Monitoring

The Classifications and Standards Section has overall responsibility for monitoring the quality of the standard. The Survey Operations Division will inform the Classifications and Standards Section of any problems with data collection. The Social Policy Division and the Electronic Data Services Division will monitor the quality of the data output. The Social Policy Division will consult with users on the appropriateness of the standard. The output variable derivation process will be monitored by the Survey Development and Design Division.

B. Implementation Timetable

The standard will be introduced into the 1996 Population Census. For the HES, the standard will be implemented in the 97/98 survey year. An implementation timetable for the HLFS is yet to be determined.

C. Users of the Standard

Internal users include: National and Regional Statistics
Information Marketing Group
Survey Management Group

External users include: Te Puni Kokiri
Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs
Ethnic Affairs Service, Department of Internal Affairs
Registrar Births Deaths and Marriages, Department of

Internal Affairs

Ministry of Health
Ministry of Justice
Department of Courts
Electoral Enrolment Centre, NZ Post Ltd
Ministry of Women's Affairs
Ministry of Youth Affairs
Department of Social Welfare
Race Relations Conciliator
Regional Councils
Public Health Commission
Regional Health Authorities
Crown Health Enterprises
Medical Schools
Ethnic and Cultural Associations
Researchers
Other Interested Individuals

D. Approval Needed for Variations in the Standard

Authorisation to develop and use any variations in the standard must be given by the Standards Classification Committee (SCC), except for routine updating of the standard (eg addition of new descriptors to the codefile) which can be carried out by the Classifications and Standards Section without SCC approval.

PART 3 – Measurement Issues and Related Classifications

A. Link With Other Standard Classifications in SNZ

Not applicable.

B. Link With International Standards

Although there is no international standard for classifying ethnicity, the approach taken to classifying ethnicity (or related concepts) in Australia and Canada has been studied. Australia and Canada are similar to New Zealand in some respects. For example, all three countries have an ethnic majority that is descended from European immigrants, and all three have an indigenous ethnic group, as well as a range of other ethnic groups.

Australia

In the 1986 Australian Census of Population and Housing, the only question relating to ethnicity was an open question asking for a person's ancestry. Up to three responses were recorded, and a classification with two levels was produced. One level consisted of responses as given to the ancestry question; the other consisted of ancestry groups.

The grouped classification was as follows:

- Australian
- Anglo-Celtic
- Southern European
- Other European
- West Asian
- Other Asian
- American
- Pacific Islander (including both Maori and New Zealanders)
- Aboriginal/Torres Strait Islander
- Other

In the 1991 Census, there was no general ancestry (ethnic origin) question, but a question on Aboriginal origin was retained.

Canada

In the 1991 Canadian Census respondents were asked which ethnic origin their ancestors belonged to. Responses to this question were classified into 98 categories, and further grouped into 15 major class groups which were:

- British
- French
- Northern European
- Western European
- Southern European
- Eastern European
- Arab
- West Asian
- South Asian
- East/South-east Asian
- Pacific Islands
- Latin, Central and South American
- Caribbean
- Black
- Aboriginal peoples

C. Other External Influences

Data on ethnic group is also collected through a number of administrative forms including Birth and Death Registration forms, hospital admission forms and national registers (eg the National Cervical Screening Programme).

PART 4 – De Facto Practices Prior to the Introduction of this Standard

A. Definitions

There are no definitions used in SNZ surveys that differ from the standard definition.

B. Classifications

The ethnicity classification was revised in 1995. The version given in this standard is the result of that revision.

Data classified under the new classification is still broadly comparable with data classified under the old classification. This is because most higher level categories in the new classification include the same subcategories as in the old classification and the underlying concepts and definitions have not changed.

C. Questionnaire Modules

The wording of the questionnaire modules used in surveys varies according to whether the survey is self-administered or interviewer-administered.

1991 Population Census

<p>7] Which ethnic group do you belong to? <i>Tick the box or boxes which apply to you</i></p> <p>15 <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand European</p> <p>16 <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand Maori</p> <p>17 <input type="checkbox"/> Samoan</p> <p>18 <input type="checkbox"/> Cook Island Maori</p> <p>19 <input type="checkbox"/> Tongan</p> <p>20 <input type="checkbox"/> Niuean</p> <p>21 <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese</p> <p>22 <input type="checkbox"/> Indian</p> <p>23 <input type="checkbox"/> Others such as Dutch, Japanese, Tokelauan</p> <p>Please state <input type="text"/></p>
--

The Guide Notes for the question were:

7 Which ethnic groups do you belong to?

- If you belong to only one ethnic group, tick the box which applies to you. If you belong to more than one group, tick the boxes which describe the ethnic groups to which you belong.
- If you belong to any European or Caucasian ethnic group other than New Zealand European, for example English, Scottish, Dutch, American, Australian, tick box 23 and print the group in the space provided
- If you belong to any other ethnic group not listed, such as Fijian, Japanese, Tokelauan, tick box 23 and print the group in the space provided.

Household Economic Survey

			Show Card A
...	Ethnic Group
...	What ethnic groups does belong to?

The categories on the show card are as follows:

- European/Pakeha
- New Zealand Maori
- Samoan
- Cook Island Maori
- Niuean
- Tongan
- Other Pacific
- Chinese
- Indian
- Other

The words “you may choose more than one code” appear on the show card.

Household Labour Force Survey

NAME	...	ETHNIC GROUP
B	...	F
	...	What is's ethnic group?

The categories on the show card are as follows:

- European/Pakeha
- New Zealand Maori
- Samoan
- Cook Island Maori
- Niuean
- Tongan
- Other Pacific
- Chinese

Indian
Other

Although the question specifies "ethnic group", interviewers tell respondents that they can choose up to three ethnic groups and the words "you may choose more than one code" appear on the show card.

The differences between the population census question and the HLFS and HES questions should be noted. Firstly, the "Other Pacific" category which is used in the HLFS and the HES is not used in the census. Another difference is that in the HLFS and HES a category called "European/Pakeha" is used instead of having separate categories for "NZ European or Pakeha" and "Other European" and then tick box categories for Other European ethnic groups as in the census.

Birth Registration Form (previous to September 1995)

MAORI OR PACIFIC ISLAND BLOOD	17. Father: Degree of Maori Blood (if any) and Tribe _____ Pacific Island Blood (if any) state which Island _____
	18. Mother: Degree of Maori Blood (if any) and Tribe _____ Pacific Island Blood (if any) state which Island _____

Death Registration Form (previous to September 1995)

22. Father: Degree of (Maori blood and tribe (if any) of father of deceased:
(Pacific island blood - state which island):

23. Mother: Degree of (Maori blood and tribe (if any) of mother of deceased:
(Pacific island blood - state which island):

It should be noted that the question on the birth and death registration forms has since been changed to be the same as that used in the population census. The new question was introduced on the forms on 1/9/95 and data from the December 95 quarter onwards has been produced on the new (ethnicity) basis.

Notification of Abortion

Race: _____ (European/Maori/Pacific
Islander/Other)

There are plans to change this question - and the output categories used - so that it is consistent with the population census question. However, a time frame for doing this has not been established as yet.

D. Input Variable Categories

As in Section 4B.

E. Output Variable Categories

Population Census

Previously two types of output have been used for Census data: the sole/combo approach and total responses to the fifty most frequently reported ethnic groups. The combination categories used were very detailed, resulting in very small (or zero) counts in many cells. For example, Table 2a of the census publication "New Zealand's Multicultural Society" includes combination categories such as "NZ European & any one European with any one of Pacific Island groups" and "any one or two SE Asian & either one or both Chinese & Indian".

HLFS

The output variable categories used for data from the HLFS were the Level One categories of the old classification: European/Pakeha, NZ Maori, Pacific Group, Other. Some tables, however, also included a "not specified" category while in other tables, those who did not specify their ethnic status were included in the totals only. The data was prioritised.

HES

The output variable categories used for data from the HES were also the Level One categories of the old classification, and the data was prioritised. The "other" category included not specified.

Births and Deaths

The output variable categories used in the Birth Registration Form and the Death Registration Form were as follows:

Ethnic Origin: Mother and Father Codes

00 Non NZ Maori, Non Pacific
Island

10 Under 1/4 NZ Maori
11 1/4 NZ Maori
12 1/2 NZ Maori
13 3/4 NZ Maori
14 Full NZ Maori

21 1/4 Samoan
22 1/2 Samoan

23 3/4 Samoan
24 Full Samoan

31 1/4 Cook Islander
32 1/2 Cook Islander
33 3/4 Cook Islander
34 Full Cook Islander

41 1/4 Niuean
42 1/2 Niuean
43 3/4 Niuean
44 Full Niuean
51 1/4 Tokelauan
52 1/2 Tokelauan
53 3/4 Tokelauan
54 Full Tokelauan

61 1/4 Tongan
62 1/2 Tongan
63 3/4 Tongan
64 Full Tongan

71 1/4 Fijian
72 1/2 Fijian
73 3/4 Fijian
74 Full Fijian

81 1/4 Other or Mixed Degree of
Pacific Island
82 1/2 Other or Mixed Degree of
Pacific Island
83 3/4 Other or Mixed Degree of
Pacific Island
84 Full Other or Mixed Degree of
Pacific Island

90 Infant **deaths** with father
unspecified

99 **Births** with father unspecified
(ex-nuptial births)

Notification of Abortion

The output categories used in the last report (for the year ended 30 June 1995 were:

European
Maori
Pacific Islander
Other Ethnic Origin
European-Maori
European-Pacific Islander

European-Other Ethnic Origin
Mixed Origin

PART 5 – Appendices

A. Glossary of Terms

Ethnic Group

A social group whose members have the following four characteristics:

- share a sense of common origins
- claim a common and distinctive history and destiny
- possess one or more dimensions of collective cultural individuality
- feel a sense of unique collective solidarity

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is the ethnic group or groups reported by respondents in the ethnic group question.

Pakeha

New Zealanders of a European background, whose cultural values and behaviour have been primarily formed from the experiences of being a member of the dominant group in New Zealand. The label excludes those who continue to practise minority group ethnicity: the Chinese, Indian, Samoan, Tongan groups etc; and those European groups who retain a strong affiliation to a homeland elsewhere and reproduce this ethnicity in New Zealand.⁵⁶

B. Non-standard Output

Not applicable.

⁵⁶ This is the definition developed by Spoonley (1988). Reference: Spoonley, P (1988), *Racism and Ethnicity*, Oxford University Press, Auckland.

C. References

- Department of Statistics (1993) *New Zealand Standard Classification of Ethnicity 1993*, Wellington.
- Department of Statistics (1993) *New Zealand's Multicultural Society*, Wellington.
- Department of Statistics (1988) *Report of the Review Committee on Ethnic Statistics*, Wellington.
- Department of Statistics (1991) *1991 Census of Population and Dwellings: Concepts, Definitions and Classifications*, Wellington.
- Smith, A. (1981) *The Ethnic Revival*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Statistics New Zealand (1993) *1996 Census of Population and Dwellings: Preliminary Views on Content*, Wellington

“Recommendations for Defining the Ethnicity of Households and Families for the 1996 Census Topic Reports” (internal paper)

“Recommendations for Ethnic Group Output for the 1996 Census Topic Reports” (internal paper)

D. Other Attachments

Attachment 1

Recommendations of the Review Committee on Ethnic Statistics

Attachment 2

Priority Recording System (As revised in 1995)

ATTACHMENT 1 - RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE ON ETHNIC STATISTICS

The development of a standard classification of ethnic group arose out of Recommendation 2 of the report of the Review Committee on Ethnic Statistics [NZ Department of Statistics: 1988]:

"That the Department of Statistics lead and co-ordinate the development of standard ethnic group classifications with associated instruments suitable for obtaining standard ethnic data across all official surveys."

The report also contained a number of other recommendations relevant to the development of a standard ethnic classification. These were:

Recommendation 3

That, wherever possible, where information will be used in producing official statistics the method of reporting ethnic group be self-identification.

Recommendation 4

That official statistical surveys, in addition to any cultural affiliation measure, obtain information on Maori people on the basis of descent.

Recommendation 7

That the Departments of Statistics and Maori Affairs, together with other interested parties, investigate alternative options for describing the ethnic group of the majority Pakeha/ European culture in New Zealand.

Recommendation 8

That, where possible, Pacific Island groups be separately identified in ethnic statistics.

Recommendation 12

That the Department of Statistics investigate the feasibility of including, in the 1991 and subsequent Population Censuses, questions which measure separately the descent (ethnic origin) and cultural affiliation (ethnic identification) aspects of ethnic group. The descent question may measure Maori descent only."

ATTACHMENT 2 - REVISED PRIORITY RECORDING SYSTEM FOR ETHNICITY (1995)

The revised priority recording system for ethnicity is based on the old priority system, and the rationale used in the old priority system.

Underlying Rationale for the Priority Recording System

The underlying rationale of the priority recording system is that, in general, it should:

(a) be consistent with Recommendation 4 of the report of the Review Committee on Ethnic Statistics;

(b) be consistent with the definition of Maori found in the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1974 and the Electoral Amendment Act 1980 ("a person of the Maori race of New Zealand, and includes any descendant of such a person");

(c) ensure that important but numerically small groups are not submerged in the dominant majority; and

(d) ensure that groups (such as Maori and Pacific Island groups) about whom policy decisions are commonly made, requiring information to inform those decisions, and which have in the past been shown statistically to be disadvantaged in some way, continue to be identified for monitoring purposes.

LEVEL ZERO CATEGORIES AND PRIORITY RECORDING SYSTEM

Level Zero Categories:

European
New Zealand Maori
Pacific Island
Other Ethnic Groups

Priority Recording System for Level Zero: (These are the priority recording rules for the old Level One)

If **NZ Maori** is one of the groups reported, then assign to NZ Maori;

Otherwise, if **any Pacific Island group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Pacific Island;

Otherwise, if **any group other than an European group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Other Ethnic Groups;

Otherwise, assign to European.

LEVEL ONE CATEGORIES AND PRIORITY RECORDING SYSTEM

Level One Categories:

European
New Zealand Maori
Pacific Island
Asian
Other Ethnic Groups

Priority Recording System for Level One:

If **NZ Maori** is one of the groups reported, then assign to NZ Maori;

Otherwise, if **any Pacific Island group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Pacific Island;

Otherwise, if **any Asian** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to Asian;

Otherwise, if **any group other than a European group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Other Ethnic Groups;

Otherwise, assign to European.

Asian is ranked after NZ Maori and Pacific Island groups, but before European groups because priority is given to non-European groups, but special priority is given to NZ Maori and Pacific Island groups.

LEVEL TWO CATEGORIES AND PRIORITY RECORDING SYSTEM

Level Two Categories:

New Zealand European/Pakeha
Other European
New Zealand Maori
Samoan
Cook Island Maori
Tongan
Niuean
Tokelauan
Fijian
Other Pacific Island Groups
Southeast Asian
Chinese
Indian
Other Asian
Middle Eastern
Latin American/Hispanic

African
Other

This level is the same as the old Level Three, except that it has three additional categories: Middle Eastern, Latin American/Hispanic, and African. Therefore the existing priority recording system for the old Level Three has been applied, with an amendment to allow for the three additional categories.

Priority Recording System for Level Two:

If **NZ Maori** is one of the groups reported, then assign to NZ Maori;

Otherwise, if **any one Pacific Island group** is **one** of the groups reported, then assign to that group;

Otherwise, if **more than one Pacific Island group** is reported then use the following system of priority recording:

If **Tokelauan** is one of the groups reported then assign to Tokelauan;

Otherwise, if **Fijian** is one of the groups reported assign to Fijian;

Otherwise, if **Niuean** is one of the groups reported then assign to Niuean;

Otherwise, if **Tongan** is one of the groups reported then assign to Tongan;

Otherwise, if **Cook Island Maori** is one of the groups reported then assign to Cook Island Maori;

Otherwise, if **Samoan** is one of the groups reported then assign to Samoan;

Otherwise, if **Other Pacific Island** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Other Pacific Island;

Otherwise, if **any Southeast Asian group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to South-east Asian;

Otherwise, if **Indian** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Indian;

Otherwise, if **Chinese** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Chinese;

Otherwise, if **any Other Asian group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Other Asian;

Otherwise, if any **Latin American/Hispanic** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to Latin American/Hispanic;

Otherwise, if any **African** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to African;

Otherwise, if any **Middle Eastern** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to Middle Eastern;

Otherwise, if **any group other than NZ European/Pakeha or Other European** is reported, then assign to Other;

Otherwise, if **any Other European group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Other European;

Otherwise assign to NZ European/Pakeha.

The order of priority for Middle Eastern, Latin American/Hispanic and African is based on giving priority to small ethnic groups. Thus Latin American/Hispanic - as the smallest - comes first, followed by African and then Middle Eastern.

LEVEL THREE CATEGORIES AND PRIORITY RECORDING SYSTEM

Level Three Categories:

New Zealand European/Pakeha
British and Irish
Dutch
Greek
Polish
South Slav (formerly Yugoslav)
Italian
German
Australian
Other European
New Zealand Maori
Samoan
Cook Island Maori
Tongan
Niuean
Tokelauan
Fijian
Other Pacific Island Groups
Filipino
Khmer/Kampuchean/Cambodian
Vietnamese
Other Southeast Asian
Chinese
Indian
Sri Lankan
Japanese
Korean
Other Asian
Middle Eastern

Latin American/Hispanic
African
Other

Priority Recording System for Level Three:

If **NZ Maori** is one of the groups reported, then assign to NZ Maori;

Otherwise, if **any one Pacific Island group** is **one** of the groups reported, then assign to that group;

Otherwise, if **more than one Pacific Island group** is reported then use the following system of priority recording:

If **Tokelauan** is one of the groups reported then assign to Tokelauan;

Otherwise, if **Fijian** is one of the groups reported assign to Fijian;

Otherwise if **Niuean** is one of the groups reported then assign to Niuean;

Otherwise if **Tongan** is one of the groups reported then assign to Tongan;

Otherwise if **Cook Island Maori** is one of the groups reported then assign to Cook Island Maori;

Otherwise, if **Samoan** is one of the groups reported then assign to Samoan;

Otherwise, if **Other Pacific Island** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Other Pacific Island;

Otherwise, if **any one Southeast Asian group** is **one** of the groups reported, then assign to that group;

Otherwise, if **more than one Southeast Asian group** is reported then use the following system of priority recording:

If **Vietnamese** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Vietnamese;

Otherwise, if **Khmer/Kampuchean/Cambodian** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Khmer/Kampuchean/Cambodian;

Otherwise, if **Filipino** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Filipino;

Otherwise, if **any Other Southeast Asian** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to Other Southeast Asian;

Otherwise, if **Indian** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Indian;

Otherwise, if **Chinese** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Chinese;

Otherwise, if **any one Other Asian group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to that group;

Otherwise, if **more than one Other Asian group** is reported then use the following system of priority recording:

If **Korean** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Korean;

Otherwise, if **Sri Lankan** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Sri Lankan;

Otherwise, if **Japanese** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Japanese;
Otherwise, if **any other Other Asian group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Other Asian;

Otherwise, if any **Latin American/Hispanic** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to Latin American/Hispanic;

Otherwise, if any **African** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to African;

Otherwise, if any **Middle Eastern** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to Middle Eastern;

Otherwise, if **any group other than NZ European/Pakeha or an Other European group** is reported, then assign to Other;

Otherwise, if **any one Other European group** is one of the groups reported, then assign to that group;

Otherwise, if **more than one Other European group** is reported then use the following system of priority recording:

If **Italian** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Italian;

Otherwise, if **Polish** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Polish;

Otherwise, if **Greek** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Greek;

Otherwise, if **South Slav** is one of the groups reported, then assign to South Slav;

Otherwise, if **German** is one of the groups reported, then assign to German;

Otherwise, if **Australian** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Australian;

Otherwise, if **Dutch** is one of the groups reported, then assign to Dutch;

Otherwise, if **Irish or a British** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to British and Irish;

Otherwise, if **any other Other European** group is one of the groups reported, then assign to Other European;

Otherwise assign to NZ European/Pakeha.

PRIORITY RECORDING AT LEVEL FOUR

This will generally be more of an issue for determining which three responses are coded when four or more responses are given. Prioritised output at Level Four of the classification will not be a standard published output. Output at this level would probably be based on total counts.

If four or more responses to the ethnicity question are given, the level three priority rules will usually be sufficiently detailed to determine which three responses are coded.

For example, following the level three rankings for a response of Japanese, American, Italian, and English, the ethnic groups coded would be:

- Japanese (an Asian ethnic group, takes priority over European groups)
- Italian (an Other European group and takes highest priority within this set of ethnic groups)
- English (another Other European group, takes lowest priority within the Other European ethnic groups)

American is not coded, as it is an other Other European group, and these ethnic groups take lower priority than Other European groups.

Difficulties in ranking responses using the level three rankings only arise when a choice must be made between ethnic groups that fall into the same level three category. For example if the responses all fell into the level three category “Middle Eastern” then the level three rankings would not be sufficiently detailed to determine which responses are coded. In these cases, the rationale of ranking from smallest to largest (using 1991 census data (total counts) for the population resident in New Zealand) can be applied.

Example: for a response of Indonesian, Laotian, Malayan and Thai, the responses coded would be:

- Indonesian (Total count: 861)
- Thai (Total count: 1047)
- Laotian (Total count: 1200)

- Malayan (total count of 1383) would not be coded.⁵⁷

The most common situation in which the priority rules will not be detailed enough to determine which groups are coded is likely to be when respondents give several British and Irish groups. The priority order for these groups is as follows:

Gaelic
Shetland Islander⁵⁸
Cornish
Manx
Channel Islander
Celtic
Welsh
Irish
Scottish
English

⁵⁷ The figures in this example come from Table 2b in the 1991 Census publication “New Zealand’s Multicultural Society”.

⁵⁸ The number of people giving “Shetland Islander” as a response was the same as the number of people giving “Cornish” as a response. Therefore the relative priority order for these two groups was determined on the basis of the smaller size of the Shetland Islands, compared to the size of Cornwall.

**NOTES ON THE CHANGES TO THE PRIORITY RECORDING SYSTEM
(apart from those necessary to cater for the new classification)**

Background

The revised priority recording system for ethnicity is partly based (as previously) on ranking ethnic groups from smallest to largest.

The only reliable data source for determining rankings is the 1991 Census data.

1991 Census Figures for Ethnic Groups:

Note:

These figures are *total counts* eg the total number of people who gave a particular ethnic group as their ethnic group, or one of their ethnic groups.

The ethnic groups *within each set* listed below are ordered according to how they were ranked in the old priority recording system.

	Male	Female	Total
• Tokelauan	2,064	2,085	4,149
• Niuean	7,170	7,254	14,424
• Tongan	11,727	11,445	23,172
• Cook Island Maori	18,654	19,203	37,857
• Samoan	42,102	43,641	85,743
• Fijian	2,487	2,610	5,097
• Total Southeast Asian (excludes Chinese and Indian)	7,287	9,356	16,643
• Indian	16,233	14,373	30,606
• Chinese	22,191	22,605	44,796
• African	837	717	1,554
• Latin American/Hispanic	666	777	1,443
• Middle Eastern	1,977	1,461	3,438
• Vietnamese	1,419	1,254	2,673
• Khmer/Kampuchean/Cambodian	2,160	2,160	4,320
• Filipino	1,467	3,450	4,917
• Sri Lankan (Includes SL Tamil) ⁵⁹	1,392	1,236	2,628
• Korean	456	474	930
• Japanese	1,248	1,722	2,970
• Italian	792	750	1,542
• Polish	840	831	1,671
• Greek	1,083	1,017	2,100

⁵⁹ The new (1995) classification still includes Sri Lankan Tamil in the Sri Lankan category.

• South Slav	1,500	1,368	2,868
• German	2,253	2,355	4,608
	Male	Female	Total
• Dutch	13,371	11,364	24,735
• Australian	11,112	12,855	23,967
• British and Irish	46,077	49,029	95,106

Resulting Changes to the Priority Recording System:

The following changes have been made to the rankings, based on the above numbers:

1. Fijian will now be ranked after Tokelauan and before Niuean.
2. Latin American/Hispanic will now be ranked before African.
3. Korean will now be ranked before Sri Lankan.
4. Australian will now be ranked after German and before Dutch.

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