INDIGENISING THE NATIONAL CENSUS?

A Global Study of the Enumeration of Indigenous Peoples, 1985-2014

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ABSTRACT

While the last decade has seen a growing academic interest in how states count and classify Indigenous peoples in the national census, most research has been limited to small case studies. In contrast, this study examines key patterns of Indigenous enumeration worldwide spanning the period 1985 to 2014. This comparative perspective is valuable because it theorises practices of ethnic counting and classification as a phenomenon positioned with a broader social context rather than a parochial practice that can only be explained by unique historical or political factors within states. Two key questions illuminate this study: how widespread is Indigenous enumeration in national censuses globally over the focal period (1985 to 2014); and, how have forms of classification of Indigenous peoples in the census changed. To explore these questions I utilise data from a unique time-series database from the Ethnicity Counts? Project which combines information about civic and ethnic questions asked in national censuses, with data on countries' social, economic and political characteristics. The research findings show the number of states employing some form of Indigenous enumeration in censuses has increased over the focal period. Furthermore strategies of enumeration have shifted, with ethnicity type questions becoming more prevalent over time. Despite the observed increase in Indigenous enumeration over the focal period, the majority of Indigenous peoples are not counted in their national census. Ultimately this study provides new empirical findings regarding patterns of state enumeration of Indigenous populations which highlight the need for improved coverage and quality of data on Indigenous peoples.

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Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi engari he toa takitini taku toa

My strength does not come from my individuality, my strength comes from many

This whakatauki undoubtedly applies to the effort required to undertake and complete this thesis. Although my name is on the front cover, I cannot take sole credit.

I wish to sincerely thank my supervisor, Professor Tahu Kukutai. I have appreciated your patience, realism, encouragement, generosity and humour along this journey. This would not have been possible without you.

To my whānau – mum, dad, my brothers Te Kokiri-Kane and Ngatoa-Kelemete, and my sister Nai-Vikoca, thank you for supporting me in everything I do. Thank you mum for exemplifying strength and resilience – these characteristics have certainly come in handy over the past few years. Finally to my partner, Stephen, it has been a long and hard journey and your love and embrace have been unwavering. E kore e ea i te kupu taku aroha mōu.

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CHAPTER ONE

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND THE CENSUS: AN INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Since the 1970s the rights and interests of Indigenous peoples have been given much greater visibility internationally (Niezen, 2003). While a great deal of this can be attributed to the collective action of Indigenous peoples themselves, the establishment of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII)[1] in 2000, and the adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) by the United Nations General Assembly in 2007 have been key instruments to raise global awareness of Indigenous rights and issues (Niezen, 2003, 2005). Although the UNDRIP is a non-enforceable human rights instrument (Mayer, 2013), it has been critical to draw attention to the historical grievances, contemporary challenges and socio-economic, political and cultural aspirations of Indigenous peoples, and their right to self-determination. The UNDRIP represents the interests of between 300 and 370 million Indigenous peoples whose customary homelands include all of the world's continents (Gracey & King, 2009; Hall & Patrinos 2012). There are a number of major challenges in enforcing the UNDRIP (Hanna & Vanclay, 2013; Wiesser, 2009); one of these is the lack of adequate information to identify and monitor the circumstances of Indigenous peoples around the world. Indeed, the United Nations has identified "inadequate data collection and disaggregation concerning Indigenous peoples as a major methodological challenge" (United Nations, 2006). But just how visible (or invisible) are Indigenous peoples in national data collections? This question might seem an obvious one, but there is presently little evidence to assess the extent of Indigenous peoples' visibility, let alone the complexities of how and why Indigenous peoples are counted and classified in different contexts.

This study addresses this question and the larger issue of Indigenous data disaggregation through a global study of census enumeration practices, by exploring how Indigenous peoples are enumerated in national population censuses. National governments use the census to periodically enumerate and compile demographic, social, economic and other

[1] "The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples is a high level advisory board to the Economic and Social Council. The Forum was established on 28 July 2000 by resolution 2000/22, with the mandate to deal with Indigenous issues related to economic and social

such data about the population (Arel, 2002; Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Bycroft, 2013; Nobles, 2000; Perlmann & Waters, 2002; Petersen, 1997). Census data is used to inform government information needs and social and public policy approaches. The census is the pre-eminent source of data for global monitoring instruments such as the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2016). The census also plays a key role in constructing and representing collective identities within the nation state. As Kertzer and Arel argue, the "census does more than simply reflect social reality; rather, it plays a key role in the construction of that reality" (2002, p. 2). Similarly, the inclusion or exclusion of Indigenous peoples and identities within the census is indicative of how governments define who belongs to the nation. This notion is reflected in numerous studies that show how the social and cultural representations of Indigenous peoples in the census have been constructed in ways that reflect the values and priorities of dominants groups and governments, rather than those of Indigenous peoples themselves (Kukutai & Walter, 2015; Walter, 2005, 2009, 2010; Ittman et al, 2010). Studies that critique the census as a tool of the state assert that within the context of colonisation, the census was indispensable to the political project of colonisation (Foucault, 1982; Itmann et al, 2010).

Due to the link between the census and colonialism, Indigenous peoples have often viewed the census with distrust and suspicion (Walter, 2010, 2013; Walter & Andersen, 2013). Despite the fraught historical experiences Indigenous peoples have faced, there is consensus amongst Indigenous peoples and advocacy groups that the ability of the census to statistically identify Indigenous peoples and their conditions is critically important to contemporary Indigenous issues. This view is based on the rationale that there is a need to identify and address the shared position of socio-economic and cultural and political marginalisation that most, if not all, Indigenous people experience (Anderson et al, 2016). Indigenous peoples consistently experience some of the poorest life outcomes in the world. Gracey and King's (2009) study on Indigenous health suggests that, regardless of national context, there are persistent disparities between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous populations. These include lower life expectancy, higher rates of cardiovascular disease, suicide and type 2 diabetes (Gracey & King, 2009). Significant disparities have also been observed in relation to educational achievement, language attainment, and economic status (Anderson et al, 2006; Armitage, 1995; Cooke et al, 2007; Gracey & King, 2009). At an international governance level, the United Nations agrees that the problematic state of Indigenous peoples' health, education, socio-economic status relative to general populations warranted the adoption of the UNDRIP, and specific references to Indigenous peoples in global strategies such as the 2030

Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations, 2016). In many countries, particularly Anglo-settler states of North America and Australasia, there are also ongoing efforts to seek redress for historical wrongdoings relating to forced assimilation (including the removal of children), land alienation and ongoing discrimination (Niezen, 2000; Stamatopoulou, 1994; Waldron, 2002). As records of past and present government policies, official statistics are important for contemporary processes of redress. In Aotearoa New Zealand, for example, the iwi/tribal affiliation question was first asked in the 1991 census. The accompanying Iwi Statistical Standard[2] was initially developed to identify iwi, within the context of the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries claim. At the time it facilitated a process of redress for Māori.

The primary focus of this study is to examine how governments' statistically classify Indigenous peoples in their respective countries and territories, and how enumeration practices have changed over time. The focal period covers three decennial census rounds, from 1985 through to 2014 (see Kukutai et al, 2015). I examine the different ways in which Indigenous peoples are counted and classified, whether there are clear spatial or temporal patterns, and if there is a common conceptual basis upon which Indigenous peoples are classified. Having described state enumeration practices and change over time, I then explore possible explanatory causes. For example, are countries with high levels of immigration and ethnic diversity more likely to recognise Indigenous peoples in official statistics than those which are relatively 'closed' to migration? To what extent is the recognition of Indigenous peoples in official statistics related to governments' commitment to support Indigenous rights in global forums such as the United Nations, or addressing socio-economic disadvantage through domestic policies? This study provides a beginning point for examining these questions which have received little attention in the literature. I explore these questions through an empirical analysis of data from the Ethnicity Counts? project.

1.2 Thesis Purpose

This study has several key objectives. The first is to develop a theoretical understanding

[2] The definition of Iwi for statistical purposes was established in the 1989 discussion paper Towards a Standard Classification of Iwi (Māori tribes). Iwi is defined as the focal economic and political unit of the traditional Māori descent and kinship based hierarchy of: Waka (founding canoe), Iwi (tribe), Hapū (sub-tribe), Whānau (family) (Statistics New Zealand, 1989). The classification of Iwi is hierarchical and comprises of two levels: level 1 (14 categories) represents Iwi region, level 2 (128 categories) shows individual iwi (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). Iwi statistics are need to allow government to monitor its own performance of Treaty of Waitangi obligations; assist allocating funds and resources to iwi; inform and assist iwi social and economic development; assist the Waitangi Tribunal with decisions on ownership and fishing rights (Statistics New Zealand, n.d).

of how Indigenous peoples are counted and classified in the census. To achieve this, I examine theories of the census, theories of ethnic and racial classification, and the literature on critical Indigenous demography (Arel, 2002; Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Nobles, 2000; Perlmann & Waters, 2002; Petersen, 1997; Walter, 2010; 2013; Walter & Andersen, 2013). There is broad recognition that the counting and classification of all populations is an inherently political act, especially when it involves Indigenous peoples, or ethnic and racial minorities (Arel, 2002; Andersen, 2008; Hirschman, 1987; Kukutai, 2012; Kukutai & Broman, 2015; Nobles, 2000; Rodriguez, 2000). As enumeration practices are influenced by the political, social and historical context, the extent of Indigenous identification in the census, and the conceptual underpinnings, are likely to vary significantly across time and place (Axelsson, 2011; Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Rallu et al, 2006; Simon et al, 2015). One line of theorising that is particularly useful for this study is world society theory. In world society theory the structure and behaviour of individuals and nation-states is shaped by global institutions through transnational interaction, essentially leading to global social change (Meyer, 2010; Meyer et al, 1997). Developed by John W. Meyer, world society theory provides a sociological account of global relations. Utilising world society theory for this study is fitting given the emphasis on investigating Indigenous enumeration practices globally. World society theory contrasts with predominant case-study approach of previous studies.

A second contribution of this study is to describe what census-based enumeration practices look like for Indigenous peoples globally, and the changes that have occurred in recent decades. There is surprisingly little academic research on the extent of Indigenous enumeration in the census. Studies by Morning (2008) and Peters (2011) provide useful insights into ethnic and, to some extent, Indigenous census enumeration. Morning's (2008) global study of ethnic-racial classification in the 2000 census round (1995-2004) shows significant diversity in how ethnic and racial groups are enumerated. Morning found that 'Ethnicity' was used in 56 per cent of questionnaires, 'Nationality' was used in 23per cent of cases, 15per cent of census questionnaires asked about a respondents race, and the same percentage asked for a respondents 'Indigenous Status'. On the other hand, Peters (2011) study solely focused on Indigenous peoples, by investigating the patterns of coverage of Indigenous peoples in censuses. Peters looked at censuses from 231 countries from a fixed period and found that relatively few enumerated their Indigenous residents. This study expands on both studies through a comprehensive analysis of the census-based enumeration of Indigenous peoples globally over a 30 year period. Previous research on this subject is sparse and has only examined fixed periods (such as Peters, 2011), or

primarily focused on ethnic and racial markers in the census, with 'Indigenous status' as a peripheral topic of interest. Prior to the development of the Ethnicity Counts? database there was no readily available way to quantify the extent of Indigenous visibility in the census and changes over time. Studies such as Peters (2011) and Morning's (2008) relied on one off data collections and coding of census forms which are not readily available as open data.

Thirdly, this study makes a modest attempt to move from simply describing Indigenous enumeration to developing an explanation for the observed patterns. Using bivariate analysis, I look at potential factors internal and external to states that may influence their approach to Indigenous enumeration. As a comprehensive analysis of explanatory factors is beyond the scope of this study, the findings of this study will provide the basis for a more detailed research to be undertaken at a later date.

1.3 Rationale

There are two rationale for undertaking this study. One is to contribute to the small, albeit growing body of knowledge pertaining to the counting and classification of Indigenous peoples. Despite the advancing technologies of census instruments and the continued government prioritisation of population data, robust and reliable population data specific to Indigenous peoples continues to be scarce (UNPFII, 2006). The United Nations views the collection of reliable and relevant Indigenous data as being of critical importance, thus: "… special measures and measurements are needed, if we should not again leave Indigenous peoples behind. For proper monitoring, we need disaggregated data and indicators that uphold Indigenous peoples human rights" (Tauli-Corpuz, 2015). The UNPFII also identifies the development of statistical and other meaningful measures as being crucial to the process of realisation of the participation, non-discrimination, empowerment and accountability of and for Indigenous peoples.

The second rationale, linked to the first, is to identify the extent to which Indigenous peoples have been recognised within nation-state census as providing a basis for action. Nation-states use the census to generate 'evidence' which is used to inform the distribution of resources and address equalities. Numerous studies show that Indigenous peoples are among the world's most marginalised population groups across a range of health and socio-economic indicators (Coimbra et al, 2013; Stephens et al, 2006; United Nations, 2007; World Health Organisation, 2007, 2010). Census data in the so-called CANZSUS states (Canada, Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, United States, see Meyer 2012) provide indicators with which to compare health outcomes domestically and in a

cross-national context (Cooke et al, 2007). A common pattern prevails in these countries in that Indigenous health is significantly worse than the health of other population groups across a slew of indicators. However, large data insufficiencies in other parts of the world mean quantifying the magnitude of Indigenous disadvantage elsewhere is difficult. In some countries it is not even possible to identify the size and location of Indigenous people (Peters, 2011). This indicates the lack of accurate national population statistics impedes any useful method of evaluating Indigenous health indicators.

Furthermore, if the classification and collection methods used to count Indigenous peoples do not reflect principles recommended by the United Nations such as self-identification, participation, and diversity the question arises, how likely is it that the information will translate into meaningful outcomes for Indigenous peoples? By examining Indigenous enumeration practices globally, this study endeavours to bring attention to regions and or practices that are not meeting the recommendations as set out by the United Nations, and not meeting the needs of Indigenous peoples.

The United Nations recommendations regarding the collection and dissemination of Indigenous peoples are detailed. They note in *Ethnicity: A Review of Data Collection and Dissemination* "Ethnic data is useful for the elaboration of policies to improve access to employment, education and training, social security and health, transportation and communications, etc. It is important for taking measures to preserving the identity and survival of distinct ethnic groups" (2003, p. 2). In the same vein, the United Nations claim Indigenous enumeration in the census is "relevant for economic, social and health policies, but it has also been used as a tool for Indigenous communities to become more visible and to reinforce their identities" (2003, p. 7). Morgan (2007) recognises that "the global Indigenous movement has developed close relation to the UN system", "where it is engaged in an ongoing struggle to write new norms of Indigenous rights into international law" (p. 276).

The objective of self-determination of Indigenous peoples globally extends well beyond ethnic and racial enumeration in the census. Indigenous specific issues such as recognition of cultural distinctiveness, inherent rights to self-government, and state treaty obligation are also intrinsically linked to any debate regarding state enumeration of Indigenous peoples (Niezen, 2000).

1.4 Thesis Outline

This thesis is arranged in six chapters. This chapter has highlighted the challenges relating to the collection and dissemination of Indigenous people in the census. Chapter

two provides the theoretical framework for understanding Indigenous enumeration. It begins by addressing the often contentious issue of how to define Indigenous people. In undertaking an extensive review of the literature, I propose a definition that is useful for the purpose of this study, and which can be used for the statistical analysis. Having considered definitional issues, I then consider theoretical perspectives relating to the census as an instrument of power, influenced by the state as well as other factors. I then propose a theoretical framework for theorising and studying state enumeration of Indigenous peoples, and the context within which enumeration occurs.

In the third chapter I establish this study as a novel approach to examining state enumeration of Indigenous peoples, which has otherwise been examined through case studies of specific countries or regions. I undertake a thorough review of the case study literature with the objective of identifying different ways which Indigenous peoples have been enumerated in the censuses. The case studies suggest that while there are distinct political contextual differences between Indigenous peoples, there has been a general shift in enumerative practices towards recognising Indigenous peoples in the census and that there has been a shift away from racial or blood quantum type classification, to ethnic self-identification.

Chapter four discusses the methodology and methods and the fifth chapter reports on the descriptive and bivariate empirical findings.

Chapter six, the concluding chapter, discusses the research findings and relates these back to the key themes of the study. In particular, I discuss what the findings imply about state recognition of Indigenous people, and the implications of these findings for the issue of data collection and dissemination of Indigenous peoples.

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARDS A THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF INDIGENOUS ENUMERATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses key theoretical approaches in relation to the definition of indigeneity and Indigenous peoples, the politics of census-taking and ethnic-racial enumeration. I examine the problem of how to define Indigenous people, tracing the emergence of 'Indigenous people' as a global political category. Defining what makes a people Indigenous is both contested and complex, but is a critical task for this study. In order to study how Indigenous peoples are counted and classified in the census, I first needed to identify which countries have an Indigenous people or peoples. In previous studies (Morning, 2008; Peters, 2011), there has been no attempt to restrict the study sample to include only those countries which are home to at least one Indigenous people. Following a review of international, academic and Indigenous definitions of Indigenous people, I argue for a more flexible approach to defining Indigenous people that is not tied to criteria relating to demographic or political dominance. I then consider the role of the census in the classification of people, and the factors which may influence how the census as a government instrument enumerates Indigenous people. I conclude the chapter with the development of a conceptual framework to guide the empirical analysis. This combines the aspects of world society theory (Meyer, 1992, 1997, 2010) and social constructivism (Cornell, 1996; Nagel, 1994, 1995) in an attempt to explain the counting and classifying Indigenous peoples.

2.2 The emergence of Indigenous peoples as a global political category

While Indigenous peoples have occupied their ancestral homelands for millennia, the use of the term 'Indigenous people' is relatively recent (Walters & Andersen, 2013). The term *Indigenous people* began to be widely used during the twentieth century to describe a legal category used by national and international governance bodies in various policy and legislation (Anaya, 2004). Over time the use of the term Indigenous people has been prevalent, however, first peoples, aboriginal peoples, tribal peoples and native peoples is used interchangeably in different national contexts (e.g. for Australia, see Martin & Taylor, 2004, for Canada see Saku, 1999).

2.2 Defining Indigenous Peoples

Having briefly described the emergence of the term Indigenous people, what does it mean and to whom does it apply? The definition of Indigenous people is complex and, at times, contested, but is essential to the feasibility of this study.

The emergence of an international agenda for Indigenous rights in legal and political settings has resulted in the creation of a number of global policies and instruments, each of which have different definitions of Indigenous people (Kingsbury, 1998; Maaka & Flera, 2009; Merlan, 2009; Niezen, 2000; Walters & Andersen, 2013). Many of the definitions studies have been subject to acceptance, rejections, and replication. Likewise, the various regulatory, legal, and academic definitions of Indigenous people also vary in terms of the criteria employed.

Given the cross-national focus of this study, I focus primarily on international definitions of indigeneity rather than state-specific definitions. In doing so I use Merlan's (2009) distinction between definitions that are either criterial or relational; criterial definitions suggest some set of criteria, or conditions, that facilitate identification of the 'Indigenous' as a global 'kind'. This approach aligns with the international focus of this study. By contrast, relational definitions emphasise the differences between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous 'others'. Definitions of this type are better suited to the analysis of specific national contexts, for the purpose of investigating inter-population disparities. While I focus primarily on how Indigenous peoples are identified in international contexts, I also consider academic definitions, along with the understandings of Indigenous peoples themselves. I conclude this section by identifying the criteria of Indigenous people used in this study to select the countries that will be included for the empirical analysis.

Definitions of Indigenous peoples in international contexts

Key international forums and texts that refer to the concept of Indigenous peoples include the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII, 2007); the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People (United Nations, 2008; and the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 1989 (no. 169)[3]. Given the incredible diversity between Indigenous peoples, the prevailing view among Intergovernmental Organisations (IGO) such as the United

[3] The International Labour Organization Convention's Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 1989 (no. 169) is concerned with the rights of Indigenous peoples within respective nation-states and the responsibilities of these governments to protect these rights (International Labour Office Geneva, 2013, p. 1).

Nations is that it is redundant to assign a universal definition (UNPFII, n.d.). For practical purposes, each IGO designates an organisational 'understanding', of the criterial nature, that identifies rather than defines Indigenous peoples. Such understandings are connected with identity, and are used to guide common and topical issues of Indigenous peoples, such as recognitive (cultural), distributive (economic), and reparative (compensatory) claims.

Among criteria conditions, the ILO Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO Convention no.169) was the first international instrument which attempted to identify a global understanding of Indigenous people. The Convention was adopted by the ILO to serve as an instrument dedicated to improving living conditions of Indigenous peoples worldwide (International Labour Office Geneva, 2013). The Convention provides two criteria, both subjective and objective, to identify the peoples concerned. These include:

- Subjective criteria: self-identification as belonging to an Indigenous people.
- Objective criteria: descent from populations, who inhabited the country or geographical region at the time of conquest, colonisation or establishment of present state boundaries. They retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, irrespective of their legal status (International Labour Organisation, n.d).

The Martinéz-Cobo Report to the United Nations Sub-commission on the Prevention of Discrimination of Minorities (1986) used a similar set of criteria to define Indigenous peoples. José R. Martinéz-Cobo, the Special Rapporteur on Discrimination against Indigenous Populations, defined Indigenous communities, peoples and nations as those which:

> having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system (United Nations, 2004, p. 2).

Martinéz-Cobo's approach emphasises the role of colonisation but avoids any reference to the duration of occupation, perhaps aiming to reflect the variation in the historical continuance of Indigenous peoples around the world. In the Oceanic region, for example, the earliest Māori ancestors are thought to have arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand sometime in the 14th century (Howe, 2003), while Indigenous Australians have occupied

their lands for tens of thousands of years (Kershaw, 1986).

Another international definition of Indigenous peoples can be found in the 1999 Declaration on the Health and Survival of Indigenous Peoples (the Declaration) developed by the World Health Organization. Although the focus of the Declaration was on defining Indigenous concepts of health, rather than Indigenous peoples, it is useful because it highlights the importance of concepts that reflect Indigenous perspectives. The Declaration states that:

> Indigenous peoples' concept of health and survival is both a collective and an individual inter-generational continuum encompassing a holistic perspective incorporating four distinct shared dimensions of life. These dimensions are the spiritual, the intellectual, physical, and emotional. Linking these four fundamental dimensions, health and survival manifests itself on multiple levels where the past, present and future co-exist simultaneously (cited in United Nations, 2002, p. 3).

This definition is differs from those developed by the ILO and Martinéz-Cobo in that it does not refer to characteristics of non-dominance or historical continuity, but rather points to the importance of spirituality, holistic relationships, and the influence of the past on the present.

Conversely, the United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (2004) draws on a range of criteria to provide the most comprehensive definition of Indigenous peoples. These are:

- self-identification as Indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member;
- historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies;
- strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources;
- distinct social, economic or political systems;
- distinct language, culture and beliefs;
- form non-dominant groups of society;
- resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities (UNPFII, n.d, p. 1).

This definition clearly emphasises self-identification, community recognition and non-dominance - although it not clear whether it refers to demographic or political non-dominance, or both.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) recognises that the characteristics and situations of Indigenous peoples varies across different

national contexts and avoids prescribing a tight definition. Rather it states that, "The situation of Indigenous peoples varies from region to region and from country to country and that the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical and cultural backgrounds should be taken into consideration" (p. 4).

Academic definitions of Indigenous peoples

Aside from the definitions developed and employed by INGOs, definitions of Indigenous peoples have been constructed for studies undertaken by anthropologists, sociologists, legal scholars, demographers, and other social scientists (Barnard, 2006; Maaka & Fleras, 2005; Haveman, 1999; Abernathy, 2000; Kymlicka, 2007; Miller, 2003). This section provides an overview of the key academic definitions of indigeneity. Because of the importance of what Walter and Andersen (2013) call 'standpoint', which is a researcher's methodological approach and social positioning, I distinguish between perspectives that are conceptually grounded in a mainstream approach, and those that are from an explicitly Indigenous worldview. The latter are described in a separate section that follows.

Wilmer (1997) provided one of the earliest social science definitions of Indigenous peoples her study of how the Indigenous voice in world politics changes discourse within the international communities. Wilmer's definition refers to Indigenous peoples as groups with tradition-based culture who were politically autonomous before colonisation and who, in the aftermath of colonisation, "continue to struggle for the preservation of their cultural integrity, economic self-reliance, and political independence by resisting the assimilationist policies of nation-states" (1993, p. 97).

Historical continuity of a geographic territory is not explicitly stated in Wilmer's interpretation, but is implied as cultures that are "politically autonomous before colonisation" have to be settled in order for the process of colonisation to occur. In this approach Indigenous peoples are defined in relation to colonisation and the negative impacts that consequently affect them.

In contrast to Wilmer, Anaya (1996) emphasises ancestral origins as a key feature of what makes a people Indigenous. According to Anaya (1996, p. 3), the term Indigenous concerns living descendants of pre-invasion inhabitants of lands dominated by others. He claims that:

> Indigenous peoples, nations, or communities are culturally distinctive groups that find themselves engulfed by settler societies born of the forces of empire and conquest… They are Indigenous because their ancestral roots are embedded in the lands in which they live,

> or would like to live, much more deeply than the roots of more powerful sectors of society living on the same lands or in close proximity. Furthermore, they are peoples to the extent they compromise distinct communities with a continuity of existent and identity that links them to communities, tribes or nations of their ancestral past.

Anaya's definition provides more substance than Wilmer's in that it explicitly acknowledges the distinctiveness of ancestral roots, connection to land, and culture. Like Wilmer, he highlights the shared experience of colonisation in both historical and contemporary contexts as dominating and continuing to dominate Indigenous territories. As such, his definition appears to be restricted to settler states such as Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand; Inuit, Métis and First Nations in Canada; and Aborigines in Australia. It exclude contexts where there is a general belief that all members of the respective national populace are 'Indigenous', as is the case in large parts of Africa and Asia , as well as in some of the Pacific nations (Hodgson, 2002). Anaya's definition is moderately inclusive in that it captures a sub-group of Indigenous peoples (those hosted by settler states), but not those who occupy countries where the majority are not settler descendants.

While Anaya's (1996) and Wilmer's (1993) definitions of Indigenous peoples accurately capture the experiences and characteristics of many Indigenous peoples, they are too restrictive and do not provide adequate flexibility to be used as criteria for this study.

In seeking a balance between definitions that are too inclusive or too narrow, Kingsbury (1998) proposed a definition that included 'essential requirements'. These are:

- self-identification as a distinct ethnic group;
- historical experience of, or contingent vulnerability to severe disruption, dislocation or exploitation;
- a long connection with the region; and,
- the wish to retain a distinct identity.

Characteristics which he defined as 'strong indicia', or in other words essential characteristics of Indigenous peoples were:

- non-dominance in the national (or regional) society (ordinarily required);
- close cultural affinity with a particular area of land or territories (ordinarily required); and,
- historical continuity.

Less critical criteria which he called 'other relevant indicia' included:

- socioeconomic and socio-cultural differences from the ambient populations;

- distinct objective characteristics such as language, race, and material or spiritual culture; and,
- being regarded as Indigenous by the ambient population or treated as such in legal and administrative arrangements.

The latter criteria reflect Kingsbury's intention to develop a "flexible" "constructivist" approach to defining Indigenous peoples (p. 418). In so doing he extended the definition beyond states dominated by European settlement – the Americas, Australasia, and the Nordic countries – to include the Asian and African continents where the concept of Indigenous peoples is very complex and highly contested (see Colchester & Emi, 1999; He, 2011; Ho, 1998 for Asian examples. See Alcorn, 1993; Ohenjo et al, 2006 for African examples).

Although the historical experience of disruption is an essential requirement, Kingsbury does not explicitly reference colonisation. He broadens the interpretation of what constitutes a colonial experience, while still accounting for the unique circumstances of Indigenous peoples. Under this definition, authochonous peoples in the Pacific Island nations that form the political and demographic majority, such as Samoa and Tonga, are considered Indigenous. The legacies of colonial pasts are still felt in those countries, albeit that the extent of cultural disruption and dislocation varies. Where post-colonial societies continue to be economically dependent on colonial powers, the notion of 'neo-colonialism' applies (Frazer & Bryant-Tokalau, 2006). Kingsbury argues that the application of his criteria is contingent on the "dynamic processes of negation, politics, legal analysis, institutional decision making and social interaction" (1998, p. 458)

Most mainstream perspectives of indigeneity, as well as race and ethnicity, take a social constructivist approach. In contrast to primordial approaches which treat ethnicity and race as fixed, immutable characteristics that are inherited at birth, social constructivism treats ethnicity and race as socially created and historically contingent (see, for example, Kingsbury, 1998; Merlan, 2009; Walter & Andersen, 2013). Social constructivism derives from constructivist epistemology which sees knowledge as historically and culturally positioned, and formed through social processes and interactions (Burr, 2003). Knowledge is viewed as subjective and contextual rather than reflecting an objective, pre-existing, and universal reality (Kingsbury, 1998). Constructivism emphasises the interconnected nature of social categories, and the key role of social relations in constructing and sustaining them.

I draw from a combination of Indigenous (Kingsbury, 1998; Merlan, 2009; Walters &

Andersen, 2013) and ethnic examples (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998; Nagel, 1995) to demonstrate the ways in which the internationalised Indigenous identity is built, transformed and changed over time.

How does this relate to Indigenous identity? In an international context who is seen or recognised as an Indigenous people is the product of power relations, dominant norms, and interactions. This condition can be described by Maturin's phrase "a reciprocal fluxion" (in Cornell & Hartmann, 1998, p. 72). This refers to the way in which collective identities change through processes involving groups' claims about themselves (assertion), and the claims that others make about them (assignment).

According to Kingsbury (1998) the international concept of Indigenous peoples is best treated as a constructivist approach. The concept of Indigenous is not subject to "perfect positivist coherence", but rather embodies:

> continuous process in which claims and practices in numerous specific cases are abstracted in the wider institutions of international society, then made specific again at the application in the political, legal and social processes of particular cases and societies (p. 415).

Kingsbury contrasts this understanding of indigeneity with a positivist approach which has rigid and precise requirements. Like Kingsbury, Merlan (2009) also sees the global concept of Indigenous peoples as a social construction, and suggests that while constructed identities may change over time, changes may occur only in some places but not others. Thus, while the concept of Indigenous people is well understood and generally accepted in the liberal democracy settler states of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, this is not the case in less developed and more politically unstable countries such as Malaysia and India.

Within the constructivist model, Indigenous people are also recognised as exercising agency in terms of their own self-definition (Kingsbury, 1998). These points resonate with facets of Indigenous revitalisation, particularly within the CANZSUS states and the enduring efforts of Indigenous communities to define themselves within the context of legislation, policy, communities or the national population census.

Essentially, there are four persistent criteria that form a global criteria for Indigenous people, as identified by INGO and mainstream academics:

- historical precedence;
- non-dominance;
- cultural distinctiveness; and,

- self-identification.

Definitions of Indigeneity by Indigenous scholars

Indigenous scholars have been critical of the ways in which 'others' have sought to identify and circumscribe Indigenous peoples. Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005) cautions against general definitions, arguing that Indigenous communities are not homogenous despite efforts by governments to treat them as such. Likewise Kanien'kehaka (Mohawk) scholar Taiaiake Alfred notes the "demands for precision and certainty disregard the reality of the situation: the group identity varies with time and place" (cited in Alfred & Corntassel, 2005, p. 600). Alfred's point introduces a concept not yet addressed by previous definitions in that he accounts for the dynamic nature of being Indigenous. It is unsurprising then that an examination of Indigenous perspectives of indigeneity evokes different set of 'core' criteria.

The common assertion (Alfred & Wilmer, 1997; Wilmer, 1993) that the colonial experience is a major unifying factor among Indigenous peoples, and is a principal reason for 'getting together' within an international context does not feature prominently in Indigenous scholarly discourse. Rather, the focus is on common epistemologies, 'Indigenous knowledge' and the attachment of these knowledge traditions to traditional environmental contexts. These understandings are well articulated by Durie who writes that:

> All Indigenous peoples have a tradition of unity with the environment and the tradition is reflected in song, custom, subsistence, approaches to healing, birthing, and the rituals associated with death. The defining characteristic of Indigenous peoples is therefore not necessarily premised on colonisation or sovereignty or a prior claim to settlement, but on a longstanding relationship with land, forests, waterways, oceans and the air. In this sense, indigeneity can be conceptualised as a state of fusion between Indigenous peoples and their accustomed environments (2004, p. 4,).

Smith (2005, p. 36) also emphasises self-identification , noting that the "…desire by the native to be self-defining and self-naming can be read as the desire to be free, to escape definition, to be complicated, to develop and change, and to be regarded as fully human." In Smith's (1999, p. 7) seminal work *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, she suggests that the term Indigenous peoples has "internationalised the experiences, the issues and the struggles" of peoples who have been subjugated to similar experiences.

Māori academic Dominic O'Sullivan (2007) adopts a different approach. He refers to

indigeneity as serving a transformative role in enabling Indigenous people to consider the terms of their 'belonging' to the nation state with reference to their own aspirations. His view of Indigenous peoples emphasises the inherent rights and the unique constitutional status of Indigenous peoples as original inhabitants. O'Sullivan asserts that integral to these rights is that of ownership of land and resources, protection of language, culture and identity, the right to self governance, and the rights to Indigenous models of self-determination.

Rather than framing Indigenous peoples as subjects of colonisation, Indigenous scholars identify Indigenous peoples as members of distinct political communities who stand to retain land, identity, and political representation.

Definition of Indigenous peoples used in this study

In light of the criterial definitions of Indigenous people constructed by IGOs, mainstream academics and Indigenous scholars which advocate for open participation and self-ascription, I use the following criteria to examine how the global category of Indigenous peoples intersects with formal categorisations of Indigenous people by national population censuses.

1. *Self-identification*

A shared feature of indigeneity across the UNDRIP, and the mainstream and Indigenous literature, is the criterion was self-identification as Indigenous peoples. Self-identification indicates the ability for groups to define their own parameters using criteria that resonate with them.

2. *Historical experience of, or contingent vulnerability to severe disruption, dislocation or exploitation*

The second criteria relates to the historical experience of colonialism. It is deliberately used as a means to include Indigenous groups that have formally undergone the process of 'decolonisation' (e.g. Samoa and Tonga) and/or are politically dominant, but are still considerably impacted by the 'aftermath' of colonialism. It promotes a more inclusive approach compared to other criteria that centralise the settler state as a reference point for indigeneity.

In selecting the countries and territories for the empirical analysis conducted for this study I use the two foregoing criteria to identify which countries are eligible of counting and classifying actual Indigenous populations residing in their nations' boarders. To achieve this study's main objectives, it is not logical to include in this analysis those

countries and territories where no recognisable Indigenous peoples exist. Including countries which do not have Indigenous populations would assumedly lead to higher levels of non-recognition, thus distorting the realities of the prevalence of Indigenous enumeration globally.

2.3 Science and power in the national population Census

Having established criteria of Indigenous peoples for this study, this section considers the forum where Indigenous identities are enumerated – the national population census. The census is the most well-known and widely practiced form of population enumeration in the world. It refers to the "total process of collecting, compiling, evaluating, analysing and publishing or otherwise disseminating demographic, economic and social data pertaining at a specified time, to all persons in a country or in a well delimited part of a country" (United Nations, 1998, para. 1.1.).

The census was one of the principle statistical practices in the ancient world, with the first known census though to be conducted around 3800 BC (Magnello et al, 2013). Since this early time census-taking has been intrinsically linked to the exercise of power as empires and states sought to assess their populations and their production. This point is inherent in the word "census" which originated from the Latin word *censere*, literally meaning "to tax" or "assess value" (Ezeah, Iyanda & Nwangwu, 2013). There is evidence of census-taking in pre-colonial Indigenous societies. For example, in ancient Mexico a twelfth-century census recorded the migration of 3.2 million people into the Valley of Mexico, in the area now known as Mexico City (Magnello et al, 2013).

The national census in a modern times was first undertaken in the United States in 1790 and spread to other parts of the New World by the latter part of the nineteenth century (Kertzer & Arel, 2002, p. 7). This 'diffusion' was stimulated by the 1857 Statistical Congress resolutions of Canada which detailed how jurisdictions should produce census abstracts according to a standard form (Curtis, 2002). Ventresca (2003, p. 19) describes these actions as being motivated by the desire of nations to undertake comparisons for "progress and social amelioration" and argues that it marked the start of the "extensive global culture and formal organizational arrangements" of intergovernmental organisations, national agencies and bureaus (Ventresca, 2003, p. 4).

Since 1958, the United Nations has sought to universalise and standardise the census as a global instrument of enumeration, with a key activity being the publication of principles and recommendations for population and housing censuses (United Nations, 2007, p. 6). The census has five defining features:

- sole government sponsorship;
- a defined territory;
- nominal count of all persons,
- individual as the unit of enumeration; periodic and,
- regular; and, public and timely dissemination of census results (Ventresca, 2003).

The traditional census model typically involves taking a whole of population count through the collection of questionnaires undertaken at a specific point in time. In more recent decades, alternative census models have emerged including the use of sample surveys, rolling surveys, and population register and administrative data (Kukutai et al, 2015). The Ethnicity Counts? dataset used in this study includes all countries undertaking a census; regardless of the specific approach used (this is covered in more detail in chapter four).

Historical and contemporary accounts of the census reveal that a variety of motivations underpin census taking activities. Broadly speaking, there are two distinct ways of understanding state processes of counting and classifying populations and the subsequent use of the data. The first is that the census is an impartial, scientific instrument for inquiry (Nobles, 2000; Ventresca, 1995, 2002). This understanding derives from the epistemological approach of positivism which holds that 'objective social reality' can be examined and described empirically (Blum in Kertzer & Arel, 2000). As the dominant paradigm that prevailed at the genesis of the modern census (19th century), positivism infused census taking activities by states who saw themselves as undertaking scientific and objective measurements of the populace (Anderson, McEldowney, & Shuttleworth, 2004). The census was seen to produce accurate knowledge of the population to inform state agendas of national building, progress, and development. It is unsurprising then that modern governments hold similar views of the census as a universal model of objective and scientific inquiry (Ventresca, 2002). Kertzer and Arel (2000) argue that the claim of 'objectivity' is relatively unproblematic when considering census question such as age. However, the claim to objectivity is clearly fraught when addressing questions of identity. Labbe (in Kertzer and Arel, 2000, p. 19) calls this reductionist approach to census-taking 'statistical realism' which reflects the "notion that cultural categories can be reduced to an objective core."

Social scientists typically refute the notion that the census is an objective instrument of inquiry (Kukutai et al, 2014). Such perspectives view the census as first and foremost a political process, where influence is exerted from the 'top down' and (in more recent decades) the 'bottom up' (Kertzer & Arel, 2000; Nobles, 2000; Rallu et al, 2006). Kertzer

and Arel state, “Censuses do more than reflect social realities, they also participate in the social construction of these realities” (2002, p. 2). Censuses reflect and assist in the shaping of a nation’s political and social order (Kertzer & Areal, 2000; Morning, 2008; Simon, 2005; Ventresca, 2009). The modern census may be seen as a source of political power that not only seeks to “describe, observe, and map” but also to “shape a people and landscapes” (Scott in Kertzer & Arel, 2002, p. 3). This critique of the census has obvious links with the work of French theorist Michel Foucault, and specifically his theories of governmentality and technologies of surveillance (1980; 1991; 2002). Foucault (and others, see Axelsson, 2010; Curtis, 2002) argue that the role of statistics as a technology of surveillance is to make the social relations of populations visible in order to make them governable. In his analysis of the Métis categories used in the Canadian census, Andersen (2008, p. 2) draws on Foucault to argue that the representation of Métis is fixed in a “hierarchically organised colonial order of things” where differential state policies are used to organise various segments of the state’s Indigenous populations. Consequently, Métis have been constructed nationally as a ‘mixed’ race, rather than as an Indigenous nation. Walter and Andersen (2013) use Foucauldian concepts of ‘governmentality’ and ‘bio-power’ to contextualise the suspicion of Indigenous peoples and researchers towards quantitative methodologies within the context of official statistics. They see this distrust as having its genesis in colonial times, through a range of colonial schemes that advanced colonial agendas of nation-building, while marginalising and displacing Indigenous peoples. Ittmann et al (2010) draw on Foucault’s notion of governmentality in their study of colonial census taking in Africa. They note that “Foucault’s oeuvre opened an avenue….to reconsider and re-present the relationship between state exercises in quantitative measurement exemplified by the census-usually presented to the public as objective, empirical knowledge-and the visible and invisible political and institutional and agenda behind their use” (p. 5).

The census (and official statistics) remains a centralised technology of the state (Walter & Andersen, 2013; Taylor, 2013). However this power is not always characterised by the ‘top down’ model. According to Kertzer and Arel (2000), changing power relations in some contexts means that enumeration is also being shaped from the ‘bottom-up’, particularly where minority groups have successfully lobbied to influence their enumeration in official statistics. Thus, in some countries the census has come to be seen as a potential tool to address inequalities rather than a mechanism for retaining them (Morning & Sabbagh, 2005). An Indigenous example includes the addition of ‘Native Hawaiian’ in the U.S. census as an outcome of Native-Hawaiian activists seeking

recognition as Indigenous peoples within the census. Prior to the change Native Hawaiians, or Kānaka Maoli, were enumerated within an aggregated 'Pacific Islander' category (Snipp, 2003).

2.4 Ethnic classification and counting in the Census

This section identifies the current approaches towards theorising state practices of ethnic and racial enumeration in the census, before considering the specific case of Indigenous enumeration. A large number of case studies on ethnic classification have been undertaken in the last 20 years (Andersen, 2008; Kukutai in Axelsson & Skold, 2013; Nobles, 2000; Snipp, 2003; Taylor, 2011). Most of these have been case studies focused on a specific national context or period.

Morning's (2008) paper examining ethnic enumeration in the 2000 census round (1995-2004) is unusual in that it is genuinely cross-national, including 141 countries. Morning's study examines multiple aspects of ethnic enumeration in the census – government approaches to ethnic enumeration, and content analysis of the language of census ethnicity items. Morning's study is novel in that it covers considerable ground by offering theoretical, applied, and policy orientated insights into ethnic enumeration. The study's main finding shows that 63 percent of national censuses included some form of ethnic enumeration, but the questions and answer formats portray various conceptualisations of ethnicity such as 'race' and 'nationality' (results were discussed in greater detail in chapter one). Further, she found that these concepts follow regional patterns, e.g. race was more often found in the Americas, and ethnic nationality in Eastern Europe In addition to the concepts used, Morning also explored the ways in which questions were asked in terms of their formats (e.g. closed or open-ended questions). Her concluding remarks argue that any proposal for a standardised strategy of ethnic enumeration must contend with the fundamentally political process of changing and reconstructing census categories.

In their study of the use of ethnicity in the field of demography Rallu et al (2006) identify four main strategies of ethnic enumeration:

- counting to dominate (enumeration for political control);
- not counting to unify and assimilate (non-enumeration in the name of national integration);
- counting or not counting in the name of multiculturalism (discourse of national hybridity); and,
- counting to justify positive action (enumeration for antidiscrimination).

The first approach of 'counting to dominate' characterises the historical practices associated with colonialism. Various scholars have noted that colonial censuses were undertaken for the purpose of assembling systematic information in the interest of taxing and/or the assimilation of Indigenous populations (Ittman et al, 2010; Axelsson & Skold, 2011). This exercise was akin to stocktaking for the economic progression of the colonial state. In some countries it was a widely held view of the colonisers that Indigenous peoples would eventually become 'extinct' through conquest, disease, and/or the march of 'civilisation'. In the context of Australia Rowse argues that the colonial objectives of gathering information on Aborigines was limited to "knowing where they were from a security point of view and whether they were under threat from they were under threat from the processes of occupation" (2009, p. 195). There are many other examples of how the census was used as an object of surveillance, analysis, and intervention on Indigenous peoples (Andersen, 2008; Kukutai, 2012; Kukutai & Taylor, 2012; Pool, 2015; Smith et al, 2008).

The second model of 'not counting to unify and assimilate' is linked to contexts where national identity is privileged as part of the nation-building project. France is an often cited example of this enumeration approach (Simon, 2003). This does not mean that ethnic or racial differences do not matter, or that inequalities are not socially significant. Rather that the identification of national identities are preferred and prioritised. In countries where there are Indigenous peoples, the rejection of ethnicity as a basis for social stratification has the effect of rendering Indigenes invisible in official statistics, essentially acting as a mode of assimilation (Rallu et al, 2006). An exemplar of this approach can be seen in the 2004 New Caledonia census (Palayret, 2003). Having previously collected ethnicity data, the government moved to withdraw the ethnicity question from the 2004 census after a visit from French President Jacques Chiraq. The decision was justified on the grounds that all French citizens where viewed by the state as French (Peters, 2011; Vinding, 2005). The state discourse of national hybridity is largely associated with Latin American countries where racial mixing tends to be viewed positively, although there are still marked racial inequalities (Nobles, 2000, 2002).

The final model refers to more recent approaches in countries where the enumeration of ethnic and racial minorities is undertaken with a view to addressing inequalities, and where census data serves as a tool to contest discrimination, and promote positive policy initiatives (Ketzer & Arel, 2002). Nagel (1994) points out the "enormous power to shape patterns of ethnic identification" when resources are distributed on the basis of ethnicity (p. 158). The clearest example of ethnic enumeration undertaken to address inequalities is

affirmative action in the United States (Morning & Sabbagh, 2005). Other countries where this occurs include Canada, the United Kingdom (Nagel 1994; Northridge et al, 2000), Aotearoa New Zealand (Kukutai, 2012; Kukutai & Callister, 2009), Australia (Martin & Taylor, 2004), and parts of Latin America (e.g, Brazil, Colombia) and Asia (China) (Morning, 2008).

The foregoing typology is useful for thinking about how governments have changed their enumeration practices over time and the consequences for Indigenous peoples. It is, however, descriptive rather than explanatory and there is a tendency to emphasise 'top down' influences from the government. It emphasises the state as the locus of power, and thus overlooks the potential influences that emanate outside of the state, both institutionally and geographically. It is vital for both factors to be considered for the enumeration of Indigenous populations, given the special status that Indigenous peoples have domestically, the international Indigenous revitalisation movement which aims to promote these rights, and the support and dissemination of this message from IGOs.

An important question that needs to be addressed here is what differentiates ethnic and Indigenous enumeration? Is there a need for separate theories or can Indigenous peoples be considered an ethnic or racial group? Dean and Levi (2003, p. 4) make a useful distinction in that while "..almost all Indigenous peoples are ethnic groups, the converse does not hold…Moreover, Indigenous identities frequently become articulated in wider fields of symbolic and political relations of which ethnic relations are only apart." One of the contributions of this study is to show the diverse conceptual terms that have been used to enumerate Indigenous peoples and to begin to build an understanding for why there is such variation. For example, why do some countries ask a specific question on Indigenous status while others include them as an ethnic, racial, ancestral or linguistic group? Morning's (2008) study captures 'hard' forms of Indigenous enumeration using questions on "Indigenous," "Aboriginal," and "tribe" but this misses 'weaker' forms of recognition as is the case with Indigenous categories subsumed under ethnic or racial questions. In this study I account for both forms of enumeration.

2.5 Factors affecting the enumeration of Indigenous peoples in the Census

Part of the difficulty in developing a global theory for Indigenous enumeration is that it is unchartered territory. Peter's (2011) cross-sectional study of the enumeration of Indigenous people in the 2000 census round provides the best insight into practices globally. Peter's paper analyses 231 countries to address two main questions: 1) how many countries and areas enumerate Indigenous peoples and what geographic patterns are

associated with this enumeration, and. 2) what variations exist in approaches to the enumeration of Indigenous peoples among census questionnaires. Peters finds that while some Indigenous peoples are enumerated, this practice is not widespread, and Indigenous peoples are often classified as ethnic minorities in the census rather than as distinctively Indigenous peoples. Peter's study is the only Indigenous-specific global examination of census enumeration. Though one of the shortcomings of this study is that it includes all countries in the world so overstates the extent of Indigenous non-recognition by excluding the denominator (used to calculate rates) those countries that don't actually have an Indigenous people.

Rallu et al (2006) and Morning (2008) focused on ethnic enumeration generally and were not concerned with addressing the specific context of indigeneity. However, Indigenous peoples are distinctive from ethnic groups in several key respects. One is the right to self-determination as articulated in Article 3 of the UNDRIP which states: "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of the right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (United Nations, 2007, p. 4). From a state perspective, the self-determining claims of Indigenous peoples are more contentious than those of ethnic minorities (Davis & Jentoft, 2001; Iorns, 1992; Muehlebach, 2003). As such, the enumeration of Indigenous peoples in the census may involve a different set of considerations beyond those associated with ethnic minorities (Peters, 2011). In Aotearoa New Zealand, for example, the government is obliged under the Electoral Act 1993 requires count of Māori descent population but not for any other specific ethnic descent group (Kukutai, 2004; Westbrooke & Jones, 2000).

This example demonstrates that it is not sufficient to simply subsume Indigenous peoples under a general theory of ethnic enumeration, or to treat them as one of many ethnic groups. This matters both in terms of thinking about the extent of Indigenous enumeration and the reasons underlying it. To date studies of ethnic enumeration have said little about the conditions that give rise to Indigenous enumeration, and how both domestic and international pressures and conditions may impact government approaches. The following section thus attempts to identify some of the key conditions that impede or encourage state identification of Indigenous peoples in the census.

The coercive experience of colonialism resulted in the extensive loss of political authority, territory, and natural resources (Alfred, 2009), and the marginalisation of Indigenous peoples politically, socially, culturally and economically. A number of studies have shown how the census acted as a government mechanism of control during the

expansion of colonialism (Hirschman, 1987; Kukutai, 2012; Walter & Andersen, 2013). Different colonial strategies resulted in significant differences with respect to key facets such as Treaty making, the timing and scale of land alienation, and state policies with respect to extermination, assimilation and isolation. These differences need to be accounted for given the global nature of this study. Rather than interpret colonisation as coherent or fragmentary, I recognise that the effects on Indigenous peoples have been overwhelmingly negative, but that there are also significant temporal and spatial differences. A number of influential works have attempted to conceptualised the differences in colonial regimes (Horvath, 1972; Fieldhouse, 1962; Finley, 1976; Fredrickson, 1988; Osterhammel, 1997). Osterhammel's (1997) model of colonialism is instructive. He describes colonialism as the "relationship of domination between an Indigenous majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonised people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in the pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis" (1997, p. 16-17). He succinctly identities three 'modular forms of colonies' to distinguish the colonial experience:

1. colonies of exploitation;
2. colonies of settlement; and,
3. enclaves or strategic territorial outposts.

Colonies of exploitation (e.g. British India) describe places established principally for the purpose of capitalist economic extraction (Clayton, 2009; Osterhammel, 1997). Colonies were governed by a small group of colonisers over the numerical majority Indigenous population. Ideologies of race and paternalism were entrenched in the colonial governance (Clayton, 2009). These colonies differed to the settler colonies of North America, Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, where colonisers or settlers 'came to stay' – colonies were established either independent of politically subordinate to the metropole (Veracini, 2013). In settler colonies metropolitan/colonial channels of influenced ensued well past invasion and/or the establishment phase of colonisation. Colonisers employed a host of mechanisms to 'deal with' the Indigenous populations (e.g. assimilation, eradication). Following the works of Wolfe (2006) and Morgensen (2011), settler colonialism is exemplary of 'bio-power' as theorised by Foucault (Foucault, 2008). Bio-power is the term Foucault uses to describe mechanisms and tactics of power focused towards individuals and populations; mechanisms which influence within the legal and political sphere of sovereign power (Simons, 1995). Enclaves of strategic territorial outposts, exemplified by maritime enclaves such as Hong Kong and Jakarta, functioned

as commercial and military stations to aid imperial networks (Clayton, 2009).

Although Osterhammel's (1997) taxonomy is primarily concerned with colonisation (the establishment of colonisers in an environment) as opposed to colonialism (the philosophy/method), it is a useful way to categorise countries in a way which accounts for the diversity in experiences of colonisation. We can ask, for example, whether settler colonial states have pursued different enumeration strategies of Indigenous enumeration than countries with a history of extractive colonisation.

The experiences of Indigenous peoples in the CANZSUS settler states have been well described and the commonalities there are much more evident. In Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, for example, the census was critical to part of a broader government strategy of domination and suppression. In extractive colonies the motivations appeared to be less explicit. In the case of India, Samarendra argues, "There was no grand design of knowing and controlling the population as generally attributed to the colonial state" (2011, p. 51). Rather, the objectives were to facilitate the classification of the population into agricultural and non-agricultural classes. This admission in itself links to the nature of exploitative colonialism as being hinged on labour for economic extraction. Marine ports were less invasive and there was less of a compelling incentive to count and calibrate the native population, particularly as colonial intentions did not entail settlement (Osterhammel, 1997).

It should be noted here that the use of post-colonial theory is common in studies of colonialism and colonisation. Post-colonial theory is used conceptually as a way to analyse colonialism, anticolonial struggles, the process of decolonisation, and the absence or presence of European settlers (Acemoglu et al,, 2000). The use of post-colonial theory crosses academic disciplines from education (see McConagy, 2000), and health (see Browne, Smye, & Varcoe, 2005), to geography (see Pollard, McEwan, Laurie & Stenning, 2009) and legal studies (see Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2006). Many key concepts of post-colonialism resonate with the examination of state strategies to count and classify Indigenous peoples. Colonisers viewed native peoples as the inferior 'others' – the process of 'othering' was made popular by the post-colonial theorist Edward Said (1995). 'Othering' describes the context by which colonial enumeration socially constructed categories that both created and cemented racial hierarchies. Said proposes that the notion of identity is always produced in relation to its 'others', thus:

> …the development and maintenance of every culture requires the existence of another different and competing alter ego. The construction of identity…whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain…involves establishing opposites and 'others' whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of their differences from 'us'… (1995, p. 332).

Taylor's 2011 paper offers a critique of what he calls 'post-colonial demography' and its relations with enumeration strategies and categories devised by the state. He describes post-colonial demography as the collection and use of population data by the state as reparation for the past and present social exclusion (formally termed the *Indigenous Enumeration Strategy* in Australia), but he notes that these attempts remain centralist and 'top-down' in nature, rendering Indigenous peoples with little agency. Taylor (2011) and Said's (1995) statements bring to light an important point regarding the 'fit' of a post-colonialism approach to Indigenous enumeration.

Endogenous context – the influence of domestic conditions

Factors within nation states have key roles in influencing how a government counts and classifies its population within the census. As would be expected, these factors differ by place and time. For example, the comprehensive state-policy of assimilation directly influenced how Indigenous Australians were enumerated in censuses from 1950 to the mid-1960s (Chesterman & Douglas, 2008), in contrast the United States employed the strategy of racilisation of American Indians in the census, not with the intention of assimilation into the non-Indigenous population, but to alter the autonomy and identity of separate Indigenous tribes (Snipp, 2003). While these two examples illustrate the differences in influences for the enumeration of Indigenous people, Kukutai and Thompson (2015) identify four sets of factors internal to nation-states which might explain the similarities as to why and how states engage in ethnic enumeration. They are - ethnic group relations, immigration, post-colonial sovereignty and resources.

Exogenous context – the influence of factors external to nation states and the Integration into global civil society

Kukutai and Thompson (2015) also explored whether pressures emanating from ' 'outside' states influence governments ethnic enumeration strategies. External pressures include those exerted by International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs), IGOs such as the United Nations and its various human rights instruments, and trade agreements and flows. They found that state processes of ethnic recognition correlated with the state's involvement with international organisations – specifically whether

state's commitment[4] to the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). None of the case-studies of Indigenous enumeration located for this thesis have considered the potential impact of exogenous factors. Morning's (2008) study of census-based ethnic classification identified clear regional patterns, but she did not seek to develop an explanation for the observed patterns.

World society theory (or world polity theory) provides a useful lens to consider how and why factors external to countries might influence how governments count and classify their Indigenous populations. World society theory emphasises the role of global norms on states and institutions whereby "Worldwide models define and legitimate agendas for local action, shaping the structures and policies of nation-states and other national and local actors in virtually all of the domains of rationalized social life" (Meyer et al, 1997, p. 145). Post-World War II saw the emergence of global institutions such as the United Nations system and related bodies (e.g. International Monetary Fund, World Bank). These institutions are actors in the 'world polity' that constitute "forces working to mobilise and standardise out island society thus gain strength through their linkage to and support by the United Nations system and the great panoply of no-government organisations clustered around it" (Meyers et al, 1997, p. 163).

From this perspective, integration into world society should lead to the institutionalisation of world models, where nation-states adopt similar policies, education systems and constitutional forms – otherwise known as isomorphism. World polity research on isomorphism explains that as states become increasingly drawn into a global polity, their policies with respect to education, for example, become increasingly similar (Meyer, Kamens, and Benavot, 1992; Meyer, Ramirez, and Soysal, 1992; McNeely, 1995; Schofer & Meyer, 2005). With respect to the census, Ventresca's (2003) study traced the emergence of the modern census and the consequent uptake by countries despite vastly different historical and circumstances.

With respect to the counting and classification of Indigenous peoples, there are multiple ways in which exogenous factors might influence state enumeration strategies. Given the role of IGOs and INGOs in the world polity I am influenced by Schofer and Meyers (2005, p. 906) claim that "Nations deeply embedded in networks of international organisations tend to conform to global norms rapidly… this can be measured by the

[4] Commitment to ICERD was based on four factors: (1) if ICERD was signed, (2) if Article 15 was enforced, bestowing the ICERD committee with the power to hear individual group grievances against members, (3) if at least 50per cent of reports were filed within the allotted timeframe, (4) if countries signed ICERD before 1975 (Kukutai & Thompson, 2015, p. 52).

number of membership ties to INGOs… of a given nation." In terms of Indigenous enumeration, this suggests that countries with close membership ties to the United Nations will align their own enumerative practices with 'models' promulgated by the United Nations. Another way by which exogenous factors may influence state recognition of Indigenes is through support of specific international human rights instruments (Cole, 2005; Tsutsui & Wotipka, 2004). Within the last decade alone there have been a set of Indigenous rights instruments initiated by the United Nations including the adoption of the UNDRIP in 2007 and the commencement of the second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People in 2004. Both advocate for the self-determination of Indigenous peoples and for data disaggregation that allows the situation of Indigenous peoples to be adequately revealed and monitored.

2.6 Toward a Global Understanding of Indigenous Enumeration

Based on the literature, this section presents a theoretical framework for understanding state strategies of census-based Indigenous enumeration. This study employs a social constructivist understanding of indigeneity. The primary influence of social constructivism is the theorisation of indigeneity as socially constructed and historically dependent (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). Indigeneity is not based on a set of rigid standards; within the nation-state it holds highly contextualised meaning – these parameters undergo change and maintenance between groups (Barth, 1969). Indigeneity cannot only be understood as a product of national colonial histories, structural conditions and Indigenous/state relations. Indigeneity has global resonance, therefore is a product of 'constructivism' in its widest sense – constructed between groups on the premise of international application.

The census provides an opportunity to examine the operationalisation of constructions and understandings of indigeneity. Through recognising the existence of Indigenous peoples the census also provides the basis for them to pursue rights-based claims. In some contexts the census as also provides the "backbone for the creation and implementation of social policy for Indigenous peoples" (Walter & Andersen, 2013, p. 8). Rallu et al's (2006) typology of ethnic enumeration sees government strategies as being primarily politically motivated.

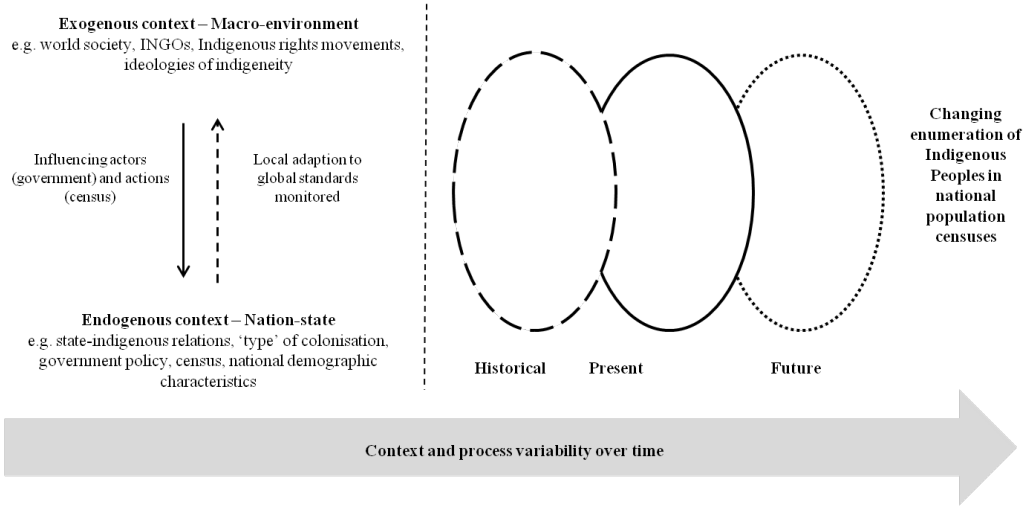
Therefore, endogenous factors directly influence the enumeration of Indigenous peoples. The state constructs questions and categories of the census, based on a set of concepts that define Indigenous peoples. Given the social constructivist approach, the state determined content of the census pertaining to Indigenous identity is subject to change in

response to the role of colonisation, and the relations with Indigenous peoples themselves. Domestically, from the bottom up, Indigenous peoples also influence enumeration strategies based on legitimate claims residing on their Indigenous status. States however, do not operate in isolation, but are entrenched in a global network.

I suggest state strategies of Indigenous enumeration as influenced by both domestic and local concerns and pressures. Hence, by accounting for exogenous influences in addition to endogenous ones, links to global civil society could demonstrate that the influences on Indigenous enumeration practices are binary (Meyer et al, 1997).

The endogenous and exogenous contexts and processes are subject to constant change – three temporal and to an extent ideological periods can be identified for Indigenous enumeration: historical (colonial), present (post-colonial), and future. This study considers global trends and patterns of Indigenous enumeration based on the theoretical premises that proceed, and while only empirically testing the (recently) 'present' period (1985-2014), the historical period (colonial) is further discussed in the following chapter's case study analysis, as the impetus of Indigenous counting and classification in the census. Figure 2.1 combines the above thinking into a visual depiction of this study's theoretical framework.

Figure 2.1 Theoretical framework



2.7 Conclusion

I began this chapter with a review of global definitions of Indigenous people with the purpose to compare and contrast the literature on indigeneity to best inform the criteria used for this study. To sufficiently fulfil the global claim of this study, I employ a two-part criterion to define Indigenous people world-wide: self-identification as Indigenous

peoples (and recognised by others), as featured in many institutional, academic, and Indigenous definitions. The second stated Indigenous peoples are those that have undergone a historical experience of severe disruption, dislocation and/or exploitation. This is a relatively novel approach because it denotes colonisation, without explicitly stating it. This essentially widens the scope of who is considered Indigenous, or rather - what countries to analyse, while eliminating confusion (and inclusion) of ethnic-nationalists with similar experiences. After explaining indigeneity as a social construction, the census as a 'tool of statecraft' is discussed. These notions are carried through to a theoretical analysis of how states enumerate by ethnicity and indigeneity. While ethnic enumeration is better understood (then Indigenous enumeration) it lacks two things: lack of theorisation in its own right, and failure to capture key factors essential to the examination of patterns of Indigenous enumeration. A new objective describing state approaches to Indigenous enumeration was introduced. Given the global nature of this study, attention was given to the heterogeneity of colonialism, and its various impacts on the enumeration of Indigenes. Though post-colonial theory aligns with the inquiry of post-colonial development of cultural and natural identities, it is a paradigm that is insufficient to comprehensively explain influences exogenous to the state. Instead, world society tradition shows that countries are not disconnected islands solely influenced by domestic conditions. The study's theoretical framework proposes that the extent to which states accept or decline recognition of Indigenous peoples within the census is likely to be effected by their integration into global civil society.

Chapter three focuses on case-study literature, demonstrating Indigenous people's experiences are diverse – experiences of colonialism and in regard to enumeration practices. Though despite these diverse experiences, there are commonalities between Indigenous people's experiences of enumeration which can be traced concurrently, over time in relation to ideologies of the census, indigeneity and Indigenous rights movements.

CHAPTER THREE

INDIGENES, ABORIGINALS, NATIVES: A REVIEW OF CASE STUDY LITERATURE ON THE COUNTING AND CLASSIFICATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN THE CENSUS

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the issue of how to define 'Indigenous people', drawing on a range of theoretical perspectives and international examples. While there is no single definition, there are a number of criteria that are widely used, some of which I have used for the purposes of this study. Key theoretical perspectives about the census and ethnic and Indigenous enumeration were critiqued, and a theoretical framework was presented to guide the empirical analysis in chapter five.

In this chapter I examine specific case-studies of the different ways in which Indigenous peoples have been enumerated in the census. There is a great deal of heterogeneity between Indigenous peoples in terms of how they are defined (Smith, 2005), their experiences of colonisation, and their contemporary level of development (Cooke et al. 2007; Stephens et al, 2006). This diversity makes it challenging to describe the census experiences of Indigenous peoples in a general way. The majority of literature examining the historical and contemporary treatment of Indigenous peoples in the census has focused on the wealthy CANZSUS settler states (see, for example, Andersen date; Kukutai & Walter 2015; Kukutai & Taylor 2013; Taylor, 1993, 1997). Despite the variation in geographic context, common themes are evident among these countries. Although Africa and Asia are home to the majority of the world's Indigenous peoples (Kingsbury, 1998; Ohenjo et al, 2006; United Nations, 2014), relatively few studies have examined how governments in those regions have counted and classified Indigenous peoples. In large parts of those regions the issue of Indigenous data collection is fraught; not only are Indigenous peoples not recognised by some governments, but identification by the state would not be welcomed by Indigenous peoples due to fears of discrimination and repression (Ohenjo et al. 2006; Tauli-Corpuz, 2008).

One way to structure a review of the literature is to conceptually group case studies by type of colonialism, that is, to distinguish settler colonies, colonies of exploitation and enclaves of strategic territorial outposts (Ostehammel, 1997). A number of studies have differentiated Indigenous people based on the form of colonialism (for examples see Anaya, 2004; Wiessner, 1999). For this study it is more useful to distinguish between

colonial settler states and other contexts which do not have the same levels of human and socio-economic development. There is a substantial considerable body of literature theorising the structure of settler colonial formations (Wolfe, 1999; Wolfe, 2001; Moses, 2004, 2008), and the ways in which settler societies were "premised on the elimination of native societies" (Wolfe, 1999, p. 2). Similarly, there numerous studies comparing the situation of Indigenous peoples in settler states, particularly in the area of health (Andersen et al, 2006; Cooke et al, 2013; Gracey and King, 2009; Kowal, 2012) and social policy (Armitage, 1995; Jamrozik, 2001; Mitrou et al, 2014). In the context of official statistics, Walter and Andersen argue that the "colonial habitus of the settler majority (who are the primary producers and users of Indigenous statistics) shapes the dominant quantitative methodological practices in these countries and that this habitus constitutes Indigenous statistics in particular way" (2013, p. 15). I argue that the same logic is evident in the census; that is, the mechanisms of settler colonialism have rendered Indigenous people as the 'counted', not the 'counters'. In turn, these demographic and political majority groups are the primary producers and users of census data about Indigenous peoples. This point is pertinent when comparing the differences of settler states with developing Indigenous contexts.

Colonial settler states are also distinctive in terms of their levels of human development as measured by indicators such as the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI is a well-established index that measures three vital areas of human development: life expectancy, access to education which influences human capital and standard of living (United Nations, 2014). Prior research has shown marked differences in the human development levels of Indigenous people as measured by the HDI (see Stavenhagen for the United Nations Development Programme, 2004). Cooke et al. (2007) demonstrate this in their paper comparing Indigenous wellbeing in the CANZSUS states. They calculated the HDI scores for U.S American Indian and Alaska Native (0.877), Canadian Aboriginal Population (0.851), Aotearoa New Zealand Māori (0.767), and Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (0.724); these were systematically lower than each respective national HDI score, however where higher than the national HDI score for numerous lower-developed countries with Indigenous peoples, e.g. Mexico (0.648 in 2000) and Brazil (0.608 in 2001). While the scores of Indigenous people range along a spectrum from 'high' to 'low', it is important to note that the majority of them experience much poorer health and social conditions compared to the general populations within each respective nation (Cooke, Mitrou, Lawerence, Guimond, & Beavon, 2007). Ironically, it is difficult to regularly monitor the level and changes of such disparities as HDI scores

are assigned to countries and are only occasionally calculated specifically by Indigenous or ethnic population.

In the first section of this chapter, I provide a critical review of case studies of how Indigenous in the colonial settler states have been counted in the census and identify two broad themes that characterise government approaches: assimilation, and decolonisation. The second section reviews case studies of Indigenous enumeration in less developed countries in the regions of Asia, Africa, and South America. A key issue in some of developing contexts is that Indigenous peoples are not recognised by the government, and have no legal standing. This makes the task of studying Indigenous enumeration within these particular regions difficult, but validates the need for increased attention in these regions.

3.2 Settler States

Aotearoa New Zealand

State practices of enumeration have a troubled history for Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand. The past decade has given rise to a number of studies documenting this history, from the early days of colonial encounter to the present (Callister, 2004; Callister, Didham & Kivi, 2009; Gould, 1992; Kukutai, 2011, 2012; Lowe, 1989; Pool, 1991, 2002, 2013, 2015; Wanhalla, 2005, 2009). Prior to the arrival of British colonisers, Māori society was structured around whānau (family), hapū (extended family) and iwi (tribe); these were the fundamental building blocks of Māori identity (Ballara, 1998; Broughton, 1993; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). Racial logics imported from England informed strategies of colonial census-taking in the nineteenth and early twentieth century's. Census categories and methods of aggregation racialised Māori in ways that served the interests of the settler government. Assimilation was the dominant form of 'native' policy administered by the colonial Aotearoa New Zealand government (Belich, 2001; Kukutai, 2011; Ward, 2003; Pool, 2015).

The first effort to count the whole Māori population spanned over a year between 1857 and 1858, and was undertaken by a Resident Magistrate Francis Fenton (Pool, 1973). Fenton later went on to preside over the Native Land Court, which was a key mechanism for the alienation of Māori land (Williams, 1999). The first census did not include tribal counts per se but rather grouped Māori by sub-regions – even though Māori society at that time was tribally structured. From 1874 to 1901 the census collected tribal data using a three-tiered typology – principle tribes, sub-tribes and residence (Kukutai, 2012). The official categorisations aggregated Māori in a way which did not reflect Māori forms of

social organisation. This strategy was underscored by colonial objectives of the surveillance of the Indigenous population due to recent conflict between the state and Māori (Kukutai, 2011). From 1874 onwards, the census also attempted to document the number of Māori-Europeans 'half castes', and then to distinguish between those who were Māori oriented, and those who were European oriented. The Census Act 1877 stipulated a distinction between half caste Māori-European as: 'half-castes living as European' and 'half-castes living as Māori' (Pool, 1991). From a state perspective, this distinction allowed for the monitoring of half-castes living as Europeans and those living as Māori – essentially a proxy measure to determine the assimilation of individuals of mixed-race ancestry. Pool (1991) notes that it was more common in North Island, than the South Island, for people of mixed ancestry to remain living as Māori, and retain a sense of Māori identity. He viewed these practices as reflecting increasing 'matrilocal' marriages, that is European/Pākehā males partnering with Māori, and their offspring remaining within the Māori population (Pool, 1991). This practice was discontinued with the 1926 census, but serves as a critical reflection of the government's views and interests towards the classification of Māori.

From 1901, tribal enumeration was abandoned in favour of blood quantum. While the reasons for this are unclear, the transition occurred at a time when practices of enumeration by blood quantum were prevalent in other settler state census (e.g. United States). From 1926 the concept of blood quantum was expanded to include 'three quarter caste', 'quarter caste', and 'one eighth caste' (Wanhalla, 2005). Such enumeration strategies permitted the tracking of the perceived assimilation of Māori into the European population which was viewed by successive governments as a desirable outcome (Wanhalla, 2010). The proliferation of such categories was commonly attributed to widespread interracial marriage (Wanhalla, 2010). However for many Māori, the fact of intermarriage did not detract from their 'Māoriness'. In the view of politician Apirana Ngata, "a large proportion of half-castes, and midway between half-caste and full European, still, in their outlook and spirit and physical characteristics they are very much Māori" (Wanhalla, 2010, p. 11). Despite the explicit use of racial terminology to measure the shifting ethnic makeup of the Māori population, Kukutai argues that the "bifurcated paradigm of Māori and European races remained intact" (2011, p. 39). Pool (1991) has noted that in the absence of de jure legal segregation, a de facto from of racial segregation between Māori and Pākehā (the settler population) prevailed.

Māori were not placid participants in colonial censuses; there are many instances of Māori resistance. Several of the census commentaries in the mid to late 19th century

contain reports by census enumerators about the resistance and non-participation of tribes that supported the Māori King[5] (Kukutai, 2012). Wanhalla (2005) documents the bottom-up resistance of one Māori iwi - Ngāi Tahu, to periodical counting, resulting in the erasure of land ownership and territorial rights leading to widespread poverty; and the attempted reconstruction by the state of the tribal population as 'white' in the nineteenth and twentieth century's. The link between land loss and the enumeration practices was realised by Ngāi Tahu elders, culminating in the creation of their own enumerative instrument. This is but one example of Indigenous resistance to the census in the colonial context (see Lowe, 1989; Walling, Small-Rodriguez & Kukutai, 2009).

A new era of census enumeration emerged from 1960s, driven by a shift in domestic politics as well as international influences. The Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1974 was the catalyst for the shift of the statistical description of Māori removing blood quantum requirements from legal definitions: "A 'Māori' was a person of the Māori race of Aotearoa New Zealand and included any descendant of that person, irrespective of the percentage of blood line" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1974, p. 1711).[6] The 1974 Amendment Act represented a departure from race origin to ethnic origin, and had widespread implications for Māori. An attempted ratification of the legislative change can be observed in the 1976 census; providing a two-part question, asking for fractions of blood *and* Māori ancestry. The 1986 census gestured the end of counting by blood quantum for all ethnicities, to instead ask 'What is your ethnic origin?', with 'Aotearoa New Zealand Māori' provided as an option.

The state of flux of ethnic categorisations used in the census can be seen in the official reviews overseen by the then Department of Statistics in 1983 (Brown for Statistics New Zealand, 1983) and 1988 (Statistics New Zealand, 1988). The changes to the categorisation of Māori in the census not only reflected domestic dynamics, notably Māori political protest and changing ideologies about race, but also those occurring in other multicultural states in response to civil rights and Indigenous rights (Fenelon & Murguia, 2008; Smith, 2003).

At present the census collects data on Māori ethnicity, descent and tribal affiliation; statutory definitions of Māori are based on descent and iwi (see Kukutai & Rarere, 2014,

[5] Kīngitanga or the Māori King Movement was established in 1858, intended to unify Māori tribes under an hereditary kingship to restrain individual chiefs form selling land (Wright, 2006).

[6] It is important to note there were many different and contradictory legal definitions of Māori up until that stage documented in the 1961 Report on the Department of Māori Affairs (Hunn, 1960) that documented the varying use of blood quantum and ancestry to define Māori for statistical and statutory purposes, along with other recommendations on social reforms affecting Māori.

2015). This means that there are effectively three Māori populations, although the Māori Ethnic Group (MEG) is the aggregation most often used for policy purposes. The MEG includes anyone who ticks the Māori ethnic group category, whether alone or in combination with some other ethnic group. In the most recent 2013 census, more than half of the MEG identified with at least one other ethnic group (Kukutai & Rarere, 2015).

The categorisation of Māori identities has certainly improved over time to be less racist and paternalistic. This is evidenced in the census and other official information collections. Statistics New Zealand has indicated that it is moving towards a model of collecting data *for* Māori, not just data *about*. This approach is exemplified in the inaugural Māori Social Survey, Te Kupenga. This was held in 2013 post-census, and is a nationally representative survey with indicators of cultural identity, whānau (family) wellbeing, wairua (spirituality) and engagement with Māori networks, customs and language (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Kukutai (in Kukutai & Walter, 2015) argues that challenges in the Aotearoa New Zealand landscape remain, despite the marked improvements over the past century. Rather than focusing on the way in which Māori are counted and classified in the census, her critiques centre on the function of official statistics for Māori, and the position of Māori statistics within the context of changing census models.

Australia

The experience of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia presents one of the most recognisable examples of what Rallu et al (2006) call 'counting to dominate and exclude'. For most of the 20th century, Aboriginals considered 'half or more' were explicitly excluded from the census. This was legislated between 1901 and 1967, wherein the Commonwealth Constitutions Act, Section 127, stated that: "in reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives shall not be counted." (see in Rowse, 2008). This mandate represented a defining statement on who belonged (and who didn't belong) to the Australian nation and the place of Aboriginal peoples in the national polity. Every census deployed by the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics up until 1971 actively sought to exclude full-blooded Aboriginal peoples (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007). For example, Aboriginal peoples encountered by census enumerators were required to complete census forms, if an individual responded to the race question as having more than half-Aboriginal in descent, they were excluded from census data and results. As Taylor (2009) argues, "Indigenous people were counted in…enumerations, but for the purposes of statistical exclusion." Thus, blood quantum

was used as an exclusionary practice, reflecting the broader racialised policy approach of the Australian government towards Aboriginals (Taylor, 2009, 2011).

Torres Strait Islanders encountered similar treatment. Up until 1947 they were excluded from official census count if the 50 per cent blood quantum threshold was exceeded (Taylor, 2009). Thereafter, they were classified discontinuously as 'Polynesians' or 'Pacific Islanders' in subsequent censuses. While this separated Torres Strait Islanders from Aborigines and enabled them to be counted as part of the national populace, the assigned categories (e.g. 'Pacific Islander') erased their Indigenous status in the context of the Australia nation state, as well their own self-determined collective identity (Taylor, 2011).

Estimating the size, composition and distribution of Australia's Indigenous peoples – Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, has been a persistent challenge for the Australian Government often resulting in under estimation (Rowse, 2002; Taylor, 2008, 2011). This problem stems primarily from the mode of enumeration employed by the government since the settlement of British colonists, and the way Indigenous people have chosen to respond to ethnic identifiers in the census.

The complex geographical and jurisdictional make up of Australia's Federal system renders a general overview of the colonial administrations' counting of Indigenous people's difficult (see Smith, 1980). Notwithstanding some of the local variation Rowse (2002) argues that a general 'protection/assimilation model' operated up until the 1970s. The 'protection' era was largely paternalistic in orientation, in which the treatment of Aborigines was akin to that of children. The most obvious historical example of this is documented in 'The Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families'. This report, tabled before federal parliament, found that between 1910 and 1970, one in three Aboriginal children had been forcibly removed from their families (Probyn, 2013). The systematic removal of Aboriginal children was also a product of the 'assimilation' model in operation at the same time. This underpinned by the expectation that Aborigines with some degree of European blood would become more like white Australians – both racially and culturally. Assimilatory motives are clearly evident in the 1911 census enumeration instructions which directed that:

- Aboriginals were enumerated if they were accessible to ordinary enumeration procedures;
- All those not enumerated were assumed to be 'full bloods' and their number was

estimated;

- The general census population included ‘half-castes’ (but not ‘full-bloods’);
- The Commonwealth (Australian Government) published separate figures on full-bloods’ and on ‘half-castes’ (Smith, 1980, p. 27).

The contentious history of Aboriginal (and non-recognition) in the census, both in terms of underlying concepts and the language used, shifted in important ways with the 1967 Constitutional Referendum, which set a clear mandate for the Federal Government to implement policies to benefit Aboriginal people. The repeal of Section 27 of the Commonwealth Constitutions Act by 91 per cent of Australian voters demonstrated the public perception of the legislation as offensively discriminatory. Consequently in the 1971 census respondents were able to self-identify their racial origins as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007). This change allowed, for the first time, the production of Aboriginal population estimates and statistics relating to population growth, size, spatial and age distribution.

Taylor (2011) situates the 1967 referendum within a broader shift towards ‘postcolonial demography’. This term denotes the attempts by the state to use data as a remedial instrument for past and present social exclusion, however in ways which preserve state control over Indigenous development. This remedial approach is exemplified in the ‘Closing of the Gaps’ policies, for which census and other official data are indispensable (see Altman, 2009 and Altman, Biddle, & Hunter, 2008 for critiques of Closing the Gaps policies). There are multiple critiques of the Australian government’s Closing the Gaps policy approach to Indigenous development, and the role of data and data analysis. Taylor (2011) has argued that ‘post-colonial demography’ is more conducive to the demography of Indigenous populations that fits government agendas, than a rights-based demography of Indigenous peoples (2009).

Canada

Within the vast boundaries of Canada there are three main Indigenous groups - First Nations, Métis and Inuit, with ‘Aboriginal’ as the terminology to denote Indigenous. The diversity within each Aboriginal group, let alone between them, has presented challenges to obtain accurate and meaningful population data via the census, for the government and Indigenous people alike (Andersen, 2008; Siggner & Costa, 2005; Smylie & Anderson, 2006).

Canada has been collecting official statistics since 1767, and since 1871 has included an ethnic origin question (Grbic, Ishizawa & Stevens, 2015). The measurement of

Aboriginal descent has varied markedly over this period. The introduction of an Aboriginal identity question in the 1996 census was the most significant change to the Canadian census, leading to significant demographic distortions within the Indigenous population (Guimond, 1998). This came about in the 1991 post-censal survey wherein Statistics Canada sought to gain addition information about Aboriginal people by asking those that reported Aboriginal ancestry whether they "identified" with their reported ancestry (Saku, 1999). Since 1996, both the original ethnic origin and Aboriginal identity questions have allowed to respondents to identify the ethnic or cultural group one's ancestors belonged to while also self identifying sense of belonging. Guimond et al's (2004, p. 16) paper charts the challenges and implications of this change. In light of the changes they comment:

> Interpreting change in the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of this population is extremely difficult. While the federal government has a clear definition of who is "Indian in a legal sense", it is argued that beyond this definition there is no dominant definition for the remainder of Canada's Aboriginal population. There are at least two primary reasons for this situation, including (i) the concept of ethnicity (and Aboriginality) is far from straight forward, and has been quite variable over time, and (ii) there are currently several stakeholders (often with competing interests) that are very much concerned with how this population is delineated.

Academic critiques of Aboriginal counting and classification in Canada signal a persistent disconnect with state methods of data collection and classification of Aboriginal identities, with the geographic, cultural, and linguistic characteristics of Canada's Indigenous populations (Curtis, 2001; Hamilton, 2007; Inwood & Hamilton, 2011; Ruppert, 2009). For example, Peters (2011) found that urban Aboriginal people did not identify with the aggregate census categories First Nations, Métis, and Inuit, but rather identified with their particular nation of origin (e.g. Cree, Saulteaux, Denes).

The Métis provide an instructive case-study of census enumeration. As Andersen (2008) has shown, census categorisation played a key role in the racialisation of Métis. This practice was not isolated to colonial settlement, rather continuity is observed by tracing the colonial administration's construction of Métis, to contemporary articulations within the national biennial census. Similarities can be drawn with Māori, wherein early colonial enumerations displaced pre-existing forms of collective identity in favour of colonial derived versions, which in turn permeated state discourse. In this vein, Andersen (2008) argues that the "colonial nation-state building was (and remains) overtly anchored in the differential institutionalisation of nation and citizenship imaginings which required and

thus precipitated the attempted dispassion of Indigenous nations and their pre-existing forms of collective association and citizenship" (p. 349). According to Sawchuk (2001), this single entity 'Métis', today is an outcome of an historical distortion to privilege one group – the Red River Métis – over the others. The effect, as commented by Andersen (2008, p. 353), of such a racialised system of representation, produces a severely "limited, isolated and de-contextualised register of texts and discourse about contemporary Canadian indigeneity."

The key point identified is that the census constructed Métis as a 'mixed race' group (as if all other aboriginal groups and indeed ethnic groups are somehow 'pure') and denies them an identity based on their rights as Indigenous peoples. Indeed, if marginalisation is a key element of exclusion, the racialisation of Métis in the census excludes the concept, and the reality of Métis cultural and political heterogeneity.

United States of America

The literature on census enumeration practices in North America often focuses on ethnic and racial identities, although there is also an important body of work on American Indian enumeration and census data (Eschnach, Supple & Snipp, 1989, Lawrence, 2003; Robertson, 2013; Snipp, 2003, 2007). It is important to note the diversity of Indigenous peoples in the United States, comprising many linguistic, cultural and religious groups, distributed over mainland U.S, Alaska and Hawaii. To avoid confusion, I focus solely here on American Indians. I draw from Lawrence's (2004, p. 4) reflections to illustrate the U.S. context:

> For Native people, individual identity is always being negotiated in relation to collective identity, and in the face of an external, colonizing society. Bodies of law defining and controlling Indianness have for years distorted and disrupted older Indigenous ways of identifying the self in relation not only to collective identity but also to the land.

Race is one such distortion and the concrete expression of identity for American Indians in the census. Scholars regard the United States as chief example of a context where racial classification has been influenced by methodological concerns (Lee, 1993, Morning, 2003, 2006; Wolfe, 2001). The racialisation of American Indians altered the autonomy of separate Indigenous tribes, reinventing them as a homogenised group (Cornell, 1996; Cornell & Kalt, 1993; Nagel, 1995). The process of racialisation of American Indians permeated the census, and as such they were identified by biological categories and measures of blood percentage rather than cultural or ethnic ties. The preoccupation that American Indians should be enumerated by blood quantum can be

traced to colonial discourse. The U.S. federal censuses did not include a category for American Indians until 1890 (Jobe, 2004; National Archives, 2016)[7]. Central to the purpose of the Census Bureau prior to 1890 was the collection of information regarding land and taxation (those who were taxed and those who weren't). This exclusion was based on the presumption that American Indians' membership to their tribes excluded them from the citizenry of the United States and as taxpaying individuals. For these were the reasons American Indian's were excluded from the first six censes (1790-1850). It wasn't until 1890 that full-scale enumeration of American Indians, as United States of American citizens was realised with the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act (Lujan, 1990). The legislation change was not reflected in the national census until 1930 - Indians "in the United States was changed to Indians "of" the United States (Jobe, 2004). While census classification reflected citizenship, it was still inherently race-based. Furthermore, up until the 1960 census, the race of an individual was not self-identified but rather recorded by a census enumerator.

While the contemporary census does not employ blood quantum models of identity used in tribal membership (Rodriguez-Lonebear, 2016), racial categorisation endures. With the shift from enumerator reporting to self-identification in 1960 the America Indian population increased significantly. Between 1900 and 1990 the number of American Indians increased by 717 per cent (Jobe, 2004). To put this in perspective, the growth of the general United States population over the same period was only 227per cent, and that included growth resulting from migration. Similar to the Canadian context, demographers have shown that the tremendous growth of the American Indian population growth cannot be explained solely by demographic factors (i.e. births, deaths, migration), but rather reflects non-demographic factors. More specifically, it reflects "changing patterns of racial self-identification on the part of people with only partial or distant American Indian ancestry" (Passel, 1996, p. 69). Escbach et al reiterate this by claiming "racial boundaries are fluid, membership in a racial category is the outcome of a social process of identification…American Indians exemplify this fluidity" (1999, p. 35). According to Nagel (1996), the rise of Indian activism also contributed to the creation of pan-Indian identification that encompassed all tribes. Nagle states that "Red Power activism put forth an image of American Indians as victorious rather than victimized..challenging Indians as powerless causalities of history, redefining 'red,' 'native,' and 'tribal as valued statuses

[7] The 1890 census report contained information on American Indians regarding living conditions, vital statistics, and customs. Since the federal policies of enforced removal had ended and American Indians dwelled on reservations, privately owned land, or white communities (Lujan, 1990).

imbued with moral and spiritual significant" (1996, p. 140).

3.3 Scandinavia

Sami are the Indigenous Finno-Ugric people occupying the Artic area of Sápmi, which today cover parts of northern Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of Russia (Hætta, 1996). In all three Scandinavian countries, Sami people are invisible in the contemporary national population census as no form of ethnic identification is permitted. In the case of Sweden the enumeration of Sami has, in some ways, regressed. Based on the literature that was previously discussed, census enumeration of Indigenous people typically shifted from poor recognition to progressively better recognition. Conversely, the Swedish case presents a unique case of a shift from enumeration to non-enumeration. The Swedish example is also interesting because Sweden has the longest tradition of population statistics collection in the world (Thorvaldsen, 2007).

In a case-study of Sami enumeration Axelsson (2010) distinguishes two distinct periods: the first period covers from about 1900 to 1945. Prior to World War II, the Sami experienced a lengthy statistical history of enumeration. During the 16th and 17th centuries Sweden established the Tabellverket, a nationwide population statistic made up from parish records and jointly administered by the church and the state (Axelsson, 2010). The first national Swedish census of 1860 continued the tradition of enumerating Sami, although not explicitly. Axelsson and Sköld (2006) characterise pre-World War II enumeration of Sami as belonging to a scientific and political paradigm that considered Sami to be under threat of extinction – demographically and culturally. Census categories indirectly captured different facets of Sami identity such as language, lifestyle/occupation (e.g. reindeer herders, non-reindeer herders and vagabonds and hired hands) and used surnames to delineate Sami origin (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006).Categorisation during this period was not standardised; the Sami category was subject to change, usually in response to the dominant discourses at the time.

The second period is characterised by non-recognition in the census starting from 1945 to the present. The post-world War II period saw dramatic changes in the Swedish national statistic framework, not least the census. For Sami this meant the Sami category was terminated. Axelsson (2010) identifies a number of factors that may have influenced the state's decision to stop ethnic enumeration in the census, including the devastation of World War II. Sweden's current approach to enumeration is fundamentally nationalistic; this sentiment is demonstrated in the national statistics bureau's assessment of deeming Sweden as being fortunate to have a "very homogeneous population" (in Axelsson, 2010,

p. 275). The absence of ethnicity in the census has inhibited any potential development of Sami identifiers beyond those considered 'traditional', such as reindeer herding (Stutz, 2007). As a result a large number of Sami (probably the majority) who do not fit state definitions are invisible to public and political consciousness. Some argue that the policy not only excludes Sami of Sami descent not engaged with traditional activities, but aims to segregate reindeer herding 'nomads'[8] from the general population (Stutz, 2007). Overall the approach of the Swedish state in relation to Sami may be characterised as paternalistic.

Despite the participation of Sami within the international Indigenous movement since the 1970s and the increased attention on Indigenous rights the development of global Indigenous rights instruments have not translated into Sami recognition in the national Swedish census (Axelsson, 2010). While the establishment of the Sami Parliament[9] gives the impression of 'bottom up' agency in the sense of self-determination, the Parliament's capacity to collect accurate estimates of the Sami population is very limited (Lantto & Mörkenstam, 2008; Minde, 2003). A combination of reindeer registries and electoral registries are used as proxy for estimating the Sami population. Needless to say these do not widely capture the population that could potentially identify as Sami on the basis of ancestry, in the way that self-identification methods have done in other Indigenous contexts. The enumeration strategies employed in Scandinavia are quite different from the multicultural discourse which characterise the Latin America context, to which I now turn to.

3.4 South America

The counting of Indigenous populations has always been a feature in the history of demographic statistics in four Latin American countries: Brazil, Mexico, Colombia and Peru. Urrea-Giraldo and Rodriguez-Sanchez's (2012) study compares across these four countries to provide exemplars of ethnic and racial enumeration in Latin America, with Indigenous populations as a primary focus. Although all four countries engage in census-based ethnic enumeration, the conceptual approaches vary significantly and one has to

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[8] Reindeers were traditionally integral to the Sami culture because they were fundamental resources for food, material for clothing, tools, transportation and handicraft. Following colonisation, development towards a money based economy (instead of self-sufficiency) has changed the conditions for reindeer herding. The Swedish state has legislated Sami affairs and reindeer husbandry by regulating who is allowed to manage reindeer herding and defining the number of reindeers they can herd (Kaiser, Sjölander, Liljegren, Jacobsson, & Renberg, 2010).

9 The Sami Parliament is a body elected by the Sami people to safeguard Sami interests and is also a national administrative authority (Government Offices of Sweden, 2015).

look at the underlying discourse to explain variation. Urrea-Giraldo et al's study (2012) identifies two dominant approaches that are used to differentiate classificatory schemes in Latin America. The first and most widespread approach is the ethnic classification of Indigenous people, as an ethnic group rather than as an Indigenous question. Colombia, Mexico and Peru employ this approach. The second approach is evident in Brazil, and employs a classificatory scheme based on skin colour and/or race. The prevalence of Indigenous enumeration and more broadly ethnic-racial statistics in Latin America is largely attributed to a multiculturalists discourse, wherein the 1980s and 1990s many Latin American states put into effect citizenship reforms that recognised certain collective rights for Indigenous groups (Hooker, 2005). In the Latin American literature, emergent Indigenous rights movements are also recognised as pushing forward political debates on recognition and citizenship (Alvarez & Escobar, 1992; Yashar, 1999).

Evidence of exogenous actors influencing Indigenous categorisation in the census is reported in Brazil, Noble (2000) argues the inclusion of 'indigena' (Indigenous) as a race in the 1991 census question was heavily influenced by the request of the World Bank, who possessed the desire for such data for protection initiatives of Indigenous territories.

Notwithstanding, the insightful observations on census taking and racial discourse within Latin America made by Urrea-Giraldo et al and others, the experiences of four countries are not applicable to the region as a whole. In other countries, such as Bolivia, language rather than ethnicity or race is used to identify Indigenous peoples in the census (Hornburg & King, 1996; Howard, 2010). This supports my inclusion of language as an indicator of ethnicity broadly, and indigeneity specifically, for the purpose of this study (see chapter five). This is consistent with Morning's (2006) interpretation of language questions in the census as denoting ethnic affiliation.

Despite the progress on the statistical front for Indigenous people, the discrimination and poor performance in socio-economic indicators continues to disproportionally impact Indigenous people in Latin America, and South America in general (Gillette & Patrinos, 2012; Shelton, 2002; United Nations, 2010).

3.5 New Caledonia

In this section I briefly overview census counting and classification of the Indigenous Kanaks in New Caledonia. Situated in the southwest of the Pacific Ocean, New Caledonia is structurally and politically different from the nation states that have previously been discussed in this chapter – it is a special status overseas territory of France but has a degree of political autonomy. I distinguish New Caledonia from the Oceania section

below as it is the only settler state in the region.

New Caledonia has collected ethnicity statistics since at least the 1963 census, in stark contrast to the approach in France which can be described as non-enumeration of ethnicity in the name of national integration (Rallu et al, 2006). The resistance of the French government to ethnic enumeration has been well documented (Blum, 2002; Simon, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012). In 2003, for example Jacques Chirac, the French president opposed the collection on questions on community affiliation and tribe of affiliation as they were not consistent with the French constitution. Consequently the French government ordered for the discontinuation of the collection of ethnic data in the New Caledonian census (Haberkorn, 2007; Kukutai & Broman, 2015). This garnered a strong response from Kanak political parties and unions who argued the removal of the ethnic question would hinder Kanak efforts to reach independence, and in a more practical sense, prevent the ability of Kanak to monitor their population and demographic dominance in New Caledonia (Radio New Zealand, 2004). The 2009 census saw questions on ethnic affiliation and tribal affiliation reinstated. While Kanak have experienced periods of recognition, that is not to say that the form of classification has captured Indigenous understandings of identify. The administrative group 'Kanak' is a colonial legacy that was created by the policy of cantonment between the early 1960's and 1900's (see Muckle, 2011).

3.6 Indigenous enumeration in other regions

As noted earlier, most of the literature on Indigenous enumeration and Indigenous data has focused on the CANZSUS settler states or, to a lesser extent, South America. This section examines case studies on Indigenous counting and classification as carried out in developing countries within regions of Africa, Asia and the Pacific.

Africa

The counting and classification of Indigenous Africans was a key element of the colonial process (Ambrosetti & Cela in Sáenz, Rodriguez & Embrick, 2015; Ittmann, Cordell, & Maddox, 2010; Khalfani & Zuberi, 2001). Colonial powers (particularly the Dutch and British) employed racial classification of the African population to facilitate the process of resource exploitation and transforming Indigenous identities in ways that supported the colonisaton process (see Christopher, 2002 and Posel, 2001 for South Africa). In South Africa, for example, administrators and scholars viewed the census as demonstrating to the world the march of 'civilisation' (see Cousins, 1921; Sadie, 1949). Thus, the act of enumeration was an act of defining the colony for the 'civilised' European world. The

pre-modern censuses were a key element in the colonial process of transforming the identity of the African 'subject'. Racial classification acted as a tool towards the goal of 'civilising' while disqualifying full participation of black African populations in political and economic life (Posel, 2001). Posel (2001) argues:

> this sort of racial cataloguing was...always hierarchical. Whites were distinguished by their high "levels" of civilization, as manifest in their levels of education skills. Natives were at the bottom of the heap on the groups of their alleged lack of civilization, education, and skill; colours occupied the middle rank (p. 94).

Census practices preceding the colonial-era are considered to reflect new patterns or residential segregation levels and explanations for understanding current race relations in South Africa (Ambrosetti & Cela in Sáenz, Rodriguez & Embrick, 2015, p. 414). While the rationale for enumeration is not as sinister as in the past (e.g. colonial settlement and apartheid), some scholars argue that the persistence of racial nomenclature including the category 'Black African' in the 2011 South African census, continues the colonial policy of racialisation. The racial category 'Black African', which comprised 76.4 per cent of the total South African population in 2010 (Statistics South Africa, 2010), is not intended to serve as an Indigenous identifier. Indeed, the issue and concept of indigeneity in Africa is highly contested and complex. Kendrick and Lewis' (2003) views of indigeneity in Africa highlight these complexities – they state that indigeneity is understood as relational. They explain that Africans identify themselves as Indigenous in relation to colonial and post-colonial powers, however, Africans will regard African hunters and gatherers as being indigenous relative to themselves (Kendrick & Lewis, 2003). This description reflects an unprecedented level of flexibility in the application of indigeneity within a national context. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) also seek to clarify by stating "less emphasis should be put on aboriginality...The focus must be on the more recent approaches focussing on self-definition/self-identification as Indigenous and distinctly different from other groups within a state" (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, n.d.). ACHPR's point to de-emphasise aboriginality contrasts to the significance of first origin and occupation as a key characteristic of indigeneity in other contexts (e.g. New Zealand and Australia).

Asia

The United Nations claims that "two thirds of the world's Indigenous peoples live in Asia, which is more than 2,000 civilizations and languages", further on they state Indigenous peoples can be referred to as "tribal peoples, hill tribes, scheduled tribes, janajati, orang asli, masyarakat adat, adivasis, ethnic minorities or nationalities" (United

Nations, 2014, p. 1). Case study literature demonstrates the similarities and differences in strategies Asian states have employed to count and classify Indigenous peoples in the census.

Similar to other regions, Hirschman (1987) attributes the evolution of the census in Malaysia (at that time known as Malaya) as concurrent with the expansion of the British colonial administration. Hirschman (1987) notes ethnic classification as the prevailing form of classification, with only some census recorded as referring to race. Race was initially used to assert the racial dominance of white settlers, however the use of race as a biological classification did not resonate with a population with significant diversity (ethnic, cultural, religious) that Hirschman (2013, p. 33) describes as a "broad and inclusive community". This diversity was also a factor in explaining why Indigenous peoples, Orang Asli, were not the majority population at the time of European colonisation. Therefore the use of race in the census in colonial census was to assert white supremacy (Hirschman, 2013) over all non-white groups - with Indigenous people only a minority of that group. Despite recognition of Indigenous people in modern census as well as legal recognition under Malaysian law (Nordin, 2010), the failure of the state to enact specific legislation to protect Indigenous lands and rights has rendered the previous forms of recognition ineffective in translating to the realisation of Indigenous rights.

In direct contrast to the Malaysian contrast, the Indigenous Ainu of Japan's northern island Hokkaido receive no state recognition in the census. Siddle (2003, p. 447) attributes the state's complete "conflation of ethnicity and citizenship to form an ethnically homogeneous nation-state" as reason for lack of recognition of Ainu in the census or otherwise (Kayano, 1993; Levin, 2000). The Japanese government's failure to enumerate the Ainu as Indigenous people is not passive, but an active strategy to contain the 'Ainu problem' (Okada, 2012; Siddle, 2003). Interestingly, while the Japanese colonised the Ainu region they held similar ideologies to European colonises, as social Darwinism held the status of scientific truth in Meiji Japan. This informed the view that Ainu were a 'dying race' in contrast to the superiority of the Japanese race' (Siddle, 2003).

Oceania

There is significant linguistic and cultural diversity; combined with role multiple colonial powers (France, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Spain, Australia and New Zealand) that has resulted in marked variation within the Oceanic region. This variation applies both to the colonial and post-colonial context. The work of Broman

(2013), and Kukutai and Broman (2015) have contributed significantly to the understanding of state practices of census-based ethnic counting and classification in the region. In a similar vein to other regions I have discussed, race as a scientific concept was prevalent and normalised by colonisers and anthropologists alike in eighteenth and nineteenth century Oceania (Ballard & Douglas, 2012, 2013). Also using data from the Ethnicity Counts? dataset Kukutai and Broman (2015, p. 17) main findings shows a transition over time in national censuses from biological and racial concepts of classification to more culturally specific understandings of group identity. Over all, Kukutai and Broman's research indicates to the decreasing pervasiveness of colonial concepts of identity over time. While there is no known research that attempts to explain the changing patterns of enumeration, the distinctive regional shift suggest that influencing factors are operating at a regional level.

3.7 Conclusion

Key themes emerging from case study literature demonstrate the extent to which biological notions of 'race' permeated state approaches to counting and classifying Indigenous peoples. Often these classifications were not solely contained within the census but manifested as broader discourses, legal definitions, policy approaches and popular (non-Indigenous) understandings of race and identity (Snipp, 1997; Wanhalla, 2007). In the CANZUS states the notion of blood quantum was particularly powerful. In the United States, Snipp (1997) traced the concept of blood ancestry to the late nineteenth century when the prevalent scientific thinking suggested that cultural behaviour was inherited. The language of fractions was used in the census to determine the amount of 'Indian blood' or 'Māori blood' etc, and essentially forced peoples to "fractionalise their cultural identity" (Robertson, 2003, p. 106). In the United States stark evidence of this practice could be seen in charts used to determine Indian blood wherein the 'Indianness' of an individual could range from 63/64 to 1/64 (Robertson, 2003). Though these methods no longer prevail in the national census, blood quantum is a requirement for the enrolment in Native America Tribes (Thornton, 1997). In Aotearoa New Zealand the label 'half-caste' endured in the census for nearly a century. Kukutai (2012) argues that the maintenance of this practice served to justify and maintain an unequal racial order while providing the appearance of a pathway to 'advancement' through an explicit assimilation agenda.

Racist ideologies were often reflected in census schemas and reports, and reflected the perceived settler superiority over the perceived inferior Indigenes (Hirschman, 1987). This doctrine of racial superiority was infused with Darwinism which accentuated the

"scientific validity of the division of races into advanced and backward, or European-Aryan and Oriental-African" (Said, 1978 p. 206). Colonial regimes legitimised the marginalisation of Indigenous peoples via the census "based on the denial that the colonised had political rights," requiring "demarcation between the settlers and the Indigenes" (Kertzer and Arel, 2002, p. 3). In many contexts, a key objective was to position and maintain the dominant group, all the while excluding the dominated Indigenous populations from citizenship in the newly formed nation-states (Corntassel, 2003). The close political proximity and dependence to the colonial metropole, and the influx of settler immigrants from the same metropole are likely to explain this uniformity. Said (1978, p. 11) describes this as the "direct political infusion…where and whenever matters pertaining to their imperial interests abroad are concerned." Cohn (1996) identified five modalities through which the British Empire exercised control in the colonies and aided nation building: historiographic modality, observational, survey, enumerative, musicological, and surveillance. Each approach was used with the objective to establish a body of information, establish procedures guiding the collection of appropriate information, order and classification of such information, and the transformation of information into serviceable forms such as reports, statistical returns, histories, legal codes and encyclopaedias (Cohn, 1996). Enumerative and surveillance modalities accurately describe the consistent deployment of population censuses throughout the settler states to survey and dominate Indigenous populations.

The eventual abandonment of blood quantum in the Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia and the United States census reflects a number of factors including: ideological changes around the notion of race and its appropriateness in policy and legal contexts; Indigenous political activism; inaccurate counts of Indigenes due to census-takers basing decisions on physical features and/or estimations; the arbitrary nature of the census categories and the very limited relevance to how Indigenous peoples saw themselves (Kukutai, 2012 ; Robertson, 2003; Snipp, 1997; Smith, 1980, Wanhalla, 2010). Despite the abandonment of such methods in many states, American Indians and Native Hawaiians remain subject to blood quantum measurement beyond the census. The purpose, however, is different from colonial applications. Once an inclusive measure used to marginalise minority groups, it is currently used as an exclusionary practice for American Indians (Frost, Taylor & Fries, 1992; Strong & Winkle, 1996). The irony of tribal sponsored employment of blood quantum does not disregard the point it is a remnant of colonial thinking, forcing Indigenes in the United States to prove their authenticity rather than self-identifying methods enjoyed by Indigenous peoples in other contexts.

The cessation of the use of blood quantum in some of the settler states also paved the way for a new era of Indigenous identification based on the concept of self-identification. In some of these contexts, Indigenous peoples had voiced longstanding criticisms of the use of blood quantum to define their identity (see Strong & Winkle, 1996 for examples from the United States). So too was there criticisms by the data users. In an article appraising and reflecting on the work of demographer Ian Pool, Kukutai (2011, p. 45) notes his assertion that "cultural self-identification was the only credible way to define Māori collectively in official statistics was in stark contrast to the prevailing institutional practice of defining Māori by 'degree of blood'".

Aotearoa New Zealand is an interesting context because of the dramatic shift from the use of blood quantum to a very inclusive definition based on ethnic self-identification (Callister et al, 2009; Kukutai, 2012). Presently, Statistics New Zealand (2017) define an ethnic group as[10]:

- a common proper name;
- culture: a person's way of life which can include but not limited to language, customs, and religion;
- a unique community of interests, feelings and actions;
- country of birth and nationality;
- a shared sense of common origins or ancestry; and
- a common geographic origin.

Ethnicity as a measure of cultural affiliation rather than race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship is regarded as self determined, and people can choose to belong to more than one ethnic group. This notion of self-identification was similarly observed outside of New Zealand, to the point that it is a widespread practice. An implication of the emergence of self-identification of one's ethnicity in the census, as well as other concepts of identity (race, ancestry), is an observed increase in the Indigenous population(s). This created an interesting juxtaposition with 4.4 million people self identifying as having American Indian ancestry in the 2003 United States census, while in the same year the number of enrolled federally recognised members only totalled 1.9 million (Liebler et al, 2014; Robertson, 2003). The discrepancy between self-identified Indians and tribal registered Indians suggests that people more freely self identify when the condition of authentication is unattached (Passel, 1986; Robertson, 2003; Snipp, 1989; Thornton, 1997).

[10] Statistics New Zealand note the definition for ethnic group derives Smith's work *The origins of nations* (1989).

Finally, while the population census has tended to be used as an instrument of control to support colonial projects, in recent decades there has been a shift in what Kertzer and Arel (2002) call the locus of power such that governments increasingly are being held to account for how they count and classify their populations. For Indigenous peoples in liberal democracies, being recognised in the census is seen in a generally positive light and there is a reliance on nationally representative data for political and advocacy purposes (Baldwin, 2009).

Decolonisation is the process through which a colonial or imperial control reduces and then withdraws its rule over Indigenous (colonised) peoples (Wisker, 2007). The process of decolonisation has certainly influenced the changing dynamics of Indigenous enumeration, all though it is difficult to empirically test this notion. For Indigenous peoples this has meant achieving a degree of self-determination, and broadly acted as a catalyst for local displays towards an international shift in Indigenous discourse, with an emphasis of identity politics of difference. Indigenous peoples from settler states were prominent drivers of this shift and were first to harness this shift to fuel increased advocacy. The case studies demonstrate how this shift has been a catalyst for an enumerative trend that is not distinctly characterised by race, or blood quantum. Rather the emergence of localised understandings or indigenised enumerators. In the next chapter I discuss the research methodology, data, and research questions that will inform the empirical analysis of Indigenous counting and classification in the census.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY, DATA AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the methodological approach, explain the use of the Ethnicity Counts? (eCounts?) database for the empirical analysis and outline the research question and hypotheses. I also address some of the limitations and considerations relating to the use of quantitative methodology for the purpose of research investigating Indigenous people. The main goal of the eCounts? project is to provide a solid understanding of how countries around the world engage in ethnic counting; how such practices have changed over time; and the key factors associated with change. To achieve these goals, the eCounts? database was created; it is a time-series database that combines census ethnicity questions over the past 30 years for more than 200 countries. Indigenous enumeration is a form of census classification, therefore I explain how I have used the database for the purpose of analysing the Indigenous counting and classification. Within the literature referring to state counting and classification of Indigenous people, the most prevalent theme among national case studies (Broman, 2013; Ittmann, Cordell, & Maddox, 2010; Kukutai, 2012; Rowse, 2008; Taylor, 2009; Urrea-Giraldo & Rodriguez-Sanchez, 2012) and global studies (Morning, 2008; Peters, 2011) is that Indigenous enumeration has changed over time. In light of these findings, I present a number of hypotheses to explore the following research questions: how widespread in Indigenous enumeration in national censuses globally over the focal period (1985-2014); how has the type of Indigenous identification in the census changed over the focal period; to what extent has there been a shift towards multiple ways of identifying Indigenous peoples in the census; how have the concepts used by states to identify Indigenous peoples in the census varied by region over time; and, what factors might help to explain variation in Indigenous enumeration.

4.2 Research methodology

In reviewing demographic, Indigenous and other literature on Indigenous people to determine the historical and socio-political context for the counting and classification in the census, two distinct methodological approaches were evident: qualitative and quantitative analysis (Morning, 2008; Peters, 2011, Kukutai & Thompson, 2015). This study uses quantitative research methodology, but in doing so acknowledges the perception that quantitative research conducted by non-Indigenous people about Indigenous people is often met with suspicion (Smith, 1999; Walters & Andersen, 20). The dominant understanding of quantitative research, as defined by Burns and Grove

(1993, p. 777) is "a formal, objective, systematic process to describe and test relationships and examine cause and effect interactions among variables." There are, however, different ways to use data analysis and here I draw from critical Indigenous methodologies and emerging work on Indigenous statistics.

In terms of critical Indigenous methodologies Bishop (1998, 1999) argues that Māori input was largely absent from research 'on' Māori conducted by Western scholars leading to misrepresentation and the essentialising of identity. Critical Indigenous methodologies are concerned with having a more "critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practices" (Smith, 1999). Such apporahces also emphasise the importance of ensuring that research benefits communities, and promotes the self-determination of research participants. (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008),

In their seminal work Indigenous Statistics Walter and Andersen (2013, p. 83) describe Indigenous quantitative methodologies as "methodologies within which the practices and the processes of the research are conceived and framed through an Indigenous standpoint". Based on this notion, the use of a quantitative methodology by me as a Māori/Indigenous woman does not constitute an Indigenous quantitative framework. Walter and Andersen's thinking enables me to understand this study's use of statistical methods to "do the heavy lifting to clear intellectual space" in a way which settler/western approaches rarely do. Moreover, I conceive this study as one 'by and for' Indigenous people. This notion is implicit in the rationale, theoretical framing, and the discussion of findings.

4.3 Ethnicity Counts? database

This study draws from a database of national census population forms from around the world which was purposefully built as part of the eCounts? project based at the National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis (NIDEA), The University of Waikato. The eCounts? project is a university-based research project that studies how states around the world count and classify by ethnicity (National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis, 2017). The database covers three UN decennial census rounds, from 1985 to 2014 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, year). Census questionnaires were located from numerous sources such as the online census repositories administrated by the United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) and the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series project at the University of Minnesota, along with direct communication with respective National Statistical Organisations. In many instances,

questionnaires were translated into English.

The eCounts? database combines census ethnicity questions with political, economic, and social data for 241 countries. The 'universe'[11] of 241 countries and territories is based on the *List of Standard Country of Area Codes for Statistical Use* overseen by the Statistics Division of the United Nations Secretariat (see also Kukutai et al, 2015). To determine whether or not a census had been conducted within a round, the UNSD list was consulted. Within each 10 year census period, some nations conducted one census, while others conducted two; five-yearly censuses were a imperial British practices (Kukutai & Broman, 2015). Countries that maintained population registers in place of census were also included. This form of enumeration is most popular in Europe, and some scholars note this practice, and other census substitutes are becoming more prevalent (Kukutai et al, 2015).

Ethnicity was operationalised to include questions that used the subsequent terms: ethnicity, ethnic group, ethnic origin, descent, ancestry, race, Indigenous, tribe, language, mother tongue, nationality, national origins, and ethnic nationality (Kukutai & Thompson, 2015). This approach acknowledges the complexity and contextual nature of ethnicity. Some studies exclude language and mother tongue (refer to Morning, 2008). The consideration of context is also crucial to 'nationality', where in one context might mean citizenship, but in others be akin to an ethnic or cultural affiliation.

In instances where a question included more than one term both terms were coded separately. Some census forms contained colour in the question or heading, as in the case of the 2000 Brazil Census[12]. This and other similar examples were coded as race. In some instances, questions did not contain any of the specified nomenclature for ethnicity; however the response categories undoubtedly indicated an ethnic distinction. These were coded as an undefined ethnicity item.

The eCounts? database includes information on whether or not a specific type of question was asked (e.g. ethnic origins, race, ancestry, Indigenous identity etc.) and the format of the question (e.g. specified options, write-in responses etc), but does not include a list of all the response options for each question. However this information is critical for this study. In order to determine whether or not an Indigenous people are identified in the

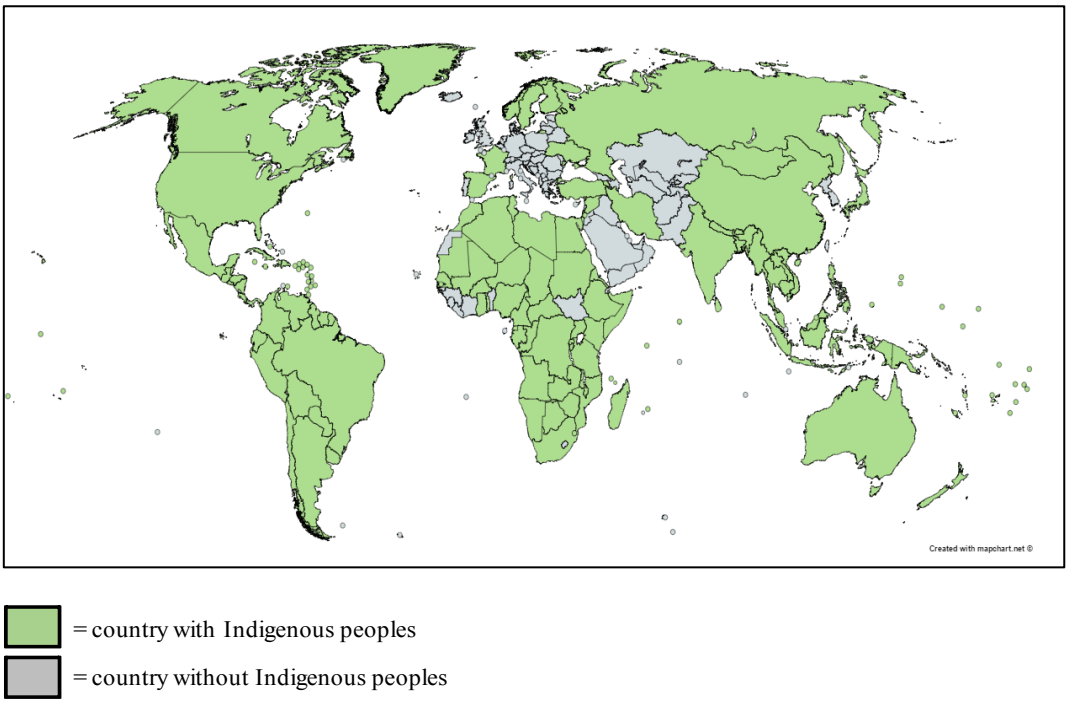
11 The universe represents the entire group of units which is the subject of study.

12 The 2000 Brazil census asked "A SUA COR OU RAÇA É" (Your colour or race is), to which 'Branca' (White), 'Preta' (Black), Prada, Amarela (Yellow), and Indigena (Indigenous) were provided as response options.

census requires information on whether or not they are listed as a response option. For each of the three census rounds I examined all of the census forms for the 150 countries and territories containing at least one Indigenous people (see further explanation below) and scrutinised all of the ethnicity questions to determine if the name of the Indigenous people(s) was included (for a full coding scheme used in interpreting the forms to code, see Appendix A). While the eCounts? database included countries that used population registers in place of censuses, I only looked at states that had traditional population census as the focus of this study is observe patterns of census enumreation.

As this study is solely focused on Indigenous identification in the census, the population universe had to be restricted to include only countries with at least one Indigenous people. Using the criteria of (1) self-identification and (2) historical experience of severe disruption, dislocation or exploitation (I discussed the criteria in detail in chapter two), I identified a total of 150 countries and territories with at least one Indigenous people (for a full list of countries and territories, see Appendix B). By limiting the analysis only to 'Indigenous' contexts, I was able avoid the potential pitfall of overestimating the extent of Indigenous non-recognition in the census if countries without an Indigenous population were included. Figure 4.1 shows the global distribution of the 150 Indigenous countries.

Figure 4.1 Distribution of Indigenous countries (n=150)



The task of identifying Indigenous countries was challenging. There is no centralised or verified record of Indigenous peoples and countries so I had to create the coding, drawing on a range of sources. A key source was the UNPFII library of official international and regional reports pertaining to Indigenous issues. I inspected international and regional reports to compile a list of the names and nations of Indigenous peoples to cross tabulate and verify with my own list. I also made direct contact with the UNPFII (see correspondence in Appendix C) to seek information on how the forum identifies countries with Indigenous peoples, given the widely stated figure of 90 'Indigenous' countries in many UN official publications (see, for example, United Nations, 2009, 2015). Because there is no agreed definition of the term 'Indigenous', the UN works on the basis of self-identification. Therefore, the number of 90 countries is based on the sovereign states that have participated in sessions of the UNPFII since its inception in 2002. It thus excludes non-sovereign territories and dependencies which are homelands to Indigenous peoples[13]. Although originating from a reputable source, the list is biased towards Indigenous peoples who have been represented within the forum. The exclusion of non-sovereign countries and territories could potentially bias upwards the extent of Indigenous recognition in the census. For this reason, the list of participants was used as only one of several sources of triangulation.

Finally, I also consulted a range of academic literature to add a greater level of contextual detail, and to clarify ambiguities within some regions. The final sample of 150 countries obviously significantly exceeds the widely cited number of 90 countries and, along with non-sovereign countries also includes countries such as Spain (Indigenous people: Basque) and Senegal (Indigenous people: Serer) that are typically excluded from UN focused studies and also advocacy relating to Indigenous peoples. While there is ambiguity about some countries included in the sample for this study, the criteria of self-identification permits an inclusive approach to defining indigeneity. This approach also recognises how the historical and modern process of colonialism has made invisible Indigenous peoples in countries such as Spain. I stress the necessity of the inclusive approach to identify states with Indigenous people as it better reflects the diversity of Indigenous people around the world.

[13] It should be noted that the participation in Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues sessions are not limited to just sovereign states. Non-Governmental (NGOs), Indigenous Peoples Organisations (IPOs) and Academic Institutions are able to apply for approval for participation (see http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/ngo/docs/2014/unpfii-participation-guide-en.pdf).

4.4 Coverage

The eCounts? dataset has comprehensive coverage across all three census rounds which provides a robust basis for this study. In terms of the 150 countries with at least one Indigenous people, the proportion undertaking at least one census in a single decennial census round ranged between 81 and 87 per cent (see Table 4.1). Some countries, such as Aotearoa New Zealand, along with many of the Commonwealth countries, conducted two censuses per round (every five years). A few countries with an Indigenous people did not conduct a population census in any of the three rounds (e.g. Somalia). In instances where a country conducted two census per round, I analysed the first.

The number of census taking Indigenous countries in the last census round (n=125) is based on countries that had actually taken a census, or had planned to take a census. However it is crucial to note that at the time of selecting the data for this study, the 2010 round had not yet closed. Therefore the number of located census forms excluded those countries that had not yet held a census. This meant census questionnaires from five Indigenous countries (Angola, Morroco, Myanmar, Tunisia, Uganda) that held a census at the end (in 2014) of the 2004-2014 census round were not available to be included in this study. Table 4.1 shows the share of located census forms is relatively high, ranging from 92.8 per cent for the 1990 round, 94.5 per cent for the 2000 and 90.4 per cent for the 2010 round. The final sample consisted of 349 census questionnaires that represented 92 percent of all national censuses conducted in countries with an Indigenous population during the focal period.

Table 4.1 Number and percentage of countries with located census forms, by census round

	1985-1994 round	1995-2004 round	2005-2014 round
Total no. of countries in eCounts? database		**241**	
No. of countries that held a census	205	201	196
% of countries that held a census	85.1	83.4	81.3
No. of countries with located census forms	189	192	173
% of countries with located census form	92.2	95.5	88.2
No. of countries with recognised indigenous peoples		**150**	
No. of Indigenous countries that held a census (1)	125	127	125
% of Indigenous countries that held a census (1)	83.3	84.7	83.3
No. of census forms located for Indigenous countries that held a census (2)	116	120	113
% of census forms located for Indigenous countries that held a census (2)	92.8	94.5	90.4

Notes: (1) refers to the number and percentage of countries recognised as having Indigenous peoples that held a census in each respective census round. (2) Refers to the number and percentage of census forms located from countries recognised as having Indigenous peoples, acorss each respective census round.

With a longitudinal study, missing data is not unusual as many subjects, or in this case countries, cannot be measured at all given time points. However, high levels of missing data was not prevalent in eCounts? with less than 8 per cent of missing data in any given round. The small margin of missing data was treated as missing completely at random (MCAR) or missing at random (MAR)[14], leading to the analysis of available data only and ignoring the missing data. For some countries a census questionnaire could not be located at one census round, but was able to be located for the next round. The literature describes this as non-monotone missing data patterns (Ibrahim & Molenberghs, 2009). In this case, the potential of the missing census questionnaires to bias overall patterns is minor. This is for two reasons: the eCounts? dataset has a very high coverage for any given census round (8 per cent of less), and this study uses univariate and bivariate analysis, not statistical modelling where missing data presents a more serious challenge.

[14] When the absence of data is unrelated to the data, absence is termed *missing completely at random*. When the avbsence of data depends on the observed data and, when given the observed data, it does not depend on the unobserved data, the mechanism is *missing at random*.

4.5 Forms of Indigenous identification in the census

There is no global standard on what constitutes correct or valid classification of Indigenous people within census. As such, states use a range of concepts to enumerate Indigenes. To capture this variation, I use the following variables to measure the type of classification listed in a state's census questionnaire.

Indigenous identification

As a first step I devised a binary variable, Indigenous identification, to denote whether a country's census recognised any form of Indigenous identity. It was coded 1=yes, 0 = no. In constructing this variable I included questions that used the terminology of Indigenous status, tribe, race, ethnicity, ancestry, descent, language, ethnic origins and mother tongue. I excluded religion, and undefined ethnicity questions.

Forms of Indigenous identification

While a binary variable provides a useful indicator of Indigenous recognition in the census, it doesn't provide information about the form of recognition. The literature suggests that the form of recognition matters very much (see Morning, 2008). Consequently I distinguish the specific kind of Indigenous recognition with four binary variables (1=yes, 0=no): 'Indigenous status', 'Indigenous tribe', 'Indigenous name', , and 'Indigenous language'. These variables describe different dimensions of indigeneity which may also be seen along a continuum of recognition from 'strong' (Indigenous status) to 'weak' (Indigenous language).

The first category 'Indigenous status' included questions that explicitly referenced Indigeneity or Aboriginality. These forms of questions serve to mark out Indigenous people in a very direct way. For example the 2001 Venezuelan census asked: 'Do you belong to an Indigenous group? The 2002 Guatemala census simply asked 'Is Indigenous?' with response options of 'yes' or 'no'. Questions of this type clearly indicate that the state recognises Indigenous peoples as a distinct populace within the national polity. In that sense it may be considered a 'strong' form of Indigenous recognition within the context of the census.

The second variable captures tribal identification. Drawing from the United Nation's population and housing census guidelines (United Nations, 2008), "Indigenous peoples of a particular country are social groups with an identity that is distinct from the social and cultural dominant society". Tribe is a way in which this distinction can be operationalised in the census; it is distinct from ethnicity, ancestry, race and language. In some cases

questions on tribal affiliation are separate (e.g. within New Zealand census from 1991-2013); in other contexts it is included as an add-on to an ethnic or racial question. The United States census, for example, asks: 'What is this person's race' provides a tick box category for American Indian or Alaska Native along with the prompt: 'Print name of enrolled or principle tribe' with a write-in section. The meanings associated with tribe are also context specific. In some regions the notion of tribe is considered a product of colonialism, created by Western anthropologist exhibitions of 'discovery' and used by colonial regimes to maintain its hegemony (Mafeje, 1971). In large parts of Africa the concept of tribe is disparaged due to its colonial roots (Ekeh, 1990). In the United States the nomenclature of tribe is bound up with sovereignty and tribal nations which is ingrained into Indigenous, administrative and legislative discourse.

The third category was labelled 'Indigenous name'. This variable counted censuses in which Indigenous peoples were recognised, as one of many ethnic, racial, descent or linguistic groups, either as a tick box category, or as an example for a write-in question. The 2013 New Zealand census used ethnic recognition to classifying Māori. Respondents are asked "Which ethnic group do you belong to?", 'New Zealand European', 'Māori', 'Samoan' and other ethnic groups are listed as response options. Conversely, El Salvador and Honduras demonstrate the use of racial concepts to classify Indigenous, and other, groups. For example the 2007 El Salvador simply asks respondents "Are you?" listing 'Indigena' as an response option along with 'Blanco' (White), Mestizo/Mezcla de Blanco con Indigena (meaning, mix if white and Indigenous), Negro' (Black), and 'Otro' (Other). Similary, the 2012 Honduras census asks respondents "How do you identify yourself?" with response options: 'Indigena' (Indigenous), 'Afrohondureno' (Hondurans of African descent), 'Negro' (Black), 'Mestizo' (Half Blood), 'Blanco' (White), and Otro (Other) with a write in option to specify. This variable excludes countries where a question only pertains to the Indigenous people but the concept of indigeneity is not explicitly referenced.

The fourth variable is labelled 'Indigenous language'. This is a more implicit form of recognition than Indigenous status. Concepts of language and mother tongue are manifestations of shared identity and culture (Street, 1993). For countries with Indigenous people, questions of language and mother tongue are supplementary questions to ethnic and/or racial ones and are thus not intended as the principal question for classifying Indigenous peoples. However, in some contexts language is the sole concept used to capture ethnic or cultural differences. For example, in the 2000 Mexico census, under the section 'Lengua Indigena' (Indigenous Language), two questions regarding language are

asked – "Do you speak some dialect or Indigenous language?", if yes, respondents are asked to further clarify "What dialect or Indigenous language do you speak?"

The United Nations' Principles and Recommendations (2008) emphasises three types of language data that are collected through the census: mother tongue (language usually spoken in the individual's home since childhood); usual language (language currently spoken in the home; and ability to speak one or more designated languages. Indigenous languages have been key pillars in Indigenous revitalisation movements around the world (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). As such, language acts as a useful indicator in the census to gage Indigenous government recognition often attached to protection policies, as a response category the number of traditional speakers (via mother tongue questions), and the number of new speakers and usual speakers. Hence the inclusion of language/mother tongue to complete the quad of variables used to measure Indigenous recognition in the census, while at the same time broadening the spectrum of identification beyond categories denoting self-defined groups membership.

Region

Findings from the broader eCounts? project combined with insights from the literature (see Kukutai & Thompson, 2015; Morning, 2008; Peters, 2011) suggest that there are regional differences in the extent to which states recognise and legitimise Indigenous identities in the census. To undertake a regional analysis, I used regions that are identified as geographic statistical units by the United Nations Statistical Division (UNSD). They are as follows: Africa (whole African continent), Asia (whole Asian continent), Europe (whole European continent), and Oceania (Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia). I make an exception for the Americas which the UNSD treats as single region, but which I treat as two regions – North America (North America, Caribbean) and South America (Central America and South America). North and South America have had varied colonial experiences, Indigenous relations and demographic contexts (Indigenous peoples are very small minorities in North America but form the majorities in some South American countries). Thus for the purpose of this study are more properly treated as distinct regions in their own right.

4.6 Potential correlates of Indigenous identification in the census

There are a number of factors that may be associated with states that enumerate Indigenous peoples, and states that do not. This study's theoretical framework identifies such factors as endogenous and exogenous to states. This section identified the independent variables used to empirically test relationships with state enumeration of

Indigenous people. In contrast to the descriptive analysis, I only included sovereign countries with Indigenous peoples (n=119). This is largely due to the lack of data available for territories and dependencies. For the bivariate analysis, sovereign countries were selected as having some form of Indigenous enumeration if they included any of the four types of Indigenous classification used in this study (Indigenous name, Indigenous status, tribe, Indigenous language), in the 2005-2014 census round. I only wanted to examine the most recent census round to ascertain the bivariate associations with states that presently engage in Indigenous enumeration.

Missing data was an occurrence for most independent variables. After examining patterns of missing data I treated these cases using listwise deletion. This meant countries were dropped from each bivariate analysis if there was a missing value. Listwise deletion was applied to each independent variable separately, resulting in the sample size for each variable differing. The limitations of using this method meant reducing the sample for statistical analysis which in turn increases the probability for estimates predicting associations to be biased because countries with no data are not accounted for. Though, these limitations could be potentially over come with more complex conceptual or methodological solutions by future research.

Independent variables: endogenous factors

Sovereign status

The sovereignty variable denotes autonomy of state governments to make decisions independently. In other words, sovereignty indicates decisions to recognise Indigenous people, or not, are dependent on the state government in power. I distinguish between established sovereign states and newly sovereign states. I reason that states that have gained sovereignty after 1975 are more likely to have some form Indigenous enumeration that established states (pre-1975) as the nation building phase of newly sovereign states was forged in a period marked by civil rights, ethnic revivalism and emergence of human rights regimes. Information on state sovereignty in the sample was derived from the US State Department (U.S. Department of State, 2017). I coded countries as 1 if they obtained sovereignty after 1975, and 0 if otherwise. Territories and dependencies were excluded to avoid overstating the effects of governing states (e.g. United States).

Gross domestic product

Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDP) reflects a states level of resources. I suggest that the level of GDP influences the capacity of countries to bear the cost of census taking, and in particular undertake engagement and consultation. Therefore I propose that

countries with higher GDP have more resources, therefore are more inclined to engage in Indigenous enumeration. The converse assumption is that countries with lower GDP have fewer resources and are most likely to use the census as a register of economic and social unit information only. To capture a state's level of national resources the 2010 (the mid-point of the 2055-2014 census round) total of GDP was measured in constant US$.

Net migration

Increasing net migration indicates a shift away from population homogeneity to increased population diversity, be that ethnic, religious or linguistic. High-levels of net migration may act as impetus for states to monitor population change via the census, recognise ethnic distinctions and in turn indigeneity. In other words, states with significant migration flows may be more likely to engage in some form of ethnic enumeration which could increase the opportunities for Indigenous identity to be recognised as a sort of by product – rather than as a focus per se. The net migration variable was based off the United Nations World population prospects data (United Nations, 2000). It is the net number of migrants received by a country in 2010. I coded countries as 1 if they had net migration (immigrants exceeds emigrants), and 0 if they had negative net migration (emigrants exceeds the number of immigrants).

Independent variables: exogenous factors

INGO membership

World society literature (Boli & Thomas, 1997; Tsutsui, 2004) positions INGOs as organisations that diffuse global norms and about human rights and civil society. States membership or lack of participation in INGOs may influence the extent to which they adopt and operationalise sound population enumeration, such as the United Nation's Principles and Recommendations for Population and Housing Censuses (2015), and Indigenous rights instruments such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007). The variable to denoting ties to the international community is calculated by the number of INGOs countries hold membership with in 1997.

ICERD

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICRED) is a third generation human rights instrument. States' commitment as signatories to ICERD reflects their opposition to racial and ethnic discrimination. I suggest that countries that have signed ICERD will have a genuine commitment to eliminating ethnic discrimination and as an extension a commitment to the elimination of the discrimination of Indigenous people. They will require data on about ethnic and

Indigenous populations, thus signatories will be more likely to have some sort of Indigenous enumeration in the census. I coded the 1 if the state is a signatory to ICERD; and 0 if they are not.

4.7 Methods of data analysis

I used IMB SPSS Statistics (SPSS) to perform all data management and statistical analysis. I undertook univariate analysis to summarise and identify patterns of Indigenous enumeration, both cross-sectional and over time. I also performed bivariate analysis to explore statistical associations between Indigenous enumeration in the census and the indepdendent variables. Some of these were domestic in orientation, others were international. For the bivariate analysis I only examined censuses questionnaires from the most recent census round (2005-2014). Measures of statistical significance and association varied depending on the variables analysed – i.e., chi-squared test for categorical variables and independent t-test for the continuous variable (Dobson & Barnett, 2008). It is important to note that these tests of association tell us nothing about causation.

I considered undertaking regression modelling but, due to the relatively modest sample size, these methods were not pursued. While there are no absolute threshold for minimum sample sizes some literature considers the utilisation of a small sample size challenging to support multivariable procedures, and question the reliability of analysis between variables utilising smaller sample sizes (Gagné & Hancock, 2006; MacCallum, Widaman, Preacher, & Hong, 2001; Velicer & Fava, 1998). Moreover, his study is a starting point for ongoing research and analysis.

4.8 Research Questions and Hypotheses

The purpose of this research is to explore how states count and classify Indigenous people in national population censuses; whether there are global or regional pattern; and whether there are shifts over time. My secondary interest is to begin to build an understanding of the observed patterns, within the limitations of this study. The following research questions and hypotheses are structured as to correspond to each of these themes. The research questions represent distinct aspects of the overarching inquiry topic and the hypotheses provide a way to examine these questions through statistical analyses.

Q1. How widespread is Indigenous enumeration in national censuses globally over the focal period (1985-2014)?

The first research question is fundamental to understanding practices of Indigenous enumeration. It is somewhat surprising that this basic question has not already been

satisfactorily addressed but, for reasons already outlined, the existing evidence is unclear because the 'universe' of countries studied has either been too limited, or too broad. Based on the literature review, I developed several related hypotheses:

H1: *More countries will enumerate some form of Indigenous criterion over the focal period.*

The first hypothesises that an increasing number of countries with Indigenous peoples will enumerate some form of Indigenous, ethnic, racial or other distinction in the census. The assumption is that the changing composition of populations and the need to observe it provides a motivation for a greater level of engagement in ethnic enumeration; as Piche and Simon put it "accounting for ethnic and racial diversity" through enumeration (2012, p. 1357). Transnational migrant movements and growing ethnic diversity acts as an impetus for ethnic and racial counting within the census and wider governmental systems. Ethnic statistics not only serve to capture the demographic changes in national populations, they facilitate the monitoring of inter-population inequality – a theme at the crux of many domestic and global human rights programmes (Krieger et al, 1997). Even countries that are devoid of ethnic and racial data collection and identification within governmental systems are increasingly having to review this ethos due to the marginalisation of particular ethnic groups. The experience of France demonstrates this aptly, in that it is forbidden by law to collect statistics referring to racial or ethnic origin, yet the government-instituted review on ethnic data collection is in itself an admission into the importance and value of ethnic statistics in diversifying populations (Kertzer & Arel, 2002).

There are several ways to capture change (or inertia) in how countries enumerate Indigenous peoples across census rounds. These are: non-identification to identification (i.e., countries that do not identify Indigenous peoples in the census subsequently do so); identification to non-identification; constant identification; constant non-identification. I expect that the biggest shift will be from non-identification to identification.

Q2. How has the type of Indigenous identification in the census changed over the focal period?

The second hypothesis draws broadly from the case study literature which suggests that states are increasingly adopting ethnic concepts in the census. Therefore I expect to see a shift towards an increase in Indigenous enumeration as a consequence of a broader shift involving the increased use of ethnicity in the census.

H2: *There will be an increase in the number of censuses that include an Indigenous*

category as a response option to an ethnicity question.

The supplementary hypothesis (H2a) suggests that while the practice of using Indigenous names as response categories is the most prevalent form of census-based Indigenous recognition, fewer censuses will use racial terminology; instead there will wider use of ethnic terminology. Hence:

H2a: *Fewer censuses will enumerate using racial terminology. More will use ethnic terminology, over the focal period.*

The third hypothesises that over the focal period, more countries will ask questions regarding Indigenous status in the census:

H3: *More countries will ask questions on Indigenous status over the focal period.*

This hypothesis seeks to test if the growing advocacy of INGOs and human rights instruments regarding Indigenous peoples and issues, and Indigenous revitalisation movements have resulted in an increase of states recognising the status of Indigenous peoples.

Q3. To what extent has there been a shift towards multiple ways of identifying Indigenous peoples in the census?

Recommendations set by the Principles and Recommendations for Population and Housing Censuses published by the United Nations (2008, p. 140) state that questions on Indigenous identity should abide by the principle of self-identification, and when used, multiple criteria should be used to accurately capture identity and socio-economic conditions of Indigenous peoples. This recommendation suggests that states accurately capture different facets of Indigenous identity with different types of questions. Therefore I hypothesise:

H4: *More countries will use multiple forms of Indigenous recognition over the focal period.*

The inference of hypothesis four is that states are moving beyond a mere 'head count' of Indigenous peoples, to try to develop a more comprehensive picture of Indigenous identities and realities including, for example, the size and characteristics of tribes. Indigenous

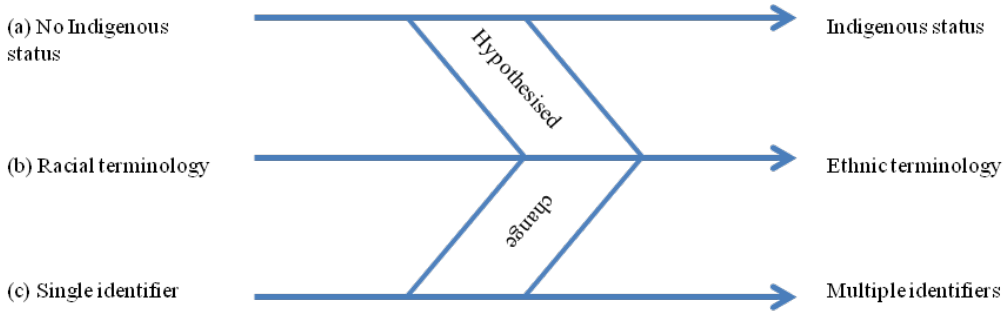
Q4. How have the concepts used by states to identify Indigenous peoples in the census varied by region and over time?

This question seeks to identify regional patterns of Indigenous enumeration. National, regional and comparative case study literature indicate that internal (e.g. type of colonialism) and external factors influence state ideology of ethnicity and race, and in

turn the enumerative strategies states employed to reflect those ideology.

Figure 4.1 presents a visual representation of the hypothesised change in nomenclature. It does not attempt to assign any explanation of that change. Hypothesised changes are represented in a linear fashion with line (a) denoting Indigenous status, line (b) terminology, line (c) number of identifiers. The arrow signifies the direction of the hypothesised change in practices over the focal period.

Figure 4.2 Hypothesised change of state approaches to Indigenous enumeration



Q5. What factors might help to explain variation in Indigenous enumeration?

I propose this question to guide the bivariate analysis which will identify the associations between states that have some form of Indigenous enumeration in the most recent census round (2005-2014) and a number of variables which denote endogenous and exogenous factors. I discussed the variables previously. I provided explanation as to why these factors might influence state thinking and commitment to the enumeration of Indigenous peoples. In the following section, I describe the type of associations I expect to see between sovereignty status, gross domestic product, net migration, INGO membership, ICERD signing and state enumeration of Indigenous people in the 2005-2014 census round.

Endogenous Variables

Based on the notion that countries that gained sovereignty (independent variable 1) after 1975 were influenced by the contextual factors and ideology of ethnic revivalism and emerging human rights regime, I expect these states will be more likely to count and classify Indigenous people in the census.

GDP (independent variable 2) is a primary indicator used to gauge state resources. Within the context of the census, the level of resources available to at state affects the ability to undertake afford the cost of census taking. Therefore, I expect that states with higher

GDP will be more likely to have some form of Indigenous enumeration.

Net immigration (independent variable 3) leads to increased population diversity. One could argue increased heterogeneity creates more incentives for the state to monitor population change with the census. Based on this notion, I expect states will implement categories to capture ethnic diversity and, as a by-product, recognise Indigenous distinctions as well. In sum, I expect that states with higher levels of net migration will be more likely to count and classify Indigenous peoples.

Exogenous Variables

INGOs are considered in world society literature by their association to state and civil society. As mentioned previously, INGOs are uniquely positioned to diffuse global norms about human rights. State membership (independent variable 4) to and participation with INGOs increases the potential for domestic policy to be influenced. In this vein, I expect that states with high levels of membership in INGOs will be more likely to have some form of recognition of Indigenous peoples in the addresses the relationship between the level of state participation with INGOs and the increased likelihood to have some form of Indigenous enumeration.

Article 2 of ICERD encourages states to develop measures to ensure the adequate development and protection of certain racial groups or individuals belonging to them (United Nations, 1965, p. 2). Therefore I expect that ICRED signatory (independent variable 5) states with Indigenous people(s) are committed to the terms of the convention and will be more likely to engage in some form of Indigenous enumeration in the census.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methodological approach used in the research study and described how the research was informed by aspects of quantitative research methodology, critical Indigenous theory, and qualitative Indigenous methodology. An explanation of how the eCounts? database established a unique information base from which to examine state enumeration of Indigenous peoples. I conveyed how the data was collected and analysed, and provided an overview of research questions and hypotheses, and presented a visual depiction of the overall hypothesised change. The findings of the empirical analysis are included in chapter five.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I undertake empirical analysis of the eCounts? data to analyse patterns of global Indigenous enumeration and potential factors associated with enumeration. The analysis comprises of two components. The first is descriptive and examines state enumeration of Indigenous people over the focal period. The results provide persuasive evidence of the changing patterns of state counting and classification of Indigenous people. A regional examination of Indigenous enumeration is also undertaken. This shows clear regional patterns, with the enumeration of Indigenous populations in the census more widespread in some regions than in others. The second part includes the bivariate analysis. This explores the endogenous and exogenous factors associated with state enumeration of Indigenous people. It is important to reiterate that while the descriptive analysis includes censuses from sovereign states and dependencies, only sovereign states are included for the bivariate analysis.

5.2 Descriptive Analysis: Global patterns of Indigenous enumeration

Prevalence of Indigenous enumeration

This analysis is limited to Indigenous countries for which at least one census form could be located; this ranged from between 91 and 93 per cent of the 150 Indigenous countries. Table 5.1 shows that the proportion of countries engaging in some form of Indigenous identification increased over time, with the biggest shift occurring between the 1990 and 2000 census rounds. The results provide support for **H1**. In the 1990 round, about one third of Indigenous countries (for whom a census form could be located) asked some sort of Indigenous identification question in the census (n=39); by the 2000 round this had increased to 46 per cent (n=55). Although the number of countries engaged in Indigenous enumeration was lower in the 2010 round, the proportion remained the same as in the 2000 round because of the smaller number of census-taking countries with a located form (i.e. smaller denominator).

Table 5.1 Number and percentage of countries with some form of Indigenous identification in the census, by census round

	1985-1994		1995-2004		2005-2014	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Indigenous countries that undertook a census out of identified indigenous countries (n = 150) (1)	128	85.3	130	86.7	122	81.3
Indigenous countries with a located census form (2)	116	90.6	120	92.3	113	92.6
Indigenous countries with some form of indigenous enumeration	39	33.6	55	45.8	51	45.1

Notes: (1) Refers to the number of countries that have Indigenous peoples according to the specified criteria.
(2) Refers to countries that held at least one census during a given census round, and was located.

Temporal shifts in Indigenous identification

While Table 5.1 shows the frequency of Indigenous identification over the focal period, Table 5.2 tracks how countries changed, or not, over time. This is important because Table 5.1 only captures aggregate change; it does not disclose anything about whether individual countries changed enumeration strategies over time (i.e. Indigenous recognition changing from race to Indigenous language). As noted in chapter four, four categories were constructed to denote the type of intercensal change that occurred. These are: constant non-recognition (countries that have no form of recognition over two census rounds); constant recognition (countries that have some form of recognition over two rounds); shift to recognition (countries that had no form of Indigenous recognition in one round then included some form of Indigenous recognition in the subsequent round); and shift from recognition to no recognition. The first intercensal period (1990-2000 round) comprised of 99 countries; the second comprised slightly fewer at 97 countries.

Table 5.2 Number and percentage of countries with shifting patterns of indigenous recognition between census rounds

	1990 round - 2000 round		2000 round - 2010 round	
	n	%	n	%
Constant non-recognition (1)	50	50.5	41	42.3
Constant recognition (2)	32	32.3	36	37.1
Shift to recognition (3)	13	13.1	11	11.3
Shift to non-recognition (4)	4	4	9	9.3
Total	99	100	97	100

Notes: (1) refers to countries that had no form of recognition over two census rounds; (2) refers to countries that had some form of recognition over two rounds; (3) refers to countries that had no form of Indigenous recognition in one round then included some form of Indigenous recognition in the subsequent round; (4) refers to countries that shifted from recognition to no recognition.

In both rounds the majority of countries fitted the description of 'constant non-recognition', accounting for just over half (50.5 per cent) of all countries analysed for the 1990 and 2000 round analysis, and just over two fifths (42.5 per cent) of those included in the 2000 and 2010 rounds. The interpretation is that while non-recognition remains the dominant approach to Indigenous enumeration globally, it nevertheless appears to be heading in a downward direction. Over both periods, the second most frequent category was constant recognition. Just under a third of all countries for whom a form was located identified Indigenous peoples in the census, increasing to 37 per cent between the 2000 and 2010 rounds. Countries regarded as settler states (Aotearoa New Zealand, the United States, Canada, and Australia) recognised Indigenous peoples in the census from the outset. These findings mirror the accounts of case study literature that settler states have long used population statistics to monitor Indigenous peoples (see Andersen, 2008; Kukutai, 2012; Rowse, 2008; Snipp, 2003, 2007).

Focusing on countries that shifted from non-recognition to recognition, there were only 13 countries (13.1 per cent) in the 1990 and 2000 census rounds which included Laos, Malawi, Mali, Palau and South Africa. In the latter rounds there were nine countries (9.3 per cent) including Armenia, Botswana, Israel, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay.

Only four countries (4 per cent) in the 1990 to 2000 census rounds went from identifying Indigenous peoples to subsequently not doing so. These were New Caledonia, United States Virgin Islands, Tokelau, Wallis and Fortuna. Between 2000 and 2010, 11 countries (11.3 per cent) shifted from Indigenous recognition to non-recognition. They included Algeria, Bermuda, India and Iran. Algeria, Argentina and India exemplify countries that

shifted from non-recognition to recognition between the 1990 and 2000 census rounds. Upon inspection of countries that also demonstrated the same transference, it is apparent developing nations make up the majority.

Forms of Indigenous recognition

The previous section studied the prevalence of census-based Indigenous enumeration and shifts in prevalence over time, however there are multiple ways in which recognition occurs and it is important to explore some of the nuance. Table 5.3 focuses solely on those countries for which there was at least one Indigenous identification question in the census, in each round. It uses the four categorical distinctions described in chapter four that relate to: Indigenous status (a question that explicitly uses the language of Indigeneity); tribe; Indigenous name (where the Indigenous name is included as a response option in a broader question relating to ethnicity, race and/or ancestry); and Indigenous language. Taken together these represent a continuum of Indigenous identification from 'strong' (Indigenous status) to 'soft' (Indigenous language). All forms of enumeration are included – i.e. countries that are coded as 1 (yes) for Indigenous name and Indigenous status are included in both categories. Hence the total number in each census round exceeds those shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Form of Indigenous recognition, by decennial census round

	1985-1994 round		1995-2004 round		2005-2014 round	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Question on 'Indigenous Name' (ethnicity/race/ancestry)	27	23.3	41	34.2	38	33.6
Question on 'Tribe'	9	7.8	8	6.7	11	9.7
Question on 'Indigenous Status'	6	5.2	11	9.2	14	12.4
Question on 'Indigenous Language'	11	9.5	21	17.5	25	22.1
Total	53	46	81	67.5	88	77.8

Table 5.3 shows a clear increase in all four forms of Indigenous identification. In most state censuses the dominant form of identification was 'Indigenous name', wherein Indigenous identities were subsumed under a much broader set of ethnic, race or ancestry categories. Across the focal period there was a 10.3 percentage point increase in censuses enumerating by Indigenous name; however the increase exclusively occurred between the 1990 and 2000 census rounds, contrary to this there was decrease, albeit insignificant, between the 2000 and 2010 census rounds. Notwithstanding the stated decline, the

majority of countries for all three census rounds operationalised Indigenous recognition through Indigenous name questions.

Table 5.3 shows that tribe is rarely used as a form of Indigenous recognition in the census. Out of the countries studied, only a maximum of 11 (9.7 per cent) in the 2010 round enumerated by tribe over the focal period. This suggests that 'tribe' as an identifying mechanism is more salient in some contexts than others. Indeed it is a false assumption that tribe has universal denotation for Indigenous peoples. Ngaruka (2007) suggests 'tribalism' originates from colonial and anthropological concepts, and is used to express the unequal and divided 'colonial world'; he situates these notions particularly within the African region. Nevertheless in some contexts it fittingly addresses intra-population heterogeneity when present alongside ethnic and/or racial questions. For example in the 2006 Aotearoa New Zealand census, "What ethnic group do you belong to?" is followed by "Do you know the name(s) of your iwi (tribe or tribes)?" The inclusion of tribe in the Aotearoa New Zealand census can be viewed as an explicit indigenised form of categorisation as the tribal identification question reflects traditional Māori conceptions of group membership based on whakapapa.[15] Indeed, information collected on tribal affiliation is heavily utilised by Iwi (tribal) groups (Walling et al. 2009). However, since there is no significant increase (nor decrease), it seems unlikely that the concept of tribe will gain wider usage, at least in the foreseeable future.

Indigenous status is the most explicit and straightforward to capture Indigenous identity in the census. Depending on the question's format, Indigenous status questions can be used to advocate for the increased visibility of Indigenous communities and reinforce their identities within the national context. This is because recognition by the state of Indigenous peoples as a distinctive group, with a distinctive status, affirms the difference of Indigenous peoples compared with other minority groups. The proportion of analysed censuses using an Indigenous status question increased over the focal period, thus providing support for **H3**. As seen in Table 5.3 in the 1990 round 5.17 per cent of censuses included some form of Indigenous status question, increasing to 9.17 per cent in the 2000 round, and 12.4 in the 2010 round.

Overall the most marked increase shown in Table 5.3 is that of language as a question used to enumerate Indigenous populations. Walker (2001) argues the value of language is not isolated to its function as a communicative tool; it also is an 'act of identity' both individually and collectively. In this vein, states do not include language questions in the

[15] Whakapapa translates to genealogy and is a fundamental principle that pervades Māori culture and society.

census for the sole purpose of determining language spoken but are also concerned with cultural meanings attached to such a question. Therefore language questions have been included in this study for their use as a proxy measure of Indigenous identity in the census if no other more direct ethnic or Indigenous concept is present.

Only 11 countries (9.5 per cent) out of those analysed used language in the 1990 round. A continuous increase in the two preceding census rounds is seen, with 21 countries (17.5 per cent) enumerating by language in the 2000 round; and 25 countries (22.1 per cent) in the 2010 census round. Mali, South Africa, and the Marshall Islands were among the countries that adopted a language identifier between the 1990 and 2000 census rounds. The United States and some of its dependencies (Guam), along with Mayotte and Mexico are some countries which have used language as a means by which to determine the indigeneity of census respondents since the outset of the studies focal period.

There was substantial variation in the way that these Indigenous language questions were asked. The 2001 South African census asked "Which language does (the person) speak most often in this household?" with the option of choosing from nine Indigenous languages (IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga), Afrikaans, English, and other (with write in response available). Others explicitly questioned if the respondent spoke an Indigenous language. For example, the 2005 Mexico census that asked "Do you speak any Indigenous language or dialect?", with :Yes" or "No" as response options. A follow-up question asked: "Which Indigenous language or dialect is spoken?" with instructions for the respondent to write in the name of the language/dialect.

Terminology by census round

This section considers the specific terminology used in censuses to enumeration Indigenous people, focusing specifically on the prevalence of ethnic, race and ancestry categories.

Table 5.4 Number of census questions using ethnic, racial or ancestry nomenclature

	1985-1994 round		1995-2004 round		2005-2014 round	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Ethnicity	26	22.4	41	34.2	37	32.7
Race	18	15.5	20	16.7	13	11.5
Ancestry	5	4.3	6	5.0	6	5.3
Total	49	42.2	67	55.8	56	49.6

Notes: ethnicity, race and ancestry are the dissagragated categories that make up the 'Indigenous name' category.

Table 5.4 shows that in all census rounds, the majority of censuses favoured questions grounded conceptually in ethnicity rather than race and ancestry, thus supporting **H2**. This confirms the results found in other studies using the broader eCounts? dataset (Kukutai & Thompson 2015; Kukutai and Broman 2015), as well as the comparative analysis of the 2000 round by Morning (2008). The dominance of ethnicity was most evident during the 2000 census round, where just over one third of all included censuses had a question inquiring about ethnicity. Enumeration by ethnicity was least obvious at the beginning of the focal period (22.4 per cent of analysed censuses) and there was a minor decline between the latter two rounds, However for reasons already noted, this is likely due to the number of census forms located in the 2010 census round.

States operationalised the concept of ethnicity in various ways. In the 1988 Mongolia census "Ethnicity" was stated with only a write-in response option. While in the 1986 Fiji census "Ethnic Group" was specified with "Fijian" and "Rotuman" as response options. In Belize, the 2000 census asks "To what ethnic group do you/does …..belong?" and provided "Maya Mopan" and "Maya Yactec" in a check-off list response format. In the 2010 Brazil census "What ethnic group or people do you belong to?" is an open response format question. The examples show cases where ethnicity is the primary term used, however Table 5.4 also includes cases where ethnicity is subsumed with other terms. For instance, in the 2011 census St Vincent and the Grenadines where "To what ethnic, racial or national group do you think ….belongs?" signifies a question incorporating more than one Indigenous name category (with the exception of nationality).

The results provide moderate support for **H2a**. The findings show that countries are using race less frequently in censuses, though the decrease is moderate in nature. Racial terminology appeared to be most prevalent in the 2000 round which accounted for 16.7 per cent of all censuses analysed (i.e. Indigenous countries for which a census form was located). Seven less countries used race in the following census round which represented 11.5 per cent of all countries analysed. The declining usage of race offset by the increased

use of ethnic terminology supports the argument regarding a conceptual shift of state strategies of ethnic enumeration made by other studies (Kukutai & Thompson, 2015; Morning, 2008; Peters, 2011). The British Virgin Islands exemplifies this shift, where in the 1991 census "To what ethnic, racial or national group do you think belongs?" ("Amerindian/Carib" in the check off list), changed to "To which ethnic group do you (N) belong? ("Carib" and "Amenrindian" as separate options in the check off list) in the 2001 census questionnaire. It is interesting to note the permanency of racial designations in the United States and its dependencies (American Samoa, Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands) considering the empirical findings and research which suggest the opposite[16]. By way of illustration, United States censuses from each census round asked "What is the person's race?", providing American Indian or Alaskan Native as self-identified response options. However the classification of Indigenous Hawaiians was subject to different treatment. As a result of the Office of Management and Budget's revision of the standard of racial data collection in 1997 new categories were introduced (Snipp, 2003). Consequently, Indigenous Hawaiians were granted a standalone category of 'Native Hawaiian' in the 2000 census, a change from being a part of the assorted Asian and Pacific Islanders category in the 1990 census, appearing as the singular title - 'Hawaiian'. This example underscores a main argument made by literature on ethnic and Indigenous classification in the census (Kertzer & Arel, 2002): census categories are constructs reflecting state agenda and priorities. Furthermore, in light of the changes made to the United States census[17], there is a clear extension of the application of racial concepts, moving beyond the whites/blacks/Native American scheme. For Native Hawaiian, this decision signalled the acknowledgement of them as Indigenous peoples with inherent rights of sovereignty, and reinforced the saliency of race, albeit taking on a different meaning to colonial-racial understandings.

Fewer censuses addressed Indigenous identity with a question using the concept of ancestry. Ancestry is a term which has various connotations in different contexts and is subject to change over time[18]. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2003, p. 5)

[16] Empirical findings refer to the results summarised in Table 5.4 that shows a decline of the use of race over the focal period. A key theme from the Indigenous enumeration research discussed in chapter three was the decline in the use of race for countries with Indigenous people.

[17] The Federal Office of Management and Budget and the United States Census Bureau revised the standards for the classification of federal data on race and ethnicity to provide "consistent data on race and ethnicity throughout the Federal Government. The Development of the data standards stem in large measures from new responsibilities to enforce civil rights laws" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). The establishment of the standalone Native Hawaiian category was one result of the revision of standards for race and ethnicity.

[18] The Australian context presents a clear example of the census treating and applying the use of

"Ancestry refers to a person's ethnic origin or descent, roots, heritage, or the place of birth of the person, the person's parents, or their ancestors before their arrival in the United States." In many contexts ancestry is strongly correlated with Indigenous identity; having an Indigenous ancestor in any given context typically underpins any claim to being Indigenous, thus Kukutai states ancestry "is often treated as an objective basis for identity and serves a gatekeeping function..." (2004, p. 91). The presumed significance of ancestry in defining Indigenous peoples does not however translate in the observed results. Table 5.4 shows an insignificant increase in the usage of ancestry across the focal period. Among the countries that did enumerate by ancestry, considerable variation was evident. In Bermuda the question was asked in all three census rounds: "In your opinion, which of the following best describes your ancestry?" Nationality designations such as Bermudian, American, British were included as response categories. Alternatively another question in the Bermuda census - "To which racial group do you belong to?" (with 'Black', 'White', 'Black & White' as examples of response options) frames racial identity as a matter of subjective belief. Conversely, the 2001 Canadian census presents yet another interpretation of ancestry, it asked "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestor belong?" (with 'Métis and Inuit (Eskimo) as some of the response options). The above census extracts demonstrate significant variability, particularly with the concepts used to gauge ancestry, e.g. national identity, ethnicity and cultural group.

Multiple dimensions of Indigenous identity

The results presented in Table 5.5 display the number of countries that used multiple forms of Indigenous recognition in the census over the three census rounds.

Table 5.5 Number and percentage of countries with multiple forms of Indigenous recognition in the census, by census round

	1985-1994 round		1995-2004 round		2005-2014 round	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
No. of countries with 2 forms of recognition	6	5.2	9	7.5	14	12.4
No. of countries with 3 or more forms of recognition	0	0	7	5.8	9	8.0

Only a small number of countries in each census round had two or more forms of Indigenous recognition in census questionnaires. Nevertheless a clear increase is

ancestry in various ways over time. For example, Section 127 of the Constitution Act 1990 stated that Aboriginal natives shall not be counted, but Aboriginal people with European ancestry were permitted to be counted. An ancestry question featured intermittently between 1986 to 2001, and partially because of this, the Aboriginal ancestry count decreased from 186,594 to 94,950 (Khoo, 2006).

indicative of a shift, albeit minor, towards more complex forms of Indigenous identification. These results provide moderate support for **H4**. Unsurprisingly there were more countries that had two forms of recognition than three, and this number more than doubled over the focal period. Three settler states were seen to have two forms of recognition over the focal period – Canada, New Zealand and the United States. Two other states that consistently included two forms of Indigenous classification were United States territories – Palau and American Samoa. The majority of countries that had three or more questions to capture Indigenous identity in the census were from South American (Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay). None of these countries enumerated three or more forms in the first census round, but did so by the second or third census rounds.

5.3 Regional trends

The previous section analysed various aspects of Indigenous enumeration in the census globally; this section examines the prevalence of general enumeration of Indigenous peoples by region. The 150 'Indigenous countries' included in this study (see Appendix B for a complete list) are distributed across six regions: North America, South America, Africa, Europe, Asia and Oceania. The proportion of Indigenous countries in each region is considered, though is not displayed in any table. This provides an initial impression on the regions which have a strong presence of Indigenous peoples. Out of the six regions, South America and Oceania have the highest proportion of 'Indigenous countries', 92.9 per cent and 92 per cent respectively. Africa (80.7 per cent) and North America (80.5 per cent) have relatively equal proportions of countries deemed Indigenous. Asia (56 per cent) and Europe (13 per cent) have the least.

Table 5.6 Number and percentage of counties with some form of Indigenous enumeration, by region and census round

		1985-1994 round		1995-2004 round		2005-2014 round	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
No. of countries with some form of indigenous recognition by region	Africa	5	14.3	9	32.1	8	34.8
	North America	12	48.0	19	63.3	14	82.4
	South America	6	50.0	10	90.9	11	100
	Asia	1	5.0	4	16.7	4	23.5
	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Oceania	15	75.0	16	72.7	15	75.0
	Total	39		58		52	

As Table 5.6 illustrates, countries from North America, South America and Oceania had the greatest propensity to include some form of Indigenous enumeration in censuses over the focal period. Each region demonstrated distinctly different trends – the inclusion of Indigenous categories in the census has been constant in Oceania with no less than three quarters of the countries included in any given census round having some form of Indigenous recognition. North and South America followed a similar trajectory over the three census rounds; for the 1990 census rounds for both regions Indigenous recognition was 50 per cent or less. While the number of Asian countries that had some form of Indigenous enumeration increased over the focal period, this only research a maximum of countries. The absence of any Indigenous counting in Europe is unsurprising given the low numbers of countries with Indigenous peoples in the region, the lower prevalence of ethnic counting in general (Morning, 2008), and the shift away from the traditional census to population surveys, registers and administrative files (Valente, 2010). In sum, the findings show that regions vary markedly in the tendency to enumerate Indigenous people over the focal period.

5.4 Bivariate Analysis

This section presents the bivariate associations between independent variables representing endogenous and exogenous factors with potential. It follows on from the variable descriptions and research questions outlined in chapter four. The objective of the bivariate analysis is to empirically test the theoretical assumptions made in chapter two – that state enumeration of Indigenous peoples changes over time due to a number of factors that derive domestically and internationally.

Endogenous Factors

Sovereignty

In terms of sovereign states, I expect that newer states are more likely to recognise Indigenous peoples from the point of state independence. The bivariate analysis showed no significant association between Indigenous enumeration in the 2010 census round and the timing of state sovereignty X^2 (1, N = 93) = .15, p = >.10. These results suggest that the timing of state independence, whether pre or post 1975, had no bearing on a countries likelihood to count and classify Indigenous peoples in the 2010 census round. The non-significant relationship is evident based on the data presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Number and percentage of sovereign states (old and new), by type of Indigenous enumeration approach taken in the 2005-2014 census round

		Old State	New State	Total	
		n	n	n	%
Sovereign countries with some form of Indigenous recogntion in the 2005-2014 census round	no	35	17	52	55.9
	yes	26	15	41	44.1
Total		61	32	93	100

Gross Domestic Product

As discussed in chapter four, I expected that states with higher GDP would be more likely than states with lower GDP to have some form of Indigenous enumeration. However, an independent samples t-test showed no statistically significant association Indigenous. As Table 5.8 shows, Indigenous countries that did have some form of Indigenous enumeration did have a higher mean GDP but the difference was not statistically significant t (84) =-1.146, p = .255.

Table 5.8 Gross Domestic Product by type of Indigenous enumeration approach taken in the 2005-2014 census round

Countries with some form of Indigenous recognition in the 2005-2014 census round	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t
no	8051.46	10070.58	1438.65	84
yes	10580.33	10223.00	1680.65	
N=86 (N=49, Y=37)				

Net Migration

I expected to see an association between states with net migration and Indigenous classification. This observation was based on the notion that net migration will lead states to implement categories to capture ethnic diversity, and as a by-product, recognise Indigenous distinctions as well. However, the relationship between net migration and state Indigenous enumeration was not statistically significant, X^2 (1, N = 96) = .39, p = .53. A cursory inspection of Table 5.9 supports these findings – the number of migrant receiving countries that had some form of Indigenous enumeration (n=13) was less than non-migrant receiving countries that had some form of Indigenous enumeration (n=30).

Table 5.9 Number and percentage of migrant receiving and non-migrant receiving countries by type of Indigenous enumeration approach taken in the 2005-2014 census round

		Migrant receiving countries		Non-migrant receiving countries		Total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Sovereign countries with some form of Indigenous recogntion in the 2005-2014 census round	no	13	50.0	40	57.1	53	55.2
	yes	13	50.0	30	42.9	43	44.8
Total		26	100	70	100	96	100

Exogenous Factors

INGO Membership

INGOs are noted in world society literature by their relationship to state and civil society, and as a result the diffusion of global norms from INGOs to states (Meyer et al, 1997). Accordingly, I anticipated that countries that were more enmeshed in world society through multiple ties to INGOs would be more likely to enumerate Indigenous peoples, than those with fewer ties. An independent-groups t-test was used to determine whether there was a significant difference between countries with recognition and countries without in relation to affiliation with INGOs.

Table 5.10 INGO membership by type of Indigenous enumeration approach taken in the 2005-2014 census round

Countries with some form of Indigenous recognition in the 2005-2014 census round	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	*t*
no	47.95	17.50	2.60	74
yes	46.91	12.00	2.10	
N=76 (N=44, Y=32)				

Results in Table 5.10 show that the mean scores are relatively similar for states with and without Indigenous recognition t (74) =.29, p = .77. The results suggest that membership with INGOs does not influence state practices of counting and classifying Indigenous peoples in the census, at least for the 2010 round.

ICERD

Here I examined if states that are signatories to ICERD show commitment to the convention's obligations by demonstrating some enumeration of Indigenous people. Contrary to what I expected, there was no significant difference X^2 (2, N = 96) = 5.3, p = .07. These results highlighted that irrespective of early or late signing status of ICERD, ICRED was not positively associated with state enumeration of Indigenous peoples. In

fact, 46.5 per cent of countries that had some form of Indigenous enumeration (20 out of 43 countries) were not ICERD signatories; in contrast, 34 per cent of countries with no form of Indigenous enumeration (18 out of 53 countries) were ICERD signatories, as presented in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11 State ICERD status by type of Indigenous enumeration approach taken in the 2005-2014 census round

Countries with some form of Indigenous recognition in the 2005-2014 census round	Did not sign ICERD (n)	Pre-1975 ICERD signatories (n)	Post-1975 ICERD signatories (n)	Total	
				n	%
no	34	18	1	53	55.2
yes	20	18	5	43	44.8
Total	54	36	6	96	100

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter sought to address the five research questions outlined in chapter four. How widespread is Indigenous enumeration in national censuses globally across the period 1985-2014? How has the type of Indigenous identification in the census changed over the focal period? To what extent has there been a shift towards multiple ways of identifying Indigenous peoples in the census? How have the concepts used by states to identify Indigenous peoples in the census varies by region and over time? What are the conditions that are associated with state recognition of Indigenous people in the census? The descriptive analysis showed that across the focal period there was in increase the number of countries that undertook some form of Indigenous enumeration, peaking in the 1995-2004 round with 55 countries. By examining this shift in more detail we see the majority of these countries qualified as having constant recognition between each census round, while the rest shifted from non-recognition to constant recognition. Despite these changes, the majority of countries with Indigenous people, and with located census forms, did not have any form of Indigenous enumeration over the focal period signifying that Indigenous enumeration is not yet a widespread practice.

The analysis confirmed that 'Indigenous name' was the most common type of question denoting Indigenous recognition in the census. By disaggregating this category, ethnicity was the most common concept used. This finding was important as it supported a key observation of the case study review – a shifting of state enumerative strategies from racial concepts to ethnic. In fact, this shift appears to have started before the focal period, with ethnicity already being more common (at 22.2 per cent) than race (15.5 per cent) over the 1985-1994 census round. The results found that increasingly more countries are

using two or three forms of Indigenous recognition in the census. However the overall percentage of countries that did so is relatively low at 12.4 per cent and 8 per cent respectively in the 2005-2014 census round. Multiple forms of Indigenous recognition appeared to be a regional distinction of South America. I found that regional characteristics were also evident when looking at the prevalence of Indigenous enumeration by region. States in South America have already proved to be leaders in employing census strategies that recognise Indigenous peoples. This held true for the regional analysis with 100 percent of countries having some form of Indigenous enumeration in the 2005-2014 census round. A large proportion of North American countries had some form of Indigenous recognition by the end of the focal period (82.4 per cent), this proportion was nearly double that for the 1985-1994 census round. The predominance of ethnic counting in the Americas is even more interesting given the diversity of countries' socio-economic development, history of colonisation, political regimes and population diversity. Predictably, Europe and Asia had low levels of Indigenous recognition. Although the implications of low recognition for Indigenous peoples in Asian countries are greater as they make up a larger proportion of the overall population, compared with Indigenous people in Europe.

The results of the bivariate analysis were surprising. The variables tested were selected based on reasonable rationale. Furthermore Kukutai and Thompsons' (2015) study also found that factors such as commitment to ICERD and high levels of net migration had positive associations with state recognition of ethnicity. What the bivariate analysis does suggest is the same factors that are associated with state recognition of ethnicity may not always hold true when testing the association against state enumeration of Indigenous people. I also note that this is the first known attempt to test associations between state enumeration of Indigenous people and independent variables, to test the line of theorisation that state enumeration is influenced by endogenous and exogenous. I am careful to not over or understate the validity of these findings as further research is required to expand on these findings and test the theoretically assumptions more rigorously.

CHAPTER SIX

INDIGENISING THE CENSUS: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

6. 1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the key themes of the study, and discusses the implications of Indigenous enumeration for Indigenous peoples. I reflect on the main goals of this study, and link them to the key empirical findings from the descriptive and bivariate statistical analyses. I conclude with suggestions for further research relating to state counting and classification of Indigenous peoples.

6.2 Goals of this study

This study was motivated by two main goals. The first was to contribute to the body of knowledge relating to the counting and classification of Indigenous peoples. The second was to identify the extent to which Indigenous peoples have or have not been recognised within national population census. This has greater significance beyond the census because such forms of identification provide a basis for action (Axelsson et al, 2011; Kukutai & Walter, 2015; Taylor, 2009; United Nations, 2006; Walter & Andersen, 2013). Being counted in the census alone doesn't guarantee political recognition, but in the absence of having one's existence acknowledged – as in the invisibility of Aboriginals in the Australian census until 1967 or so –it is extremely difficult to advance Indigenous rights. In other words, Indigenous recognition – the simple act of being counted – is fundamental.

In chapter three I conducted an extensive review of the literature pertaining to the enumeration of Indigenous people worldwide, mostly in the form of single country case studies. Despite differences in the timing, nature, severity and decolonial legacy of the colonisation of Indigenous people and lands, key themes relating to state recognition of Indigenous people in the census were identified. For example, the colonisation of Indigenous lands into modern states often required some initial assessment of the population for taxation of conscription (Ketzer & Arel, 2002). The prevalence of race-based logic informing state's enumeration strategies was also evident across many states where Indigenous people are present. States were seen to extend the use of phenotype classifications to institute blood quantum rules, but with different intent. Some sought to identify Indigenous peoples in order to gauge the state's obligations to them (Snipp, 1989), while others wanted to track the assimilation of the Indigenous people into the

setter population (Kukutai, 2012; Wanhalla, 2005, 2010). These methods also carried the presumption that an observer, or enumerator, could determine a person's racial identity and that the determination had to be in exclusive monoracial terms. The shift from fixed categories such as race to self identification of ethnicity was by no means uniform, and in some cases racially-based categories persist despite decolonisation (Kertzer & Arel, 2002). While the case study literature provided a basis for thinking about state enumeration of Indigenous people, research was often focused on certain contexts, e.g. settler states, and there was a lack of literature in regions such as Asia and Europe. Therefore, the inclusive approach I took to defining Indigenous peoples and consequently identifying the sample population for the empirical analysis was implemented with the objective of capturing states with Indigenous peoples not represented in academic literature.

The theoretical framework sought to combine existing theories of social constructivism and world society to understand the general conditions conducive with state enumeration of Indigenous people. The utilisation of world society theory allowed for an extended examination of state recognition of Indigenous peoples from a purely state level to a global level. This is useful as post-modern censuses are not purely a product of state policy, but are expected to be compliant with standardised recommendations set by the United Nations (United Nations, 2008).

6.3 Indigenous non-recognition in the census: A global problem?

This study demonstrated that, despite the call to action from the United Nations for nation states to disaggregate census categories to better identify Indigenous people, this practice is far off being a global standard. Less than half of all countries with an Indigenous population(s) actually recognised them in the census, in any capacity. Thus, while the analysis of the prevalence of all forms of Indigenous enumeration (e.g. Indigenous name, Indigenous tribe, Indigenous language and Indigenous status) over the focal period showed an increased, considerable progress is needed to satisfy the concerns of agencies such as the United Nations, and Indigenous peoples themselves.

In any given round, 'Indigenous name' (ethnicity/race/ancestry) was the most widespread form of classification, and within that aggregated category, ethnicity was more common than race or ancestry, and more states used some form of ethnic categorisation over the focal period. While these trends demonstrate some similarities, the largely heterogeneous nature of the classification of Indigenous people makes the feasibility of comparability between countries difficult. It seems that, even when Indigenous peoples are recognised,

it seems to be a by product of ethnic classification. Rarely is it specifically about Indigenous status of peoples as a distinctive population group.

In addition to analysing patterns of Indigenous recognition, I also examined Indigenous enumeration by region. The findings show that regions vary in the tendency to enumerate Indigenous people, while also widely employing differing approaches to such enumeration. The inclusion of Indigenous categories in the census has been constant in Oceania with no less than three quarters of the countries included in any given census round having some form of Indigenous recognition. North and South America followed a similar trajectory over the three census rounds; for the 1990 census rounds for both regions Indigenous recognition was 50 per cent or less. Africa, Asia and Europe were the least likely to have some form of Indigenous recognition over the focal period.

The results support a social constructivist conception of the classification of Indigenes in the census. The continued non-recognition of the majority of Indigenous people and the prevalence of more 'soft' forms of recognition, infer that Indigenous classification in the census continues to be a social construct produced by the dominant group. In other words, most states continue to impose and determine the boundaries of indigeneity by employing ethnic or racial designations, instead of stronger classifications that explicitly recognise the unique position of Indigenous peoples – Indigenous status, or reflect Indigenous conceptions of collective identity – tribe.

6.4 To count or not to count, what are the factors?

What are the factors associated with state enumeration of Indigenous people? How well do these factors describe the conditions which are conducive with the counting and classification of Indigenous people in the census? The findings of the bivariate analysis provide no clear answer here, except to note that a great deal more analysis is required to comprehend explanatory factors of state enumeration. However, the conclusion that the factors identified as endogenous and exogenous have little to do with state recognition of Indigenous people via the census is misconceived. Despite these findings, it is difficult to ignore the characteristics of states that have form of Indigenous recognition in the census. For example, the substantive findings of this study show that countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand, Canada and Bolivia consistently had some form of Indigenous recognition in the census. However, these same states have variable levels of GDP[19] and net

[19] New Zealand and Canada have relatively high GDP per capita (in 2012) at $37,808 and 1,175,863 respectively (World Bank, 2017). In comparison, GDP for Bolivia was $3,076.80 per capita (in 2015) (World Bank, 2017).

migration[20]. In other words, it is difficult to find a combination of variables used in this study to signify conditions/factors conducive to Indigenous enumeration. These examples suggest that factors which may be useful to test relationships with ethnic enumeration (i.e. those used in Kukutai & Thompson's study [2015]), may not always hold true when examining state treatment of Indigenous peoples in national censuses.

6.5 What does this mean for Indigenous people?

The main contribution of this global study has been to show that many Indigenous people are still not recognised in the national population census. Before this study, this observation has proved elusive given the focus of literature on single country case studies. By taking a global view over time, this study has been to provide the most extensive understanding of state recognition of Indigenous people in national censuses.

The absence of any form of Indigenous enumeration in the majority of censuses included in this study comes in spite of the many efforts undertaken to persuade governments to do so (e.g. the recommendations from the United Nations). Though in the deficiency of meaningful data on and for Indigenous peoples via the census, Indigenous groups are seen to be collecting and managing their own demographic data (see Assembly of First Nations, 2007), and further developing Indigenous approaches to producing quantitative data (see Walter & Andersen, 2013). These efforts not only reflect the lack of existing data, but the capability of Indigenous peoples to devise their own methods of data collection and dissemination. Such efforts demonstrate action from the bottom up.

Inadequacy in data also presents an opportunity for states to engage with Indigenous peoples to co-construct enumeration strategies. Initiatives that demonstrate Indigenous-state collaboration are not uncommon, such as the community initiative in Australia, the Knowing our Community survey, which was lead by the Yawuru people of Broomer in Western Australia (Yu, 2011; Taylor et al, 2012). National level examples in Aotearoa New Zealand include the Māori Statistics Framework which is concerned with the alignment of the collection and reporting of official statistics with Māori issues and concerns (Statistics New Zealand, 2002) and Te Kupenga 2013 (the Māori Social Survey) in Aotearoa New Zealand which collected information on four areas of Māori cultural well-being: wairuatanga (spirituality), tikanga (Māori customs and practices, te reo Māori (the Māori language), and whanaungatanga (social connectedness). However since these

[20] Canada have relatively high net migration (in 2012) at 1,174,863 (United Nations Data, 2016). In comparison, net migration was lower for New Zealand at 7,265, and Bolivia at -61,794 (United Nations Data, 2016).

examples are from countries that have existing forms of Indigenous recognition – in the census and otherwise, it can be assumed that these initiatives are not in response to an inadequacy of data due to non-enumeration, rather they build on pre-existing statistical recognition.

By all accounts examples of Indigenous peoples influencing data classifications and collection demonstrate a shift from when Indigenous peoples were the 'subjects' to be counted, to Indigenous peoples determining the collection and stewardship of culturally sensitive data (Boulton et al, 2014). Though initiatives where data collection functions for the enablement and empowerment of Indigenous people, be they independent of the state or in collaboration, we see a similar trend of representation: initiatives are based in settler state countries, and/or involve Indigenous people with pre-existing state recognition. This reiterates the challenges faced by Indigenous peoples in other contexts where visibility is fraught.

6.6 Future directions

Perhaps due to the ambitious goal of this study – to examine global patterns of state enumeration of Indigenous peoples – there have been aspects of Indigenous enumeration that have been only partially examined or left unexamined. Moreover, there is persistent demand for improved data on Indigenous people around the world. These points both highlight the opportunity and urgency for further research. Indeed, I have already made previous mention of potential future avenues for the continued research of Indigenous recognition in the census. I expand on these below.

Further research is needed to build on the bivariate findings by modelling the factors associated with state enumeration of Indigenous people. Furthermore to develop more detailed hypotheses about the characteristics of these relationships. The ability to understand the conditions conducive to state recognition of Indigenous peoples would greatly enhance the United Nations and Indigenous peoples' information about what to target and advocate for. Due to the overall findings that the majority of Indigenous people are not recognised by the national census, another proposal for further research is to extend the focal period at either end – pre- and/or post-focal period. This would build on this study's research findings pertaining to global trends of Indigenous recognition in the census. The continued examination of state counting and classification at a global level is crucial to monitoring the changing nature of state enumeration strategies in regard to Indigenous peoples.

A reasonable explanation of state enumeration of Indigenous peoples is that it is largely a regionally influenced phenomena – the research findings certainly refer to regional distinctions in Indigenous enumeration. Therefore as Broman (2013) has done, additional regional studies would be worthwhile to pursue as further research, investigating in detail the regional characteristics of Indigenous counting, and an evaluation of governments' decision to count and classify Indigenous people. By researching Indigenous counting and classification by region, closer consideration could be given to the disaggregation of population data about Indigenous people in the census.

In closing, I refer to Walters (2016, slide 10) who states "Indigeneity is a concept – not a predictor variable." With this notion in mind, there is enormous potential for nation states to implement enumeration strategies that meaningfully reflect the collective identities of Indigenous people, and for scholars (Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike) to continue to conduct progressive research that addresses aspects of the collection, analysis, interpretation and dissemination of Indigenous peoples' data.

APPENDIX A

DATA DICTIONARY

Variable Name	Label	Type	Values	Value Label	Notes
id	Country number	num			
country	Name of country	string			
birth	Question on birthplace asked	num	0 1 2	no yes yes, but subsumed under another question	
birth.cat	Format of birthplace question	num	1 2 3 4 5 99	write-in write-in, with examples in prompt binary option specified options, no write-in specified options, with write-in NA (no question asked)	Includes Y/N/DK type questions
pbirth	Question on parent or grandparent birthplace asked	num	0 1 2	no yes yes, but subsumed under another question	
pbirth.cat	Format of birthplace question	num	1 2 3 4 5 99	write-in write-in, with examples in prompt binary option specified options, no write-in specified options, with write-in NA (no question asked)	
cit	Question on citizenship asked	num	0	no	

			1	yes	
			2	yes, but subsumed under another question	
cit.cat	Format of citizenship question	num	1	write-in	
			2	write-in, with examples in prompt	
			3	binary option	
			4	specified options, no write-in	
			5	specified options, with write-in	
			99	NA (no question asked)	
cit_type	Question on citizenship distinguishes type of citizenship	num	0	no	
			1	yes	
			99	NA (no question asked)	
nat	Question on nationality asked	num	0	no	
			1	yes	
			2	yes, but subsumed under another question	
nat.cat	Format of nationality question	num	1	write-in	
			2	write-in, with examples in prompt	
			3	binary option	
			4	specified options, no write-in	
			5	specified options, with write-in	
			99	NA (no question asked)	
nat.num	Number of groups listed as nationality options	num			Only code if nat.cat==4 or 5. Exclude "other" and write-in responses.
race	Question on race or skin colour asked	num	0	no	
			1	yes	

			2	yes, but subsumed under another question	
race.cat	Format of race question	num	1 2 3 4 5 99	write-in write-in, with examples in prompt binary option specified options, no write-in specified options, with write-in NA (no question asked)	
race.num	Number of groups listed as race options	num			Only code if race.cat==4 or 5. Exclude "other" and write-in responses.
eth	Question on ethnicity/ethnic group/ethnic nationality/culture	num	0 1 2	no yes yes, but subsumed under another question (e.g. nationalitie/ethnie)	
eth.cat	Format of ethnicity question	num	1 2 3 4 5 99	write-in write-in, with examples in prompt binary option specified options, no write-in specified options, with write-in NA (no question asked)	
eth.num	Number of groups listed as ethnicity options	num			Only code if eth.cat==4 or 5. Exclude "other" and write-in responses.
ethori	Question on ethnic origin asked	num	0 1	no yes	

			2	yes, but subsumed under another question (e.g. nationalitie/ethnie)	
ethori.cat	Format of ethnic origin question	num	1 2 3 4 5 99	write-in write-in, with examples in prompt binary option specified options, no write-in specified options, with write-in NA (no question asked)	
ethori.num	Number of groups listed as ethnic origin options	num			Only code if ethori.cat==4 or 5. Exclude "other" and write-in responses.
ances	Question on ancestry or descent asked	num	0 1 2	no yes yes, but subsumed under another question	
ances.cat	Format of ancestry question	num	1 2 3 4 5 99	write-in write-in, with examples in prompt binary option specified options, no write-in specified options, with write-in NA (no question asked)	
ances.num	Number of groups listed as ancestry options	num			Only code if ances.cat==4 or 5. Exclude "other" and write-in responses.
mixed	Recognises 'mixed' identities in question on ethnicity, ancestry, race etc.	num	0	no	Includes questions where multiple tick boxes are allowed but there is no explicit

					mention of a 'mixed' identity
			1	yes, mixed, multiracial, mestizo, part- etc.	
			2	yes, specific combination or group name	If the question lists at least one specific combination, code as 2 (may include the generic term 'mixed')
natid	National identity as ethnic distinction	num	0	no	
			1	yes	The name of the country (e.g, Australia) or national identity (e.g, Australian) appears in a question on race, ethnicity, ethnic origin, ancestry, or "undefid", either as part of the question, or as a response option. We extend this to include nationality questions on forms where citizenship is also asked.
			2	yes, but subsumed under another question	
			99	NA (no question on ethnicity, race, ancestry, or both nationality and citizenship).	

indig	Question on Aboriginal or Indigenous peoples asked - uses term 'Indigenous' or 'aboriginal' in the question	num	0 1 2	no yes yes, but subsumed under another question	
indig.cat	Format of Indigenous question	num	1 2 3 4 5 99	write-in write-in, with examples in prompt binary options specified options, no write-in specified options, with write-in NA (no question asked)	
indig_name	Name of Indigenous or aboriginal group, or term 'Indigenous people' included as a category or listed as example write-in response to a question on ethnicity, race, culture etc but not language/mother tongue.	num	0 1 2	no yes yes, but subsumed under another question	
indig_name.cat	Format of Indigenous question	num	1 2 3 4 5 99	write-in write-in, with examples in prompt binary options specified options, no write-in specified options, with write-in NA (no question asked)	

indig_lang	Name of Indigenous or aboriginal group, or term 'Indigenous people' included as a category or listed as example write-in response to a question on language or mother tongue OR specific question askign about Indigenous language or mother tongue spoken	num	0	No	
			1	Yes	
			99	NA (no lang or mtongue question asked)	
tribe	Question on tribe asked	num	0	no	
			1	yes	
			2	yes, but subsumed under another question	
tribe.cat	Format of tribe question	num	1	write-in	
			2	write-in, with examples in prompt	
			3	binary options	
			4	specified options, no write-in	
			5	specified options, with write-in	
			99	NA (no question asked)	
undefid	Unclear what the conceptual basis is for the question, but response categories imply some kind of broad ethnic distinction	num	0	no	
			1	yes	
undefid.cat	Format of undefined identity question		1	write-in	
			2	write-in, with examples in prompt	

			3	binary options	
			4	specified options, no write-in	Also code as 0 if the Q asks about languague but in the context of finding out about literacy
			5	specified options, with write-in	E.g. New Zealand (2001)
			99	NA (no question asked)	
subjid	Implies distinctions based on ethnicity, origin, ancestry, tribe, Indigenous are subjective		0	no	
			1	yes	yes if q framed to include words such as "believe" "choose" "think" "affiliate", or emphasizes self-identification
			99	NA (no question on ethnicity, race, ancestry etc.).	
lang	Question on language asked	num	0	no	
			1	yes	E.g. Lithuania (2001): What other languages do you know, (i.e, are able to speak in and or write)?
			2	subsumed under another q	
lang.cat	Format of language question	num	1	write-in	
			2	write-in, with examples in prompt	
			3	binary option	

			4	specified options, no write-in	
			5	specified options, with write-in	
			99	NA (no question asked)	
mtongue	Question on mother tongue asked	num	0	no	
			1	yes	Also includes questions which don't explicitly use the term 'mother tongue' but are obviously eliciting info on ethnic or ancestral language
			2	subsumed under another q	
mtongue.cat	Format of mother tongue question	num	1	write-in	
			2	write-in, with examples in prompt	
			3	binary option	
			4	specified options, no write-in	
			5	specified options, with write-in	
			99	NA (no question asked)	
rel	Question on religion asked	num	0	no	
			1	yes	
			2	yes, but subsumed under another question	
rel.cat	Format of religion question		1	write-in	
			2	write-in, with examples in prompt	
			3	binary option	
			4	specified options, no write-in	
			5	specified options, with write-in	

			99	NA (no question asked)	
>25q	At least 25 questions on individual census form	num	0	No	<25
			1	yes	#1 starts after name, renumber if preceded by enumerator info & count sub-questions as separate. Exclude hold qs and qs about members who have emigrated. Include fertility and other qs asked to persons of certain age/sex

APPENDIX B

LIST OF COUNTRIES, TERRITORIES AND DEPENDENCIES IDENTIFIED AS HAVING INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

No.	Country	Indigenous people (0=no, 1=yes)
1	Afghanistan	0
2	Aland Islands	0
3	Albania	0
4	Algeria	1
5	American Samoa	1
6	Andorra	0
7	Angola	1
8	Anguilla	1
9	Antigua and Barbuda	1
10	Argentina	1
11	Armenia	1
12	Aruba	0
13	Australia	1
14	Austria	0
15	Azerbaijan	0
16	Bahamas	1
17	Bahrain	0
18	Bangladesh	1
19	Barbados	1
20	Belarus	0
21	Belgium	0
22	Belize	1
23	Benin	0
24	Bermuda	1
25	Bhutan	1
26	Bolivia	1
27	Bonaire, Saint Eustatius and Saba	1
28	Bosnia-Herzegovina	0
29	Botswana	1
30	Brazil	1
31	British Virgin Islands	1
32	Brunei Darussalam	1
33	Bulgaria	0
34	Burkina Faso	1
35	Burundi	1
36	Cambodia	1
37	Cameroon	1

38	Canada	1
39	Cape Verde	0
40	Cayman Islands	0
41	Central African Republic	1
42	Chad	1
43	Chile	1
44	China	1
45	Colombia	1
46	Comoros	1
47	Congo (Democratic Republic of)	1
48	Congo (Republic of)	1
49	Cook Islands	1
50	Costa Rica	1
51	Cote d'Ivorie	0
52	Croatia	0
53	Cuba	1
54	Curacao	1
55	Cyprus	0
56	Czech Republic	0
57	Denmark	0
58	Djibouti	1
59	Dominica	1
60	Dominican Republic	1
61	Ecuador	1
62	Egypt	1
63	El Salvador	1
64	England	0
65	Equatorial Guinea	1
66	Eritrea	1
67	Estonia	0
68	Ethiopia	1
69	Faeroe Islands	0
70	Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas)	0
71	Fiji Islands	1
72	Finland	1
73	France	1
74	French Guiana	1
75	French Polynesia (Tahiti)	1
76	Gabon	1
77	Gambia	1
78	Georgia	0
79	Germany	0
80	Ghana	1
81	Gibraltar	0
82	Greece	0

83	Greenland	1
84	Grenada	0
85	Guadeloupe	1
86	Guam	1
87	Guatemala	1
88	Guernsey (Channel Islands)	0
89	Guinea-Bissau	0
90	Guinea (Republic of)	0
91	Guyana	1
92	Haiti	1
93	Holy See	0
94	Honduras	1
95	Hong Kong S.A.R.	1
96	Hungary	0
97	Iceland	0
98	India	1
99	Indonesia	1
100	Iran	1
101	Iraq	1
102	Ireland	0
103	Isle of Mann	0
104	Israel	1
105	Italy	0
106	Jamaica	1
107	Japan	1
108	Jersey (Channel Islands)	0
109	Jordan	0
110	Kazakhstan	0
111	Kenya	1
112	Kiribati	1
113	Korea (Democratic Republic of)	0
114	Korea (Republic of)	0
115	Kuwait	0
116	Kyrgyzstan	0
117	Laos	1
118	Latvia	0
119	Lebanon	0
120	Lesotho	0
121	Liberia	0
122	Libya	1
123	Liechtenstein	0
124	Lithuania	0
125	Luxembourg	0
126	Macau S.A.R.	0

127	Macedonia (Republic of; Former Yugoslav Republic of)	0
128	Madagascar	1
129	Malawi	1
130	Malaysia	1
131	Maldives	1
132	Mali	1
133	Malta	0
134	Marshall Islands	1
135	Martinique	0
136	Mauritania	1
137	Mauritius	1
138	Mayotte	1
139	Mexico	1
140	Micronesia FS	1
141	Moldova (Republic of)	0
142	Monaco	0
143	Mongolia	1
144	Montenegro	0
145	Montserrat	1
146	Morocco	1
147	Mozambique	1
148	Myanmar	1
149	Namibia	1
150	Nauru	1
151	Nepal	1
152	Netherlands	0
153	New Caledonia	1
154	New Zealand	1
155	Nicaragua	1
156	Niger	1
157	Nigeria	1
158	Niue	1
159	Norfolk Island	0
160	Northern Ireland	0
161	Northern Mariana Islands	1
162	Norway	1
163	Occupied Palestinian Territory	1
164	Oman	0
165	Pakistan	1
166	Palau	1
167	Panama	1
168	Papua New Guinea	1
169	Paraguay	1
170	Peru	1

171	Philippines	1
172	Pitcairn	0
173	Poland	0
174	Portugal	0
175	Puerto Rico	1
176	Qatar	0
177	Reunion Island	0
178	Romania	0
179	Russian Federation	1
180	Rwanda	1
181	Saint Barthelemy	0
182	Saint Helena	0
183	Saint Kitts and Nevis	1
184	Saint Lucia	1
185	Saint Martin	0
186	Saint Pierre and Miquelon	0
187	Saint Vincent	1
188	Samoa	1
189	San Marino	0
190	Sao Tome & Principe	0
191	Saudi Arabia	0
192	Scotland	0
193	Senegal	1
194	Serbia	0
195	Seychelles	1
196	Sierra Leone	0
197	Singapore	0
198	Sint Marteen	0
199	Slovakia	0
200	Slovenia	0
201	Solomon Islands	1
202	Somalia	1
203	South Africa	1
204	Spain	1
205	Sri Lanka	1
206	Sudan	1
207	Suriname	1
208	Svalbard and Jan Mayen Island	0
209	Swaziland	1
210	Sweden	1
211	Switzerland	0
212	Syria	1
213	Tajikistan	0
214	Tanzania (United Republic of)	1
215	Thailand	1

216	Timor Leste (East Timor)	1
217	Togo	1
218	Tokelau	1
219	Tonga	1
220	Trinidad and Tobago	1
221	Tunisia	1
222	Turkey	1
223	Turkmenistan	0
224	Turks and Caicos Islands	1
225	Tuvalu	1
226	Uganda	1
227	Ukraine	1
228	United Arab Emirates	0
229	United States	1
230	United States Virgin Islands	1
231	Uruguay	1
232	Uzbekistan	0
233	Vanuatu	1
234	Venezuela	1
235	Vietnam	1
236	Wales	0
237	Wallis and Futuna	1
238	Western Sahara	1
239	Yemen	0
240	Zambia	1
241	Zimbabwe	1

APPENDIX C

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

Message:

Kia ora UNPFII.

On the homepage of the UNPFII, a brief history of Indigenous peoples and international systems is given. In here it is explained that there are Indigenous populations in over 90 countries internationally. I was wondering if you could please direct me to, or provide the source of that statement, and ideally a list of those 90 or so countries. I have been searching for this source for a while with no success.

Kind regards,
Maraea Mullane-Ronaki (Aotearoa/New Zealand).

Response:

Dear Maraea.

Given the fact that there is no agreed definition of the term "Indigenous" any such number will be subjective. At the UN we work on the basis of self identification. That is to say, it is not up to an official at the UN to define whether you are an Indigenous person or not. It is up to you and your community to make this determination. That being said, we do have an understanding of the concept of course. For a discussion on this take a look at the introduction to the State of the World´s Indigenous Peoples (p. 4-7). Accordingly the number of 90 is based on the fact that so far people (who define themselves as Indigenous) from over 90 countries have participated in the sessions of the Permanent Forum.

If you have more questions, you can contact me directly

All the best,

http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP_web.pdf

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