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European Identity in the Aotearoa New Zealand Census

A thesis
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...yet after all what is a majority? A wave of irrational sentiment, a lump of
unconsidered prejudices.

— Evelyn Waugh

Abstract

Although the literature on ethnicity is vast, studies have typically focused on minority groups, with white majorities, including Europeans in Aotearoa New Zealand, surprisingly absent. Demographic changes, however, and the decline of majorities, are altering politics and making white ethnicity more salient. (Re)assertions of dominance such as Brexit and the storming of Capitol Hill, and white nationalist violence such as the Christchurch mosque terror attacks, all illustrate the growing need to understand structures and processes of majority identity.

Recognising this gap, this study examines changing patterns of identification within the European population in the New Zealand census. To do so it uses the novel New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC) dataset, which links individuals across censuses, offering an unprecedented opportunity to examine whether and how individuals change their ethnic affiliations over time. The study adopts a critical demographic conceptual framework, incorporating insights from diverse fields including social constructivism, critical whiteness studies, and a growing literature on settler colonialism.

Census counts are fundamentally political, with clear implications for policy and resource distribution, and offer a rich context for exploring the structure of majority ethnic identity. Existing census-based studies, though focused generally on minority groups, have demonstrated clearly how censuses form a key site in the social construction of ethnicity and ethnic groups.

The study is in two main parts. The first part considers what patterns can be observed in European identification over the five censuses held between 1991 and 2013. This broad analysis – over two decades of remarkable social and demographic change – finds that Europeans have generally had the lowest level of ethnic response change of any of New Zealand’s major ethnic groups. This

contrasts sharply with the fluidity observed between and within other groups, particularly Māori and Pacific peoples.

The second part focuses on an exception to this general pattern of European stability, shifts to 'New Zealander' ethnicity by Europeans in the 2006 census. It considers the factors associated with this one-off shift to national naming and the broader relationship between national identity and majority identity. Regression modelling shows that claims to New Zealander ethnicity were far from random. Rather it was a phenomenon significantly correlated with being male, being middle aged, having a post-secondary education, living in a solely European household, and in areas with a higher proportion of Europeans and lower levels of deprivation. These characteristics, and the 'race-like' stability of European ethnicity, suggests power and dominance play a key role in structuring majority ethnic claims, and offer further evidence of ethnic counts as illustrative of both the individual and the society that produced them.

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Disclaimer

Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to give effect to the security and confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975. The results presented in this study are the work of the author, not Statistics New Zealand or individual data suppliers.

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- Chapter 1 -

Introduction

The national population census is the most important statistical and planning operation in Aotearoa New Zealand. It seeks information on every person in the country and produces data essential for businesses, government and the public. As in most countries, it has long included questions intended to identify ethnic groups and monitor their relative social conditions (Callister, 2004; Morning 2008; Simon, 2005). While in the past these questions used race-based terminology, since 1976 they have been largely based on self-identified ethnicity, signifying, according to the official statistical definition, a “cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship” (Statistics New Zealand, 2004). As in the other Anglo settler states: Australia, Canada, and the United States, the majority – albeit declining – category remains the local white settler¹ population. In New Zealand, members of this group, of largely European descent, are sometimes referred to using the Māori-language term Pākehā (Matthewman, 2017). In official statistics, they are categorised as New Zealand Europeans (Statistics New Zealand, 2004).

This European settler population continues to dominate local social, economic, and political structures in New Zealand (Borell, 2017; Milne, 2017). Despite this (or perhaps because of this), the ethnic dimensions of this group – the contours of its common identity – remain little understood. Globally, research on the sociology of ethnicity has tended to focus on minority groups (Callister, 2004; Matthewman, 2017; Moreton-Robinson, 2005). Often, the majority is “simply what is left over after minorities are defined” (Pearson, 2001, p. 14). The relatively small scholarship on ‘whiteness’ has tended to emphasise majority

¹ ‘Settler’ refers to the dominant non-Indigenous population in settler-colonies, a unique and permanent form of colonisation where colonist migrants, typically from Europe, seek to permanently settle and assert sovereignty over Indigenous lands. Following Veracini (2010) these societies are characterised by inherently triangular intercultural relationships between three bodies politic: the settler coloniser, the colonised Indigenous ‘Other’, and various exogenous ‘Others’ (racialised migrant groups).

ethnicity as mere background, barely an identity (Doane, 1997; Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993). In New Zealand, Pearson (1989) has argued that Pākehā do not constitute an ethnic group, rather an ‘ethnic category’.

If whites had been unlikely to think of themselves as members of an ethnic group, this seems to be changing as their demographic dominance is challenged (Kaufmann, 2018). Research in America has found the racial consciousness of whites to be increasing, associated with a growing diversity making whites’ own race more difficult to ignore (Knowles & Tropp, 2018). Growing white identity politics have been central to developments such as Trumpism and Brexit (Bhambra, 2017; Botterill & Burrell, 2019; Nagel, 2020), while white nationalist conspiracy theories have also gained traction. Such theories hold that modern migration patterns imperil white Europeans and Western governments are engaged in ‘genocide by substitution’² (Bjørge & Ravndal, 2019). They have provided motivation for a growing number of terrorist attacks, including in New Zealand the Christchurch mosque killings of 2019. White identity extremism now makes up half of local agencies’ counter-terrorism work (Manch, 2021).

The European proportion of New Zealand's population has declined, from 91 percent in 1981 to 70 percent in 2018³ (Statistics New Zealand, 2019). Over this time, public consciousness and debate around this group identity have risen, something evidenced perhaps most clearly in census counts. This is not surprising: censuses play a key role in the distribution of symbolic and material resources (Whitby, 2020), and offer an important context in the social construction of recognisable group identities (Anderson, 1991; Mezey, 2003). They are inherently political, and how people engage with the census – their patterns of self-identification – provide insight into how they conceive and conceptualise their own ethnic identity. As Dale Spender (1980) pointed out, language forms “our means of ordering, classifying and manipulating the world”, and helps form the

² Such theories have a growing legitimacy: in 2019, Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orbán stated at a ‘demography summit’ attended by former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott that “there are political forces in Europe who want a replacement of population for ideological or other reasons”. Abbott praised Orbán for having “the political courage to defy political correctness” and said dying populations were the biggest threat to western civilisation (Walker, 2019).

³ It is projected to decline still further, to 66 percent by 2038 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016).

limits of our reality (p. 3). How individuals are counted is immensely revealing: identifying one way necessarily means not identifying in another.

This study focuses on the “relatively uncharted territory” of whiteness (Moreton-Robinson, 2005, p. 79) using Statistics New Zealand’s globally novel New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC) dataset (Didham, Nissen & Dobson, 2014). The NZLC links, using sophisticated data matching methodologies, records from adjacent national censuses (currently 1981-2013). It thus offers immense opportunity for research at the population level and across the life course. Here, it allows for examination of patterns of European identification over time, such as where members of this group have rejected the officially-sanctioned 'New Zealand European' categorisation in favour of other identities (such as ‘English’ or ‘New Zealander’). This thesis enhances understanding of majority identity formation and maintenance by tracking individual ethnic identification over time and in much finer granularity than previously possible.

Background

This background section locates the scope of this thesis within the literature. It provides a summary of ethnic and national identity, emphasising how these are social constructions at the macro level, even if they are experienced at the micro level in very real ways. This is followed by a broad discussion of census-taking and its role in constructing identity. Finally, a general description of European identity in New Zealand and how this group has been classified in census counts serves to historically and geographically contextualise the study.

Ethnic and national identities

Ethnic identities help to shape the sense of self of most people in the modern world. Kuhn and McPartland’s (1954) “Who-Am-I?”-test, widely used in social psychology, demonstrates the contemporary importance of ethnic or national identities. Asked to write a list of words or phrases describing themselves, people in western societies almost invariably list ethnic or national identity among their top five (Scott & Spencer, 1998, p. 428). With these categories tied to the

distribution of opportunities, resources, and power, ethnic categories are key variables in social science research and policy making - but as concepts they are notoriously hard to define. Different scholarly definitions emphasise different features (Hobsbawm, 1990; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996; Gellner, 1983; Yinger, 1994) and distinctions between the two are often blurred. Both are evolving and dynamic forms of identity (Brubaker, 1990; Nagel, 1994) but ethnic identities do differ from national identities in important ways.

Ethnic identity is a form of 'group-based belonging' as old as the historical record (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996, p. 3) and indicated by diverse terms, including race⁴, people, tribe, ancestry, and ethnic nationality (Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Morning, 2008). It conveys an account of origins, real or fictive, and usually emphasises common descent or ancestry (Hollinger, 1998). Ethnicity is multifaceted, but involves some shared sense of kinship, group solidarity, and common culture. The word has its roots in the Greek term *ethnos*, denoting "a large group of people bound together by the same manners, customs or other distinctive features" (Wan & Vanderwerf, 2009, p. 3).

Scholarship formerly conceived of these groups as biologically distinct 'races', a concept which emphasises genetic ties between groups (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998, p. 42). Today, scholarship recognises that these categories lack any genetic or indeed any objective core. They are fluid, situational and dynamic, negotiated and constructed in processes that are continually unfolding (Barth, 1969; Brubaker, 1990; Cornell & Hartmann, 2007; Nagel, 1994). Ethnic identity is a process, a strategy, or even a performance (McClean, 2012), and ethnic identities undergo constant processes of production and reproduction in response to social and historical forces. In Nagel's (1994) formulation, the

⁴ Ethnicity emphasises shared cultural values, beliefs, and practices and is the term used in this thesis, although race was the more commonly used term for much of the twentieth century. It emphasises physical appearance and has connotations of biological difference, but human societies have always been composed of shifting genetic composites and science has never produced any conclusive evidence of separate 'races' (Joireman, 2003).

origin, content and form of ethnicity reflect the creative choices of individuals and groups as they define themselves in ethnic ways...through the actions and designations of ethnic groups, their antagonists, political authorities, and economic interest groups, ethnic boundaries are erected dividing some populations and unifying others (p. 152).

Census ethnic questions and categories, as well as individual responses to census forms, may be understood as part of such ongoing processes of ethnic identity construction.

It is also important to note that ethnicity is implicated in both individual identities and wider inter-group relations. Ford and Harawa (2010) characterise ethnicity as a concept with two essential dimensions: an *attributional* dimension incorporating various group characteristics, including understandings of culture and ancestry; and a *relational* dimension, indexing a group's location within a social hierarchy (e.g., minority vs. majority status). This conceptualisation emphasises both the cultural boundaries between groups and the role ethnicity plays in power dynamics and social stratification. This relational aspect of ethnicity is especially evident in settler contexts such as Aotearoa New Zealand, where ethnically defined groups (Indigene, Settler, and Migrant) are enduring aspects of the socio-political context (Veracini, 2010), and Māori remain grossly overrepresented on nearly every indicator of economic disadvantage, social exclusion, and ill health (Anderson et al., 2016).

The degree to which individuals identify or affiliate with ethnic groups is not constant. This aspect of identity may be more or less a priority in different periods or places, and in a given context the degree of ethnic consciousness may differ between groups and individuals. For some, the importance or salience of ethnicity may depend largely on personal choice, while for others, especially those outside hegemonic groups, ethnic or racial identity is difficult to escape (Waters, 1990). In this vein, Nagel has argued how in the United States "European Americans and Black Americans represent two ends of an ethnic ascription continuum, in which Whites are always free to remember their ancestry and Blacks are never free to forget theirs" (1995, p. 949). Dominant groups seem to possess a wider range of options regarding their ethnic identification than do other ethnic groups (Waters, 1990).

In the early twentieth century, many scholars predicted a decline in the significance of ethnicity or race. Forces of modernity, rationality, and individual freedom were expected to eliminate such “primitive” ties, in favour of rational, achieved and secular *social* status (Gordon, 1964; Warner & Srole, 1945). Such predictions characterised the assimilationist theories of members of the Chicago School, like Park (1950), who argued that the ethnic relations of migrant groups in American society evolve from competition, towards accommodation and, eventually, assimilation. Universal declines in ethnic identity never eventuated, and, by the 1970s, a global ‘ethnic revival’ was underway (Fishman, 1985). Many people are “increasingly aware of their ethnic identity, actively searching for their ‘roots’” (Constantinou, 1989, p. 99). In New Zealand, as elsewhere, ethnicity remains an important social structural force shaping life chances and opportunities. As a vital demographic and social variable, collecting information about ethnic origin in the census is mandatory under the Statistics Act 1975.

National identities are more recent in origin to ethnic group ties and refer to bonds to a political community or state.⁵ Such state communities, geopolitical assemblages of citizens attached to a circumscribed territory, are ubiquitous in the modern world (Anderson, 1991; Brubaker, 1990; Gellner, 1983). But they have existed in their current form only in the past few centuries, traced in origin by many scholars to European peace treaties signed at Westphalia in 1648 (Farr, 2005). The concept of individual states, and state sovereignty, typically emerged before notions of ‘national’ group identity or belonging (Gellner, 1983). Famously, after the political unification of Italy Massimo d’Azeglio observed that “we have made Italy, now we have to make Italians” (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 44). This dictum illustrates the ultimately constructed nature of national identity, which Benedict Anderson (1991) has described as an ‘imagined community’, because even though most members will never know, meet or even hear of their

⁵ At least in Western European countries and the ‘New World’. In Eastern Europe, nationality is more often understood as an ethnolinguistic concept – as early as nineteenth century statistical congresses, while French statisticians were promoting the idea of the nation as a political community, delegates from Eastern Europe were pushing for an understanding of nation as a not necessarily politically coterminous cultural/linguistic community, a stance more grounded in the fragmented geopolitical realities of Eastern Europe (Arel, 2002).

compatriots, “in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p. 7). This aspect is also true of ethnic identities.

As a rallying point and source of identity, nationality is powerful, if complicated. As Jan Morris (2001) described it, there is “nothing organic to conceptions of nationhood... [it can be] changed by the stroke of a notary’s pen, you can enjoy two nationalities at the same time or find your nationality altered for you, overnight, by statesmen far away” (p. 122). Much of the literature emphasises the tendency for national identities to be homogenising in nature, coalescing in individual and collective consciousness around (at least perceived) shared characteristics or attributes (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1992). These cultural aspects of nationality also hint at the practical overlap between nationality and ethnicity.

While nationality is multifaceted, and includes civic or legal components, it is the ethnic features of national identity which are of particular interest in this study. David Pearson’s definition of a nation as a “politicised ethnic group” (1990, p. 217) makes clear the cultural element of a nation; while Brubaker (1990) has described cultural (ethnic) and political (national) forms of belonging as not independent or even analytically distinct dimensions, but rather differing expressions of ‘deeply-rooted’ self-understanding. Although the era of the ethnically homogeneous nation state is (if it ever existed) over, notions of nationality often remain tied to ethnicity, and ethnic or racial identities fundamentally influence levels of social and political inclusion within one’s nation-state (Elrick & Schwartzman, 2015). In New Zealand, Sibley and Liu (2007) found people showed European, Māori and Asian facial photos were most likely to associate European faces with ‘New Zealand’ national symbols.

To summarise, both ethnicity and nationality have been the subject of huge theoretical and descriptive discussion. There are clear overlaps between the two: both are forms of collective identity, which as British sociologist Jeffrey Weeks argued, are about belonging and at their “most basic, give you a sense of personal location, the core of your individuality” (1990, p. 88). Similarly, Manuel Castells suggests in his book *The Power of Identity* (1997) that people seek identity as a

source of meaning and experience, whether through history, geography, religion, or collective memory. Both ethnicity and nationality are tied to the distribution of opportunities, resources and power in modern societies. They are given important expression in official census counts.

Census counts and identity

National population censuses, used to provide a ‘factual’ basis for decision making at all levels, are a hallmark of modern statehood (Whitby, 2020). The information they collect is often treated as objective and rational, but it is important to understand that the categories they collect are human constructs (Hindess, 1973, p. 40). This is certainly the case where censuses categorise people into ethnic or racial groups, as a growing number of studies have shown (Anderson, 1991; Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Morning, 2008; Rallu, Piché & Simon, 2006; Rodríguez, 2000). These studies, from a range of disciplinary perspectives and national contexts, have followed the broader theoretical reimagining of ethnicities as constantly constructed and reconstructed entities. They show how modern censuses are a key site for crafting group boundaries and delineating ethnic groups.

Censuses (including the conceptual framing of the question and any answer categories provided) shape perceptions of identity groups, and what they can be by providing an ethnic ‘technology’ – a shared language and understanding of ethnicity imbued with the imprimatur of the state (Arel, 2002; Scott, 1998). Censuses do more than reflect social reality: they participate in the discursive construction of this reality. Counts take on an objective existence as social facts, informing decision making, with recognition in counts affording symbolic and material benefits not given to unlisted groups (Skerry, 2000). Bowker and Leigh Star (1999) point out that integrated systems of knowledge, especially when mobilised by powerful authorities (such as in the census), work by changing the world such that the system’s description of reality becomes true. As Szreter, Sholkamy and Dharmaligam put it, “representing is intervening; categories impose on contexts” (2004, p. 84).

Modern censuses have their origins in the nineteenth century, and the approaches they have taken to counting racial or ethnic groups have changed over time. Classifying by race in censuses evolved in the context of colonies – it is still considered exclusionary and avoided in many Western European countries (Simon, 2008). In colonies, censuses and other demographic practices were important tools to define colonial subjects as ‘Others’ subjugated to European control and agendas for ‘improvement’ (Anderson, 1991; Cordell, Ittmann, & Maddox, 2010). For most countries, this motivation has been gradually supplanted by one of ethnic data collection for measuring comparative outcomes for disadvantaged groups. Ethnic data is generally collected today to measure disparities and for devising and measuring the progress of policy interventions aimed at reducing them (Pool, 1991; Simon, 2008). For example, the United Kingdom, which had studiously avoided such questions in the past, asked its first census question on ethnicity in 1991; a result of growing pressure to measure minority outcomes (Ballard, 1997).

A similar shift has occurred in New Zealand, where until well into the twentieth century racial data collection tended to reflect two identifiably colonial concerns (Brown, 1983; Kukutai, 2012). The first was measuring the progressive integration of Māori – censuses asked for proportions of descent for those of mixed race and census reports explicitly quantified the degree to which the Māori population was progressively being ‘absorbed’ into the European race⁶. The second was a colonial impulse to limit the settlement of New Zealand by non-Europeans, and especially Asians: a separate ‘race alien’ report was prepared for each census from 1916 to 1966, interrogating these populations in great detail (Nachowitz, 2019). While these betray the colonial origins of local data, this type of data collection has evolved over time into the ethnic group and Māori descent questions which are used today, and collected ostensibly for purposes of ethnic-equity and antidiscrimination (Cormack & McLeod, 2010).

⁶ Published reports from the 1951 and 1956 censuses, for example, included tables measuring Māori blood quantum in extraordinary detail, including categorising Māori children in Auckland from Māori full-blood to one-eighth Māori (Kukutai, 2012, p. 38).

Tied to these shifts in the underlying justification for ethnic data collection has been a global shift in the “locus of power” when classifying and counting groups (Kertzer & Arel, 2002). Today ethnic actors *themselves* exert influence over the way they are enumerated, especially as countries have adopted ethnic self-identification, as opposed to identities being assigned by enumerators (Omi, 1997; Prewitt, 2013). This aligns with a growing recognition that ethnic categories are not biological and indeed may shift over time. In addition to self-identification, Ann Morning (2008) found in a global survey of census questionnaires that countries counting by race/ethnicity were increasingly allowing write-in responses, and/or two or more ethnic groups to be indicated – approaches recommended by the United Nations (United Nations, 2017). Via political lobbying and contestation ethnic groups themselves are exerting a greater influence on categorisation than previously in many national contexts (Kertzer & Arel, 2002). With lessening top-down/statist control and more ‘bottom-up’ influences, individual psychological processes are arguably playing a growing role in census counts.

New Zealand was one of the earliest countries to undergo such shifts (Didham, 2017). From the 1980s, censuses began to categorise ethnicity via cultural affiliation, rather than through reference to traditional biological criteria of race/descent (Morning, 2008; Rallu, Piché & Simon, 2006). Since then, several reviews of ethnic statistics have revealed debate and controversy surrounding official categories and the appropriate ethnic descriptors, but while the politics of ethnic counting and classification is usually understood as the domain of minority groups (Kukutai & Didham, 2012), in New Zealand the group for whom census counts have proved the most controversial has undoubtedly been the European, majority group.

New Zealand European identity and census counts

The above discussion serves to contextualise this study in terms of the broader literature on ethnicity and census ethnic counting. It is also appropriate here (without reifying the category) to chart how the local ‘European’ ethnic group has

been defined or understood, and how this group has been ‘made legible’ in census counts.

By the time European explorers began visiting regularly from the late 1700s, the islands of New Zealand had long been settled by Māori – an Indigenous people with origins elsewhere in Polynesia (Howe, 2003; Thompson, 2019). Explorers were soon followed by more permanent European visitors: whalers, sealers, traders and missionaries. Organised settlement companies were founded, and the number of European settlers continued to grow. By 1840, Great Britain was seeking sovereignty, and the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi was signed with many local rangatira (Orange, 1987). New Zealand became a British colony, at least in the British understanding, and the ‘Natives’ British subjects (Orange, 1987). Rapid settlement meant that by 1858 settlers outnumbered Māori, the population of whom had declined sharply due to European diseases and poverty tied to the rapid loss of land (Pool, 1991; Pool 2016; Pool & Kukutai, 2018).

Tajfel (1981) has pointed out how all identity categories are formed and expressed under specific historical, cultural and ideological conditions. Settlers in New Zealand had origins across Europe but were predominantly from Britain and Ireland.⁷ Goldsmith (2012) has argued how, with the obvious and clear alterity⁸ provided by Indigenous Māori, they constituted a discrete group practically from the outset⁹, with perhaps the key ethnic boundary marker being their shared settler colonial position and privilege. From the inaugural 1851 census ‘European’ was the group name used for them. This group, while proclaiming the country had the ‘best race relations in the world’, rapidly came to dominate politically,

⁷ A larger percentage than any other British colony: at the start of World War Two, more than 96 percent of non-Māori New Zealanders were of British ‘extraction’, according to Brooking and Rabel (1995, p. 34).

⁸ Barth’s (1969) conceptualisation of ethnic group building emphasises the boundaries or alterity between groups. Edward Said (1978) argued more forcefully how the development of specific identities requires differing or competing alter egos.

⁹ Given factors such as the shared experience relative to the existing Indigenous population, the harsh struggle to survive in an unfamiliar landscape, the shared experience of immigration, and the lack of class barriers compared to home countries. A homogeneity of whiteness came to exist throughout the British Empire (Moreton-Robinson, 2014).

economically, and culturally, while Māori for the most part were relegated to rural areas and unskilled occupations (Walker, 1990).

Europeans in New Zealand tended, until well into the twentieth century, to identify in national and ethnic senses as British (Belich, 1996; Phillips & Hearn, 2008; Sinclair 1986). Indeed, the generalised attachment to Britain by settlers in New Zealand seems to have eclipsed the more parochial loyalties of even native British themselves: nineteenth century politician William Pember Reeves claimed that New Zealanders were British “in a sense in which the inhabitants of the British Islands scarcely are” (quoted in Sinclair, 1986, p. 87). Jan Morris (1978) described New Zealand as an offshore British farm (even in the 1960s 70 percent of all local exports went to the ‘Mother Country’) and argued that New Zealand was always the “most thoroughly British” of all its dominions. Economic ties magnified the attachment European New Zealanders felt to Britain.

Many authors have argued however how this Anglo-European monoculturalism came to be challenged by the 1980s (Belich, 2001; Pearson, 2002, p. 1004; Spoonley, 2015; Sinclair, 1986). European New Zealanders were shocked in 1961, when ‘mother Britain’ announced it was to join the European Economic Community, while World War Two had earlier made it clear Britain could no longer guarantee New Zealand security. These lessening economic and foreign policy ties undoubtedly played a role in diminishing the traditional imperial and local British identity of New Zealand Europeans (Pearson, 2002, p. 1004). Plus, Māori political activism and cultural revitalisation and the global civil-rights movement also meant representations of European New Zealanders as ‘pioneers’ or ‘settlers’, once a strong mythological bedrock, are less and less tenable. If identity for European settlers was once stable, imperial, and British (Pearson, 2002), it now seems much less securely moored. Identity has been a growing preoccupation, resulting in ongoing attempts at re-definition including debates around the preferred *ethnonym*, or label.

Various names for European New Zealanders are available. These exist in relation to one another, with each carrying a history and rhetoric of its own. ‘European’ was used in New Zealand censuses, seemingly unproblematically, to the 1950s

(Goldsmith, 2012), but was beginning to be questioned by the 1980s, as the various “processes of unsettlement” (Pearson, 2008) described above grew. Doubts around the suitability of European as a label date at least to the publication in 1983 of a Department of Statistics review of ethnic statistics (Brown, 1983). In 1988 another report noted a level of dissatisfaction with the term (given lessening ties to Europe) and considered different group names, namely Pākehā and New Zealander (Department of Statistics, 1988). In 1991 the English-language census category changed from European to the more localised New Zealand European, with the aim of providing a more acceptable response category for people with strong generational attachments to New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2004).

Of the other terms considered, Pākehā’ is a Māori colloquialism for non-Māori (especially Europeans), in common usage even before 1840, although its precise etymological origins or meaning is not necessarily clear (Baker, 1945; Spoonley, 1991; Williams, 1893). The 1980s and 1990s saw a flurry of writing exploring Pākehā identity (Bedggood, 1997; Bell, 1996; 2004; Jones, 1999; Keith, 1987; King, 1985; 1999; Nairn, 1986; Pearson & Sissons, 1997; Spoonley, 1991¹⁰). In general terms, this work characterised Pākehā as a signifier of cultural difference as well as a political commitment, an identity unique to New Zealand that indicates (or should indicate) a commitment to bi-culturalism and the Treaty of Waitangi.¹¹ Many European New Zealanders, though, have a visceral dislike of the label Pākehā: some simply prefer other labels, and some reject it on the basis it is a te reo Māori word (Bell, 1996; Liu, 2005). The 1996 census replaced ‘New Zealand European’ with ‘New Zealand European *or* Pakeha’. Marcetic (2018) has recounted the resulting outrage, with many people crossing the word out or

¹⁰ Avoiding here detailed discussion of historian Michael King’s ‘ethnic autobiographies’ *Being Pakeha* (1985), and *Being Pakeha Now* (1999), which made the argument that “Pakeha New Zealanders who are committed to this land and its people are no less ‘Indigenous’ than Māori” (1999, p. 235). Such claims do a particular kind of work, as ultimately “a continuation of, rather than break with, Pākehā practices of domination” (Bell, 2004, p. 135).

¹¹ There is some empirical evidence that this is indeed the case. Sibley, Houkamau and Hovard (2011) found, in a representative national survey, that New Zealanders of European descent who preferred the term Pākehā expressed more positive attitudes toward Māori than those who preferred the terms New Zealand European, New Zealander, or Kiwi. Just 9.8 percent of New Zealanders of European descent preferred this term, however.

complaining about its inclusion, and subsequent censuses have reverted to using New Zealand European by itself.¹²

The Review Committee of 1988 also considered the name New Zealander, which some submitters had argued was the most appropriate group label for local Europeans (Department of Statistics, 1988). ‘New Zealander’ could apply to any naturalised New Zealander regardless of ethnicity, and it has never been included as an ethnicity category on New Zealand census forms. It is, however, written-in (as an ‘other ethnicity’) in substantial numbers, by (predominantly) Europeans (Brown & Gray, 2009; Kukutai & Didham, 2012). With similar ‘Kiwi’ responses included, there were around 58,000 such responses in 1996, and 85,000 in 2001. After a viral email campaign prior to the 2006 census urged people to do so, 429,429 stated New Zealander – making this the country’s third-largest ethnic group (Cormack & Robson, 2010; Kukutai & Didham, 2012). Similar shifts were not seen in other data collections (Statistics New Zealand, 2007), and the 2013 Census saw a much smaller number of ‘New Zealanders’, around 66,000 (Didham, 2017).

Another episode related to European ethnic counts is worth discussing here. During the major 1988 Review Committee of Ethnic Statistics, Māori and migrant community groups expressed the view that the ‘European’ category was broad and majoritarian, while minority groups were enumerated in great detail.¹³ Submitters argued ethnic statistics were implicitly racist, used primarily to highlight failure rather than measure success (Department of Statistics, 1988, p. 35). Later the 1996 census included a separate tick-box for ‘other European’, which pointed to nested tick-boxes for ‘English’ ‘Dutch’ ‘Australian’ ‘Scottish’ ‘Irish’ and ‘Other’ (print your ethnic group). Interestingly, 260,805 *New Zealand-*

¹² Some European New Zealanders certainly do identify with the label Pākehā. In the 2001 census, 8,128 people recorded ‘Pakeha’ as a write-in ethnicity (Callister, 2004b). Marilyn Waring (2001) wrote that almost every Pākehā she knew had done so, arguing that “there’s something privileged and arrogant about refusing to embrace being called Pakeha, and a cowardice I smell there too” (p. 6). In the lead-up to the 2018 census an organised group, *Call Me Pākehā Please* argued for a Pākehā group option to be included in the ethnicity question (Tokalau, 2018).

¹³ Such as the 1950s census volumes categorising Māori children from full-blood to one-eighth Māori. References to fractions of descent were abandoned in New Zealand only from the 1986 census (Kukutai, 2012).

born respondents indicated one or more of these other European identities, nearly twice as many as were born in Britain or Ireland (Thomson, 1999). This tick-box was never again provided, but these responses are further evidence of ongoing contestation around identity and belonging in the settler majority population. Longitudinal census data means that these and other vagaries in European responses can be deeply interrogated in ways not previously possible.

Aims and Scope

If the census forms a key site in the ongoing social and political construction of ethnicity, census counts offer insight into identity at an aggregate, whole-population level at which they are not typically studied (Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Omi, 1997). This has been borne out locally, with growing questions around identity and belonging for New Zealand Europeans playing out keenly in census counts (Bell, 1996; Kukutai & Didham, 2012). Drawing on insights from critical demography (Horton, 1999; Sáenz, Embrick & Rodríguez, 2015; Simon, 2005; 2008; Szreter, Sholkamy & Dharmaligam, 2004) and theories of ethnic constructionism (Barth, 1969; Brubaker, 1990; Cornell & Hartmann, 2007) and settler colonial studies (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006), this thesis examines patterns in New Zealand European identification in five national censuses held between 1991 and 2013. It focuses on the following main research questions:

- How stable or otherwise is ethnic identification for European New Zealanders? How does this compare to other ethnic groups?
- What characteristics are associated with Europeans recording a ‘New Zealander’ ethnicity?
- What does this say about dominant/settler identity in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Exploring these will shed light on dynamics of ethnic identity and identification for New Zealand’s majority grouping for whom such questions are little asked (Matthewman, 2017). As early as 1991, Spoonley was noting the relative lack of attention paid to ‘New Zealand European’ identity, arguing that apart from autobiographical material, and linguistic studies of New Zealand European vernacular, the contours of New Zealand European identity were relatively

unknown: “very little work has been done on what it means to be [New Zealand European], and the lack of empirical work or even a sustained debate means that a conclusive answer cannot be offered” (Spoonley, 1991, p. 166). This gap in the literature remains, and although this work does not explicitly seek to answer *what is* New Zealand European, it takes a sustained focus on European identification – in the context of social, political, and demographic changes that have seen this and other white majorities increasingly ask “who are we?” and “where are we going?”.

Thesis structure

This thesis comprises six chapters. The current chapter sets the scene for this research, makes clear its aims and scope, and establishes the structure of the study. It is followed by Chapter 2, which provides a theoretical background for the thesis, including the critical whiteness and settler colonial studies literatures that have informed this investigation of European identity. It also provides a descriptive analysis of how Europeans have been counted and have identified themselves in local census collections. In considering relevant knowledge, both theoretical and empirical, it serves to contextualise this study within the wider literature. This chapter was originally published as an article in *New Zealand Sociology*.

Chapter 3 discusses the New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC) data used in the subsequent empirical chapters. It details the development of the NZLC as an integrated dataset, via automated data linkage of census records, and the characteristics and limitations of the resulting linked longitudinal census dataset.

Chapter 4 uses NZLC data to measure stability and change in ethnic response in the ‘European’ ethnic group, for four linked census pairs covering five censuses: 1991-1996; 1996-2001; 2001-2006; and 2006-2013. It shows how European affiliation is usually more stable than that of other ethnic groups, and posits that this relates to both how ‘European’ has been historically conceptualised (as a broad amalgam of diverse origins, emphasising White settler dominance) as well as lesser inter-ethnic partnering amongst majority groups due to the availability of potential partners of the same ethnicity. The chapter also provides a more detailed

analysis of ‘Other European’ responses in 1996 and ‘New Zealander’ responses in 2006, situating these in the longitudinal trajectory of ethnic affiliations. This chapter has been accepted for publication in *Journal of Population Research* (JPR).

Chapter 5 is concerned with the underlying meaning or identity claim of New Zealander ethnicity for the majority group. It uses NZLC data to create a panel of 1,544,583 Europeans recorded in the 2001 census, of whom 235,071 ‘heeded the call’ and indicated New Zealander ethnicity in 2006. Using logistic regression analysis with indicating New Zealander as the dependent variable, it tests competing hypotheses around the meaning of a New Zealander identity claim: as a liberalising, localised or ‘post-ethnic’ identity, or an example of an impulse amongst the majority toward dominance and exclusion. The characteristics that correlated with indicating this identity, including being male, New Zealand-born, living in an area with a high European population, living in a solely European household, and being in the middle age range, each seem to support the second explanation. The implications for local majority identity and belonging are discussed. This work was co-authored with Dr Tahu Kukutai at the University of Waikato and Dr Avril Bell at the University of Auckland and has been submitted to the journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the study, summarising the main findings, and outlining the broader contribution of this work within existing scholarship; it also offers suggestions for further research.

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Measuring the majority: Counting Europeans in the New Zealand Census¹⁴

While a growing number of studies have explored ethnic enumeration in national population censuses, only a few have focused on counting majority groups.

Always a fraught undertaking, in New Zealand it is for this group—the ‘European’ majority—that such counts are most contested. Debates swirl around the group’s most appropriate name and some members have at times approached the New Zealand Census question in telling ways, preferring ‘New Zealander’ or ‘English’, ‘Scottish’, ‘Irish’ or other European groups to the official ‘New Zealand European’ descriptor. This article explores how New Zealand’s majority population has been counted (and counted themselves) in these critically important population counts.

Introduction

In March 2018, in the lead-up to New Zealand’s 34th national population census, a group of concerned New Zealanders started a campaign for ‘Pākehā’ [a Māori term for European New Zealander] to be included as an ethnic response category (Tokalau, 2018). Campaigning with the slogan ‘Call Me Pākehā Please’, this group wanted this term to replace, or supplement, the existing ‘New Zealand European’ identifier. Pākehā had featured in the New Zealand Census only once, in 1996, in the category ‘New Zealand European or Pakeha’. An embattled Statistics New Zealand had been forced to remove it before the following census after many crossed the word out or complained about its inclusion (Marcetic, 2018). Meanwhile, some have sought the inclusion of ‘New Zealander’ as a census ethnic category. A decision by Statistics New Zealand not to do so for the 2006 census was followed by a public campaign suggesting people write it in (as

¹⁴ This chapter was previously published as Broman, P. (2018). Measuring the majority: Counting Europeans in the New Zealand Census. *New Zealand Sociology*, 33(3), 83-107. It is reproduced here verbatim.

an ‘Other’ ethnicity). Some 429,429 respondents did so; the majority of whom, research has shown, were of European descent (Brown & Gray, 2009; Kukutai & Didham, 2009). Currently, Statistics New Zealand (2017) adopts a four-tier ethnic classification¹⁵ which includes ‘European’ as a top-tier ‘level one’ category, separated into various European groups (including New Zealand European) at lower levels. ‘New Zealander’ responses are currently coded as such at lower levels but aggregate to the ‘Other ethnicity’ category at level one.

These terminological debates are symbolic of far more wide-ranging questions regarding the identity, or the place in society, of New Zealanders of a European settler background. Pearson (2002) has argued that a lessening of ties with the United Kingdom has diminished the traditional local/imperial British identity of this group. Growing Māori politicisation of indigeneity and diversifying immigration flows have upset local European ethnic hegemony, prompting further revaluation of identity and legitimating myths (Spoonley, 2015). With naming never innocent (see Bell, 1996), the contested labels for this group each carry their own rhetoric and assumptions. All involve some form of identity positioning within an increasingly diverse New Zealand.

That such debates should come to the fore in these national population counts is not surprising. Censuses give state-enshrined form to the (ultimately imagined) groups that they recognise and those seeking political power or economic resources routinely invoke the counts they produce. A growing number of studies (Anderson, 1991; Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Kukutai & Thompson, 2015; Rallu, Piché & Simon, 2006) have examined ethnic counting in particular times and places, showing them to be socially constructed, ideologically revealing and inherently political. This understanding, of course, contrasts with the popular view of such counts as detached and impartial snapshots of society.

¹⁵ Individual ethnic responses are classified at four levels, with the most detailed level-four responses collapsed into increasingly simple higher-level categories. At the broadest level-one classification, responses are classified as European, Māori, Asian, Pacific, MELAA (Middle Eastern, Latin American or African) or Other.

For the most part, existing studies of census ethnic counting have focused on the experiences of minority ethnic groups. In New Zealand, however, it is majority group counts—those of settler Europeans—that have been most publicly contentious and bureaucratically vexing. Debates centre on the most appropriate term to describe this group, and in various censuses a considerable number of people have rejected the official ‘New Zealand European’ category in favour of other labels. Although ethnic belonging is complex, debates surrounding the official categorisation of New Zealand Europeans, and how this group has sought to categorise and classify themselves, offer telling insights into the increasingly uncertain ethnic identity and sense-of-self of this group. To ground this investigation conceptually, the following section begins with a discussion of majority group identity from the perspective of two related theories: critical whiteness and settler colonial studies.

Theorising settler majorities

As Tajfel (1981) points out, all identity categories are ultimately formed and expressed under specific historical, cultural and ideological conditions. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, settler colonialism is central to these conditions, with settler majority identity tied to the twin ‘colonial privileges’ of (Indigenous) dispossession and race. Critical whiteness and settler colonial studies are two related (if rarely synthesised) theoretical paradigms that offer much for understanding how these privileges operate (Terruhn, 2015). As Macoun and Strakosch (2013, p. 432) have argued

Critical whiteness approaches identify the role that race privilege plays in shaping White subjectivity, and demonstrate that this racialization operates as a crucial set of political and epistemological structures. Settler colonial theory ... contribute[s] to these critical conversations by identifying the explicit political interests and motivations that drive processes of racialization and colonization.

In seeking to understand how New Zealand’s ‘settler majority’—or European population—has been conceptualised and counted, it is useful to briefly discuss both perspectives.

Critical whiteness studies is a growing area of inquiry centred in the United States (US) and involves attempting to articulate and critically analyse what it means to be 'white' as a dominant identity (see, for example, Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993; McIntosh, 1988; Montag, 1997). A central tenet is that whiteness grants its subjects unearned social privileges and that it does so while remaining 'invisible'. As McIntosh (1988, p. 10) wrote in a seminal paper, whiteness proffers a "weightless backpack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks" unavailable to other races. The other key thrust of this literature relates to how whiteness at the same time manages to "secure its dominance by seeming not to be anything in particular" (Dyer, 1997, p. 44). In this vein, Doane (1997) described dominant identities as 'hidden', arguing that majority influence over institutions such as schools, law and the media means these groups' preferences and standards are seen as natural, objective, and innate. This results in an often blurred distinction between national identities and the ethnic identity of the dominant group.

Settler colonial studies is an equally relevant field that is gaining growing currency in the study of identity and intercultural relations across 'settler' societies, including New Zealand (Bell, 2014; Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Veracini, 2010). This perspective was born of scholarship in Native and Indigenous studies (Kauanui, 2016). It approaches settler colonialism as a specific colonial form, characterised by Indigenous dispossession and displacement to create co-ethnic or co-religious settler states (Veracini, 2010). Wolfe (1999, p. 163) famously described colonialism in these contexts as "a structure, not an event", highlighting how colonialism here is an ongoing process. A vital contribution of settler colonial studies lies in its attention not only to the colonial history of settler states (such as New Zealand) but also to the dogged persistence of colonial processes in their systems and institutions (Morgensen, 2011). This article argues that such ongoing colonial processes can be seen as a critical site of ethnic contestation in official statistics-taking.

From the perspective of settler colonial studies, among the settler peoples of Australasia and North America narratives of nationhood, identity and belonging

are underpinned by a unique set of ideas and values—what Bell (2014) terms a ‘settler imaginary’. Central to this settler mode of identity is a preoccupation with belonging (Barker, 2012; Veracini, 2010). Nationalism, of course, emphasises one specific ‘people’ as authentic (and sovereign) in the nation-state, so the pursuit of settler homelands on Indigenous land gives rise to a unique dynamic where settler actors seek to replace Indigenous peoples as the ‘native’ population. Failure to do so, Barker (2012, p. 51) argues, would see settlers being “forever reminded of their status as foreigners and, more accurately, invaders, and exploiters.” Settler peoples adopt various rhetorical and political strategies in the pursuit of this naturalisation, which seeks culmination in the ‘end of settlement’; that is, the unqualified acceptance of settlers as the autochthonous (if not Indigenous) inhabitants of the settled political space.

Population counts are intrinsically linked to institutional power arrangements, which in New Zealand are synonymous with white settler colonialism. As the following sections will demonstrate, Europeans have been statistically represented—and have represented themselves—in ways that reflect the unique power relations, cultural logics, and subjectivities of a white settler majority.

Census counting and majority identity

Censuses are the flagship government effort to count and classify its population and are often presented as a matter of simple bureaucratic routine. In reality, census taking is an inherently politicised exercise, especially where it involves categorising communities by ethnicity or race. A growing number of studies have examined ethnic counting at particular times and places, demonstrating how censuses are implicated in the social construction of identity categories, expressing ‘official’ views and articulating state anxieties (see Anderson, 1991; Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Kukutai & Thompson, 2015; Rallu et al., 2006). Inclusion as a census category legitimises particular groups and is tied to group recognition, as well as rights and resource distribution (Rodríguez, 2000). Recognising this, groups increasingly lobby for their unique identities: “far from being a scientific exercise removed from the political fray, the census is more a political battleground where competing notions of ‘real’ identities, and therefore competing names to assign to categories, battle it out” (Kertzer & Arel, 2002, pp.

20–21, emphasis in original). The ‘prize’ here is a named census category, officially legitimising the ultimately imagined social group.

Literature on ethnic enumeration has tended to focus, implicitly or explicitly, on the definition and measurement of minority groups. This is hardly surprising, given how ethnic counts have historically been motivated by official desires to monitor and assess ‘Othered’ population groups. In New Zealand, early censuses placed much emphasis on monitoring non-European (especially Chinese) ‘race aliens’ and tracing the gradual absorption of Māori into settler society (Brown, 1983; Kukutai, 2012). Today, such counts are justified mainly because ethnic data is required to measure and address the comparative disadvantage of certain groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2009). Even this more benign approach emphasises counting minority groups of particular policy interest.

It was this environment that saw a separate ancestry question introduced in the 1980 US Census, as pressure grew from the “descendants of European immigrants to ensure that their origins were included as part of the American racial and ethnic tapestry” (Perez & Hirschman, 2009, p. 8). Studies utilising data from this open-ended ancestry question amongst white Americans have revealed interesting patterns. This group, despite considerable rates of intermarriage, has tended to respond with single ancestries when answering this question. Significant numbers claim an ‘American’ ancestry, most commonly in the South, either due to mixed or uncertain origins or as a political statement. Of note here also is the flux observed in white ancestry responses. While ‘English’ was the most common response in the 1980 Census, in the 1990 Census ‘German’ and ‘Irish’ were significantly more frequent (Lieberson & Waters, 1993).

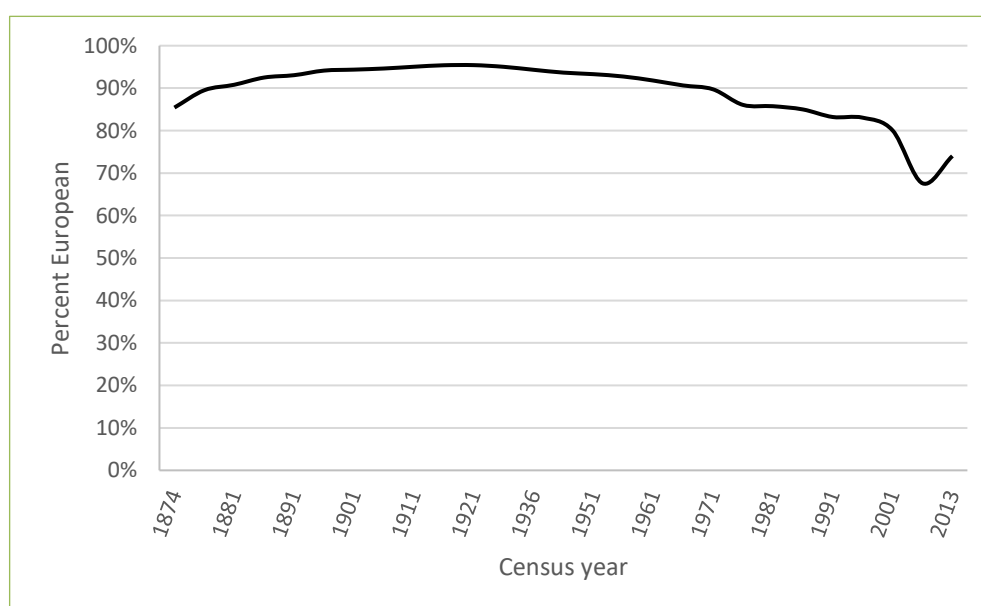
In general terms, such ethnic claims represent a perhaps growing tendency of white Americans to selectively remember ethnic origins. Alba (1990) argued that that in an environment where ethnicity is increasingly seen as a source of enrichment or uniqueness, these ancestry claims seem symbolically important, perhaps a counterbalance to a sense of lacking culture. An example of ‘symbolic ethnicity’ (Gans, 1979; 2017), these voluntary, personally-chosen ties to groups

such as Irish or Polish provide some degree of cultural ‘identity’ with little encompassing ethnic social structure (and thus few social costs). It is important to note here that such costless, voluntary affiliations are not available to non-whites, as Waters (1990) has pointed out.

New Zealand, European identity, and the census

If counting and classification remain understudied for majority groups, New Zealand and its European settler population offer an ideal context to help remedy this gap. The country’s British annexation in 1840 opened the door to rapid European settlement and settlers soon constituted a numerical majority. While this group maintains the local socio-political dominance typical of settler states, factors including non-European migration and declining relative birth rates have caused the European share of the population to decrease in recent decades, as shown in Figure 1. Weakening political, personal, and economic ties with Britain as well as a marked Māori cultural and political revitalisation have further disrupted traditional notions of settler identity. These transformations have, as Terruhn (2015) has articulated, increasingly prompted New Zealand’s majority group to reimagine its identity.

Figure 1: Europeans as a proportion of New Zealand’s total population, 1874–2013



Source: Statistics New Zealand. Census definitions, questions and classifications have varied; thus, this time series must be regarded as approximate.

Formal censuses were first undertaken little more than a decade after the Treaty of Waitangi formalised British colonisation. They initially excluded Māori—a clear indication, Rocha (2012) notes, that it was Europeans who counted in the nation-building process. Later, when questions regarding race were included, the categorisation used from the outset for settlers was ‘European’, this term seemingly the most logical within a (global) context of colonists from this part of the world engaging with Indigenous peoples (Goldsmith, 2012).¹⁶ In New Zealand usage, it has often blurred into a synonym of ‘British’ or even ‘English’ (Belich, 2001). However, ‘European’ is a useful ‘floating’ signifier. Over time, it has included many groups, akin to the category of ‘white’ in the US. It is sufficiently versatile to have been an answer category in censuses asking, at various times, respondents’ race, ethnic origin or ethnic group.

Nevertheless, local studies and reviews of ethnic classification reveal significant dissatisfaction with this ‘European’ label. Its suitability was being questioned as early as Brown’s (1983) review of ethnic statistics, and by 1988 a review committee was hearing public submissions against it. Submitters emphasised how New Zealand settlers had a unique culture established over generations and that links to Europe were of lessening importance (Department of Statistics, 1988). Some submitters preferred the name ‘Pākehā’. Though never institutionalised as a statistical category, during this period this term was attracting much interest in broader debates around settler identity (see, for example, Bell, 1996; King, 1985; Spoonley, 1988). Perceived by some commentators as demonstrating a sense of localised belonging and an engagement with settler-Māori biculturalism, it is an ethnonym that some members of the majority group support and others emphatically reject (Bell, 1996; Pearson & Sissons, 1997; Terruhn, 2015). After consideration, the 1988 review committee ultimately deemed it too contentious to serve as an effective statistical category (Department of Statistics, 1988), although it was later used in 1996. In the interest of longitudinal comparability, statistics agencies tend to be cautious and not readily inclined toward making changes to either questions or response categories (Lieberson, 1993).

¹⁶ Worth noting here is that the label ‘White’, prevalent historically especially in slave-owning states, has been exceedingly rare in New Zealand official usage (Goldsmith, 2012).

Another term that the 1988 review discussed was ‘New Zealander’, which some respondents had written in as their ethnic identity since at least the 1986 Census (Department of Statistics, 1988). ‘New Zealander’ had been used to denote Indigenous Māori for much of the eighteenth century but, by the end of the 1850s, this term was predominantly used to describe the settler population (Belich, 2001). The review committee considered this name on its merits but eventually decided that it confused ethnicity with nationality and was therefore not a suitable ethnic category (Department of Statistics, 1988). In their final report, the committee reluctantly suggested retaining the term ‘European’ while pointing out that “the non-universal acceptance of a term for the majority ethnic category of the population was a problem that would need to be resolved” (Department of Statistics, 1988, p. 36). The committee recommended that agencies and other interested parties continue to investigate alternative options for describing the local majority group.

This categorisation problem has not been resolved in the years since 1988. The hybrid term ‘New Zealand European’ was introduced in 1991 and has been used in subsequent censuses, in an apparent attempt to provide a category more acceptable to people feeling a stronger generational or ethnic attachment to New Zealand than to their European ancestry (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, p. 10). While this term may have addressed some criticisms of the ‘European’ label, subsequent censuses and reviews have continued to face questions about how best to categorise this group (Department of Statistics, 1993; Statistics New Zealand, 2002; 2009). In recent decades, this simmering disquiet has sometimes crystallised to affect census counts—occasions worth examining in greater detail.

‘Other European’ and the 1996 Census

The first of these case studies relates to the 1996 Census, where short-lived changes were made to the ethnic group question, with significant impacts on ‘European’ counts (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). In the course of the 1988 Review of Ethnic Statistics, representatives of minority groups had expressed concern to the committee that while the ‘European’ category covered the bulk of the population, ethnic minorities were counted in great detail, suggesting implicit

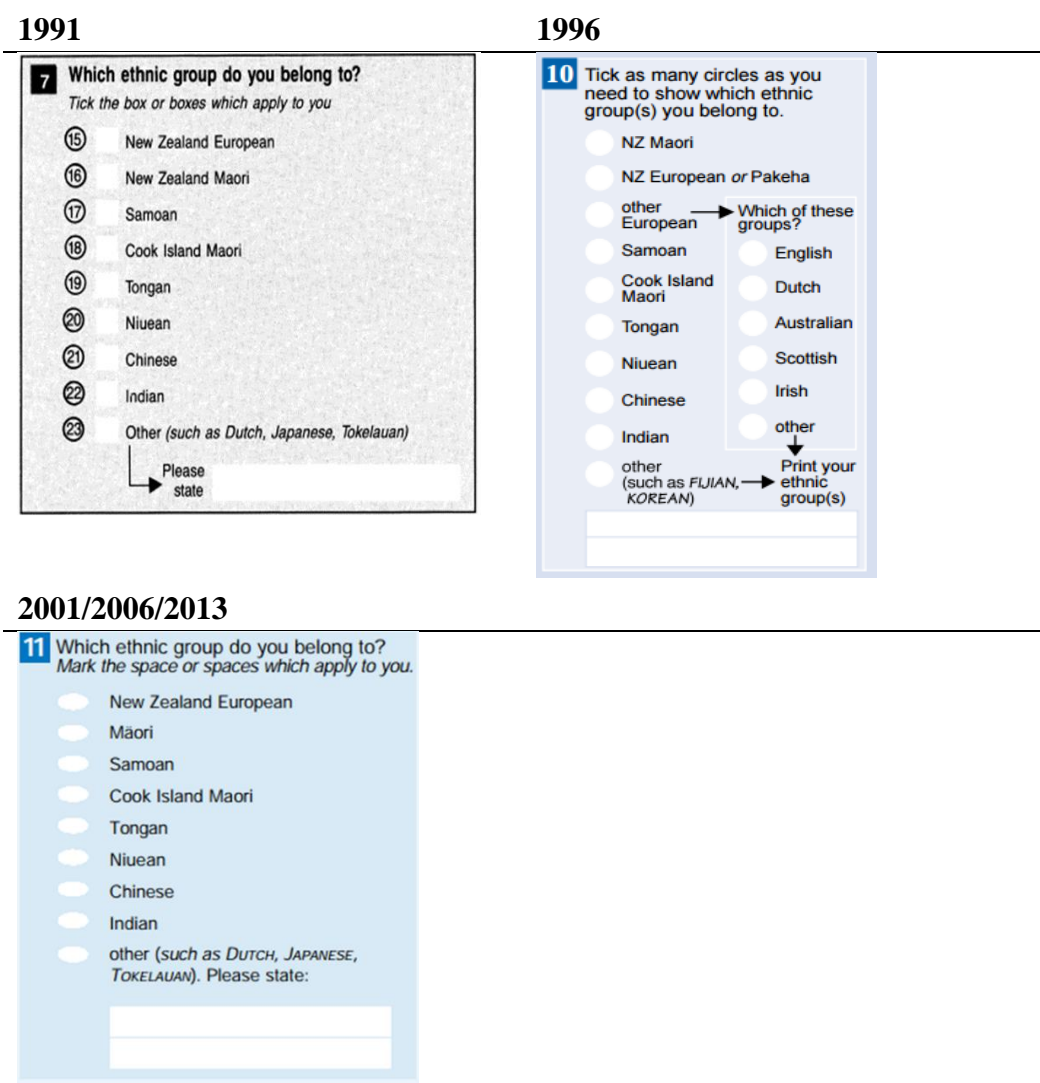
racism (Department of Statistics, 1988). This criticism was in addition to the dissatisfaction expressed by some group members with the ‘foreign’ term ‘European’. The 1991 Census saw the introduction of the hybrid term ‘New Zealand European’, and by 1993, when the Department of Statistics published the New Zealand statistical standard for ethnicity, it had decided that ‘New Zealand European/Pakeha’ was the most appropriate label:

New Zealand European/Pakeha is also seen as the term most suitable for inclusion as an ethnic response category in future censuses and survey questions. Combining the notions of ‘New Zealand European’ and ‘Pakeha’ provides more information for respondents, and may also cancel out negative reactions from two opposing viewpoints (Department of Statistics, 1993, p. 17).

This decision saw the ethnic group category name for Europeans change for the 1996 Census (facsimiles of questions are provided in Figure 2). The designation ‘New Zealand European’ was replaced with ‘New Zealand European or Pakeha’—the Māori term included on the form for the first time.¹⁷ In addition, given criticisms from the 1988 review that Europeans were not subject to the same level of scrutiny, the 1996 Census included a separate ‘Other European’ tick-box (Department of Statistics, 1988). This selection had further drop-down boxes for ‘English’, ‘Dutch’, ‘Australian’, ‘Scottish’, ‘Irish’ and ‘Other – print your ethnic group(s)’. ‘Other European’ already existed as a level-two ethnic category, intended to differentiate (settler) New Zealand Europeans from those with more direct affiliations to such European ethnic groups (Department of Statistics, 1993; Statistics New Zealand, 2009). However, no ‘Other European’ tick-box was provided previously. To be counted in these groups meant writing one of these groups on the census form. Finally, the wording of the ethnicity question also changed in 1996, making it more explicit that respondents could select more than one ethnic affiliation (see Lang, 2002; Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

¹⁷ Since the 1996 Census questionnaires have also been available in the Māori language, with ‘Pākehā’ the equivalent to ‘New Zealand European’.

Figure 2: New Zealand census ethnic group question, 1991, 1996, 2001-2013



Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2013.

Collectively, these question changes resulted in significant shifts in ethnic responses, particularly in the European ethnic category. In the official New Zealand ethnic classification, the level-one ‘European’ category is separated at level two into three groups: ‘New Zealand European’, ‘Other European’, and ‘European not further defined (NFD)’.¹⁸ Table 1 compares the relative proportions of the population recorded in each of these groups for the three censuses from 1991 to 2001.

¹⁸ This category includes not-otherwise-classifiable but identifiably European write-in responses such as ‘white’, ‘European’ or ‘British’. Such answers declined in 1996 when the additional specific ‘Other European’ categories were provided.

Table 1: European responses¹ to the census ethnic group question (Level Two), 1991–2001 censuses²

	1991	1996	2001
NZ European (or Pakeha; 1996) (% NZ born) ²	78.3 (91.3)	72.0 (94.6)	75.2 (90.4)
Other European (% NZ born)	5.3 (11.1)	16.5 (40.4)	5.3 (21.2)
European nfd (% NZ born)	0.4 (22.4)	0.1 (51.1)	0.7 (20.0)
Total European percent	83.2	83.1	80.1

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

¹ Census Usually Resident Population (URP) with one or more ‘European’ ethnic groups specified, either alone or in combination with some other ethnic group (e.g., Irish and Māori).

² As a percentage of URP with ethnicity specified at census y.

Especially notable here is the increase observed in ‘Other Europeans’ in 1996. While 5.3% of respondents indicated one of these groups in 1991, 16.5% did in 1996 (a further 395,670 responses) before the number reverted to the historical trend in 2001. Some proportion of this is due to the increase in the number of people identifying with multiple ethnicities. In 1996, 536,757 people (15.5% of the total) did so, compared to 166,158 (5.0%) in 1991 and 324,090 (9.0%) in 2001 (Kukutai & Callister, 2009). This is likely attributable to a) the change in question-wording making it clearer multiple groups were permissible, and b) the additional tick-boxes provided resonating with some who would not otherwise have written in these groups. Importantly, however, the concurrent decline observed in ‘New Zealand European or Pakeha’ responses in 1996, alongside the relative stability in the total European percentage, indicates that a significant number of people in the 1996 Census indicated an ‘Other European’ identity instead of ‘New Zealand European or Pakeha’. The relatively high proportion of ‘Other Europeans’ in 1996 who were born in New Zealand (40.4%) validates this suggestion.

Additional insights into this ‘Other European’ grouping can be gained by examining these responses at level four, the most detailed level of the official ethnic classification. Table 2 shows the number and percentage of New Zealand-born for the 10 most popular ‘Other European’ groups in 1996. Unsurprisingly, the top five responses were of those that had a specific tick-box included on the

form, which not coincidentally represent the largest origin countries in New Zealand's European settlement (Belich, 1996).¹⁹ Without considering the relative numbers of resident migrants who had been born in these countries, very different proportions of each group were New Zealand-born. For example, significantly larger percentages of those indicating Scottish (63.7%) and Irish (73.1%) ethnicity were New Zealand-born, when compared to English (35.7%) or Australian (25.6%).

Mostly operational, the substantial rise in 'Other European' responses in 1996 comprised significant numbers of people who would otherwise have identified as 'New Zealand European'. The many New Zealand-born people who selected various 'Other European' groups raise questions around whom such affiliations appealed to and why they would resonate more strongly (or equally to) a 'New Zealand European or Pakeha' designation.

Table 2: Top 10 Other European Responses¹ (Level Four), 1996 Census

Level four responses	N	% NZ born
English	281,895	35.7
Scottish	107,007	63.7
Irish	73,044	73.1
Australian	53,625	25.6
Dutch	47,571	46.8
German	13,410	41.5
Welsh	9,963	38.8
American	7,974	20.1
South African nec ²	6,762	5.5
French	5,889	63.4

¹ Census Usually Resident Population (URP) with level two Other European ethnicity specified, either alone or in combination with some other ethnic group (e.g., Irish and Māori).

² Not elsewhere classified.

'New Zealander' census responses

The second group of particular interest is those who responded to census ethnic group questions with 'New Zealander' or similar terms such as 'Kiwi'. Although never provided as a separate tick-box, such responses can be added in the 'Other ethnicity' write-in space on census forms. Having increased in frequency in recent

¹⁹ While the relatively low number of Welsh responses may surprise in this context, it is worth pointing out how settlers from Wales always constituted a small minority of British settlers to New Zealand, according to an analysis by Phillips and Hearn (2008).

decades, in 2005 Statistics New Zealand elected to change its approach toward them (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). While previously counted with New Zealand Europeans and included in the broader ‘European’ category, the new approach saw them counted as an independent ‘Other ethnicity’ ethnic group (Cormack & Robson, 2010). These changes drew media and political attention; in the lead-up to the following year’s Census, a viral ‘Declare Your Pride’ email urged people to write ‘New Zealander’ as their ethnic group (Middleton, 2006). This publicity had an obvious effect: the 429,429 ‘New Zealander’ responses were approximately triple the number officials had expected, making it the country’s third-largest ethnic group. Nevertheless, increases were not observed in other data collections (Statistics New Zealand, 2007), and the 2013 Census saw a much lower (if not inconsequential) ‘New Zealander’ response rate of 1.6% (Table 3).

Table 3: ‘New Zealander’ responses¹ to the ethnic group question, 1986–2013 censuses

Census year	N	% of total population²	% change
1986	20,313	0.6	–
1991	20,800	0.6	2.4
1996	58,600	1.7	181.7
2001	85,300	2.4	45.6
2006	429,429	11.1	403.4
2013	65,973	1.6	-84.6

Sources: Kukutai & Didham, 2009; Statistics New Zealand.

¹ Respondents who reported a New Zealander-type response (e.g., New Zealander, Kiwi) alone or in combination with some other ethnic group (e.g., New Zealander and New Zealand European).

² Of usually resident population with ethnicity stated at Census y.

The 2006 surge in ‘New Zealander’ responses received considerable attention. Cross-sectional analysis by Statistics New Zealand showed how compared to the overall population, those identifying as New Zealanders were of a higher median age (40.2 compared to 35.9 years), were more likely to be male (51.9% compared to 48.8%), were most often of New Zealand birth (93.4% compared to 77.1%) and were less likely to be of Māori descent. They had higher qualifications, smoked less, and were more likely to live in rural areas, especially in the South Island (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). The majority (87.1%) reported ‘New Zealander’ as their ethnicity alone, with fewer stating ‘New Zealander’ and ‘New Zealand European’ (6.5%) and fewer still choosing ‘New Zealander’ with any other ethnicities (Kukutai & Didham, 2009). Most importantly for this discussion, most

appear to have been members of the majority ethnic group. Probabilistic matching of 2001 and 2006 Census records suggests that 92% of new ‘New Zealander’ responses in 2006 were people who had identified exclusively as New Zealand European in 2001 (Brown & Gray, 2009).

Discussion and conclusion

The fact that ethnic categories, far from being fixed or natural, are fundamentally social creations is well established in the social sciences. Imbued with many meanings and associated with both group and individual qualities, ethnic identities defy complete definition. They are fluid and contingent, involving processes of boundary making and remaking, and of expansion and contraction—often for strategic or political reasons (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007; Nagel, 1996). This understanding of ethnicity as situational links it in New Zealand and similar contexts to the fundamental structures of settler colonialism. These countries’ ‘master narratives’ (Thobani, 2007) remain premised on sovereign and cultural settler hegemony and their local ethnic orders are deeply rooted in the conflictual and hierarchical relationships of settler colonialism. European identity in New Zealand cannot be separated from this group’s dominating position as a white settler majority.

This situational perspective aids in understanding the debates surrounding the enumeration of New Zealand Europeans. Recent times have seen questions raised around settler nature and identity, prompted by factors such as a declining British Empire and a Māori political and cultural renaissance. This ‘process of unsettlement’ (Pearson, 2008) has challenged a group identity formerly moored securely in British ethnic and civic culture, resulting in a settler lack of substance or ‘ontological unease’ (Bell, 2009). This unease is evident in debates surrounding European ethnic identity, as well as at the individual level, as group members respond to ethnicity questions. The ethnicity one specifies on a census form may seem inconsequential, but to name is to define: it can be an assertion of power or a rejection of others’ ability to impose identity. As Bell (1996, p. 146) notes, naming is never ‘innocent’: debates on various terms represent not only personal preferences but also “significant discursive struggles that both represent and constitute part of wider political struggles being waged in our society on the basis

of claims of cultural identity.” How individuals or groups choose or agitate to officially categorise themselves sheds light on how they conceive of their broader identity or ‘place’.

The timing of these debates is telling. ‘European’ classifications and counts seem not to have been problematic in New Zealand until the 1980s, when successive reviews of ethnic statistics revealed questions around existing approaches (Brown, 1983; Department of Statistics, 1988). Pearson (2008) has shown how this period was characterised by varied ‘processes of unsettlement’ for New Zealand’s European majority, including declining British ties and a Māori renaissance. Moreover, a global ethnic revival, beginning in the 1970s, was characterised by growing introspection and interest in ethnic identity (see Jacobson, 2006).

In the reformulated 1996 Census question, officials attempted to address these criticisms. Although the 1988 review concluded that policymakers had little use for such data (Department of Statistics, 1988), disaggregating the ‘European’ category into ‘Other European’ groups countered those questioning the level of detail used when counting minority ethnic groups compared to Europeans. Meanwhile, the inclusion of ‘Pakeha’ in the categorisation ‘New Zealand European or Pakeha’ was a clear response to the dissatisfaction some had expressed with the term ‘European’. Callister (2004) has pointed out how the separation of ‘New Zealand European’ and ‘Other European’ categories and the inclusion of ‘Pakeha’ collectively projected a sense that New Zealand Europeans are ‘native’ New Zealanders, distinct from others of European ancestry.

The growth in ‘Other European’ responses observed in the 1996 Census is undoubtedly associated with these official decisions to alter the format of the questionnaire. At least one commentator dismissed such responses as “frivolous” (Thomas, 2002, p. 3) but the significant numbers of New Zealand-born people who selected ‘Other European’ categories over ‘New Zealand European or Pakeha’ warrants some discussion. The exact drivers behind these responses are not known, but to some degree they seem to reflect a disavowal of the ethnonym Pakeha, the inclusion of which certainly drew adverse reactions from some

respondents, many of whom crossed it out or otherwise complained²⁰ (Marcetic, 2018; Statistics New Zealand, 2009). Other writers have noted the visceral objection some New Zealand Europeans have to the name Pākehā (Bell, 1996; Liu, 2005; Spoonley, 1988). This is revealing in itself, especially because for some this is due to it being a Māori term.

Beyond a mere rejection of the Pākehā label, the ethnic attachments that some New Zealand-born Europeans indicated towards ancestral countries of origin in ‘Other European’ responses seem to reflect a nascent settler-colonial quest for roots or belonging, that scholars were pointing to during the 1980s and 1990s. As historian Michael King (1985, p. 238) argued:

Like Maori, Pakeha people too are showing renewed interest in their cultures of origin. In the initial trauma of migration, links with old countries were often put aside by settlers anxious to re-establish their lives in a new land ... In an age of air travel, however, such [links] have become commonplace; and many Pakeha people have rediscovered that the experience of being an Irish New Zealander, or a Scottish New Zealander, has a different flavour from that of being a Polish or a Chinese New Zealander.

Nagel (1996) highlighted how ethnic affiliation can sometimes be based on non-rational considerations, such as the emotional fulfilment or recreational pleasure certain labels bestow (at least for non-‘Othered’ individuals with ethnic options). For some Europeans of New Zealand birth, the mere presence on the questionnaire of European ancestral groups may have triggered such reactions, helping to increase these responses as, arguably, a form of ‘symbolic ethnicity’ (Gans, 1979). Indeed, such categorisations offer a distinctive (if superficial) identity beyond the apparent ‘culturelessness’ (Perry, 2001) of majority whiteness.

It is worth noting here that New Zealand saw a significant increase in immigration from Asia in the early 1990s as a result of changes to immigration policy (Bedford, Ho & Lidgard, 2000). Public sentiment here was not necessarily supportive. Auckland newspapers published articles on the ‘Inv-Asian’, and groups formed opposing ‘non-traditional’ Asian migration (Spoonley, 2011).

²⁰ Though it is pertinent to note here that in the following 2001 Census 8,128 people wrote in a ‘Pakeha’ response (Callister, 2004).

During the 1996 General Election Winston Peters and the newly-formed New Zealand First Party ran a strong campaign focusing heavily on public concerns around foreign investment and immigration (Wong, 2016). These contemporary sentiments seem relevant, especially given the emphasis that ‘Other European’ ethnic responses from the same year place on traditional ties to Britain and Europe.

At first glance, emphasising such historical ties appears very different from writing-in ‘New Zealander’ ethnicity, as New Zealand-born Europeans have also done in large numbers—most notably in 2006. Several things can be said about these responses. Some regard them positively, as evidence of an emerging ethnicity reflecting a growing cultural attachment to New Zealand (see Callister, 2004). On the other hand, such ethnic ‘national naming’ (mostly) by settlers²¹ seems to reinforce long-standing claims by these groups to the hegemonic centre of these nations. As David Pearson stated as early as 1990 (Pearson, 1990, p. 217):

I would wager that most Pakeha would name themselves as New Zealanders. This is not because they do not have any semblance of an ethnic identity, nor that they are denuded of ‘culture’; it is because their view of the world is constructed within a system of dominance.

As the majority, settler Europeans retain the power to remain ethnically unmarked in New Zealand (Liu, 2005), and in this respect it is no surprise that this group has proved to be the most willing—or able—to proclaim themselves ‘just’ New Zealanders. The official treatment of ‘New Zealander’ responses as ‘New Zealand European’ (until the 2006 census) arguably demonstrates the pervasiveness of this view.

Arguably, New Zealander ethnic responses represent an assertion of local autochthony or belonging. In seeking power and resources, groups all over the world increasingly invoke such discourses, as Gressier (2014) argued. Claims to naturalisation are undoubtedly emphasised in the ‘Declare Your Pride’ email

²¹ Similar indicating of a ‘national’ ethnic identity, limited largely to members of the settler majority, has occurred in other countries, including Canada (Boyd, 1999; Lee & Edmonston, 2010) and New Caledonia (Broustet & Rivoilan, 2015).

pivotal to the increase in ‘New Zealander’ responses (cited in Middleton, 2006, n. p.):

Many of us ... consider that we, and our families, have been in New Zealand for long enough now that we should be able to claim that as who we are ... regardless of where our ancestors may have come from many centuries ago or what the colour of our skin or shape of our face might indicate.

When mobilised by the settler majority, these claims to a national identity serve to advance a goal, indicated by Veracini (2010) and others, for settler societies to supersede themselves and build a ‘post-settler’ polity. In Barker’s (2012) formulation, a principal aim of settler colonialism is the erasure of Indigenous forms and the disappearance of the Indigenous-Settler divide, so that settler peoples become naturalised as simply New Zealanders, Americans, Canadians or whichever identity label applies. Indeed, Veracini (2010, p. 46) cites New Zealander ethnic responses as an example of ‘transfer by settler indigenisation’, where settler communities seeking legitimacy claim an Indigenous status of their own. The emphasis placed in the ‘Declare Your Pride’ email on ancestral connection to place seems especially framed in terms intended to occupy Indigenous discursive space—and therefore challenge Indigenous alterity.

Ultimately, the fraught history of counting Europeans in New Zealand underscores the volatility of ethnicity as a socially constructed (rather than innate) characterisation. Fluidity in census responses shows various pathways for shifting affiliation, including changes in the survey instrument (question), and media attention/public campaigns. Identifying as a New Zealander has a somewhat different resonance from identifying as English, Scottish, or Irish but both have, at different times, appealed to a considerable number of New Zealand-born Europeans. Admittedly, the precise thought patterns driving these responses are not known, requiring qualitative work beyond the scope of this article (see, for example, Bell, 2009; Gray, Jaber & Anglem, 2013; Pearson & Sissons, 1997; Sibley, Hokaumau & Hoverd, 2011; Terruhn, 2015). Nevertheless, census processes remain clear indicators of ethnic sentiments, with the ‘flashpoint’ census debates and counts charted in this article reflecting ongoing processes of identity construction and negotiation for New Zealand’s settler population.

As Bates, Martin, DeMaio and de la Puente (1995) point out, names have a symbolic and emotional meaning, both for the people who identify themselves as members of a group and for others. This article has charted pivotal debates surrounding the labelling of New Zealand's majority group in the country's Census: contestation in the 1980s around the appropriateness of the term 'European'; the resulting inclusion of the term 'Pakeha' and 'Other European' groups in the 1996 Census (with telling effects); and the claiming by many in the mid-2000s of the national identifier, 'New Zealander'. Each arose in a specific period and structural environment, and it has certainly been possible to offer explanations for why particular categorisations resonated (or not) at certain times. What seems clear, and what the 'Call Me Pākehā Please' campaign of the 2018 Census (Tokalau, 2018) further demonstrates, is that the identity claims of New Zealand's majority group remain uncertain and unstable. While more central questions around the relative identity and broader place of this group remain unanswered, terminological debates surrounding New Zealand's majority group seem set to continue.

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- Chapter 3 -

Data: The New Zealand Longitudinal Census

The empirical analyses that comprise this study utilise data from the New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC) dataset, recently developed by Statistics New Zealand. While census data are cross-sectional, and census data files do not include personal identifiers, the NZLC is part of a growing body of work by National Statistics Offices that use complex record linkage methods to produce official statistics (Goeken et al., 2011; Winkler 1995; Winkler, 2013). In the case of the NZLC, complex methods are used to link individual census records across adjacent censuses, enabling analyses of individual- and population- level change over time. Importantly for this study, such methods allow for a record of stability or change in individual patterns of ethnic self-identification. This chapter NZLC dataset, summarising its historical background, the linking methodology adopted in its development, and some of the attendant limitations.

Background

The NZLC dataset used in this study is built upon a notion of record linkage that involves “bringing together information from two different records that are believed to belong to the same entity based on a set of identifiers or quasi-identifiers” (Shlomo, 2019, p. 47). Record linkage was first named in a 1946 article by Halbert Dunn, and a 1969 paper by Fellegi and Sunter has provided a theoretical foundation for the application of record linkage which has continued to guide and influence work in record linkage into the present. Since this early work, researchers in many different fields and contexts have sought to combine data from disparate datasets in ways that enhance the usefulness and applicability of the data.

Record matching is easiest where a high-quality and unique matching variable is available, but even where this is not the case, a number of variables can be compared for cross-linkage to occur. The field of record linkage has been significantly enhanced by advances in computer technology, which have allowed

for linkage to occur without manual review of records (Shlomo, 2019). This has included census counts, which (as cross-sectional data collections) do not allow for analysis of change over the life course or across generations (Ruggles, Fitch, & Roberts, 2018). With machine-readable census collections and electronic census microdata, it is now feasible to conduct linkage of census records, both between successive censuses and between censuses and other data sources, automatically.

In New Zealand, Statistics New Zealand has pursued record matching (which they generally describe as ‘data integration’) in various ways, beginning in the 1990s (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Linking between its own and other government (administrative) datasets offers clear benefits for the official statistics system: greater statistical coverage and depth, reduced response burden, and lower cost (Bycroft, 2013; Kukutai, Thompson & McMillan, 2015). The process does, however, raise policy and legal issues, including around privacy²². Maintaining full anonymity of records becomes increasingly difficult as further information is integrated into the dataset, for example. Data integration projects go through detailed feasibility or development stages, including a full privacy impact assessment (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a), with linking steps investigated and tested before full-scale integration occurs.

In terms of linking data from local censuses, some historic efforts predating the development of the NZLC are worth noting. The first is a group of inter-censal ethnic mobility studies carried out by Statistics New Zealand from the 1980s (Brown & Gray, 2009; Coope & Piesse, 2000; Moore, 1989). These studies sought to quantify broad rates of intercensal ethnic change, which became a topic of interest with the shift in emphasis to ethnic self-identification in censuses from the 1970s. The studies, which involved linking individual records between censuses to determine the consistency of ethnicity responses, were limited in scope to an analysis of change between consecutive censuses. They found varying rates of change, from around 4 percent between the years 1976-1981 to around 20

²² Such issues were evident following the 2018 New Zealand census, the shortcomings of which forced Statistics New Zealand to plug data gaps through extensive use of administrative data (2018 Census External Data Quality Panel, 2020).

percent in 2001-2006. The latter was largely a result of an unexpected increase in ‘New Zealander’ responses in the 2006 Census (Brown, Callister, Carter & Engler, 2010).

The second precursor to the NZLC was the New Zealand Census-Mortality and CancerTrends Study (NZCMS/CT), led by academics at the University of Otago’s Wellington School of Medicine (Blakely, Woodward, & Salmond, 2000; Hill, Atkinson, & Blakely, 2002). One focus of this longstanding research programme was on quantifying the incorrect reporting of ethnicity on death records (collected from funeral directors, these undercount Māori and Pacific people) by comparing the person’s preceding census record. The second investigated the role of socio-economic and other factors on mortality and cancer risk by linking death and cancer records to records from the preceding census. As the first time that New Zealand census records were linked to records from an external dataset, NZCMS/CT was an important precedent. More specifically, it demonstrated the clear research utility of linking census data.

It is also important to note Statistics New Zealand’s ongoing work developing the Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI). This platform, established from 2013 and building on a prototype established in 2011, is often touted as a world-leading example of record linkage and data integration (Atkinson & Blakely, 2017; Milne et al., 2019). It is an integrated database containing de-identified longitudinal microdata – with administrative data from across government and non-governmental agencies linked to a ‘spine’ created by linking birth and death, tax, and immigration data together (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Information in the IDI is de-identified, with access is only available to approved agencies and researchers in secure data labs. Outputs from labs require further confidentialising procedures (such as rounding cells and suppressing small counts) and must be checked before being released by Statistics New Zealand staff.

Building on these existing data linkage projects and various international precedents in data linkage of census records, in 2013 Statistics New Zealand carried out a feasibility study for building a historical longitudinal census dataset in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). This study considered whether linking census records over time could meet information needs and provide a

usable source of longitudinal information; detailed early trial linkage to demonstrate the viability of the approach, and considered possible risks including to privacy and confidentiality (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). After considering these factors, the agency concluded that census linkage had the potential to provide “a major new source for the analysis of intergenerational process and social outcomes” (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b, p. 33). It has since undertaken the census-to-census linking of the 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 and later the 2013 censuses, as the New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC).

NZLC linking methodology

Although a technical paper describing the methodology to create the NZLC has been published elsewhere (Didham, Nissen, & Dobson, 2014), it is useful to outline the process here. Census records were linked in pairs, with records from the more recent ‘source’ census (census t) compared against those from the previous ‘target’ census (census $t-1$) in a series of linking stages. These adjacent ‘census pairs’ were then themselves linked. Given the lack of personal identifiers in New Zealand census collections²³, linking required a record matching process, whereby individual records from each census dataset are compared or matched against those of the previous census to be reasonably certain these records represent the same person. Where this information is the same, they very likely represent the same person – and so the records are merged into record pairs, or ‘links’.

The NZLC matching process involved, first, defining those records available to be linked. For each census pair, a theoretically linkable population was thus constructed from the records from the source census (census t) available to be linked to the previous census (census $t-1$). Records with no chance of being linked because they related to people who were not born at the time of the previous census, or who were usually resident overseas, were excluded. They also excluded records from individuals who had not filled out a census form and had had a ‘substitute form’ created. These substitute records are created when Statistics New Zealand gets sufficient evidence during the census collection process that a person

²³ For a discussion of the political and privacy considerations in this regard, see Bycroft (2010).

exists or a dwelling is occupied but no corresponding form is received.²⁴ They include some imputed variable information, but these are not sufficient to link to the previous census.

For each census pair, the theoretical population available to be linked was between 80-90 percent of the usually resident population (URP) enumerated in each source census, although this number has notably declined over time. This decline is a result of various factors causing growth in the residual population that is not available for linking, especially an increase in the number of substitute forms created after changes in census collection methodology from 1996 onward²⁵ and, especially, increases in intercensal immigration and return migration in New Zealand over the period of interest (for a summary, refer to the previous chapter). Those not born at the time of the previous census have had little effect on the decline in the theoretical population as a percentage of the URP, as the size of the population aged four years or younger has remained fairly stable (Didham, Nissen, & Dobson, 2014).

Record linking of the records of those included in these theoretical populations to records from the previous census was undertaken in a multi-staged process, as shown in Figure 3. The first involved *deterministic* linking of eligible records. Deterministic linkage, in the parlance of record matching, refers to a process whereby separate records are compared to determine whether a given set of identifiers or variables from both records match. When two records match exactly on all of these ‘blocking’ variables and no other pair matches on the same set of values, the pair is considered a link (Dusetzina et al., 2014). Deterministic matching requires that the blocking variables used are collected and recorded consistently across various records and that they are subject to little change over time (Winkler, 1995). As the various matching variables need to agree exactly to be considered a correct match, deterministic data matching is considered a reliable determinant of matches, but it is important to note some limitations. In particular, using blocking variables that are not especially discriminative or that have missing values or coding errors means that deterministic linkage will result in a

²⁴ For example, 4.7 percent of the 2013 Census Usually Resident Population (URP) were counted via a substitute individual record (Kukutai & Cormack, 2018).

²⁵ See Kukutai and Cormack (2018), Table 1.

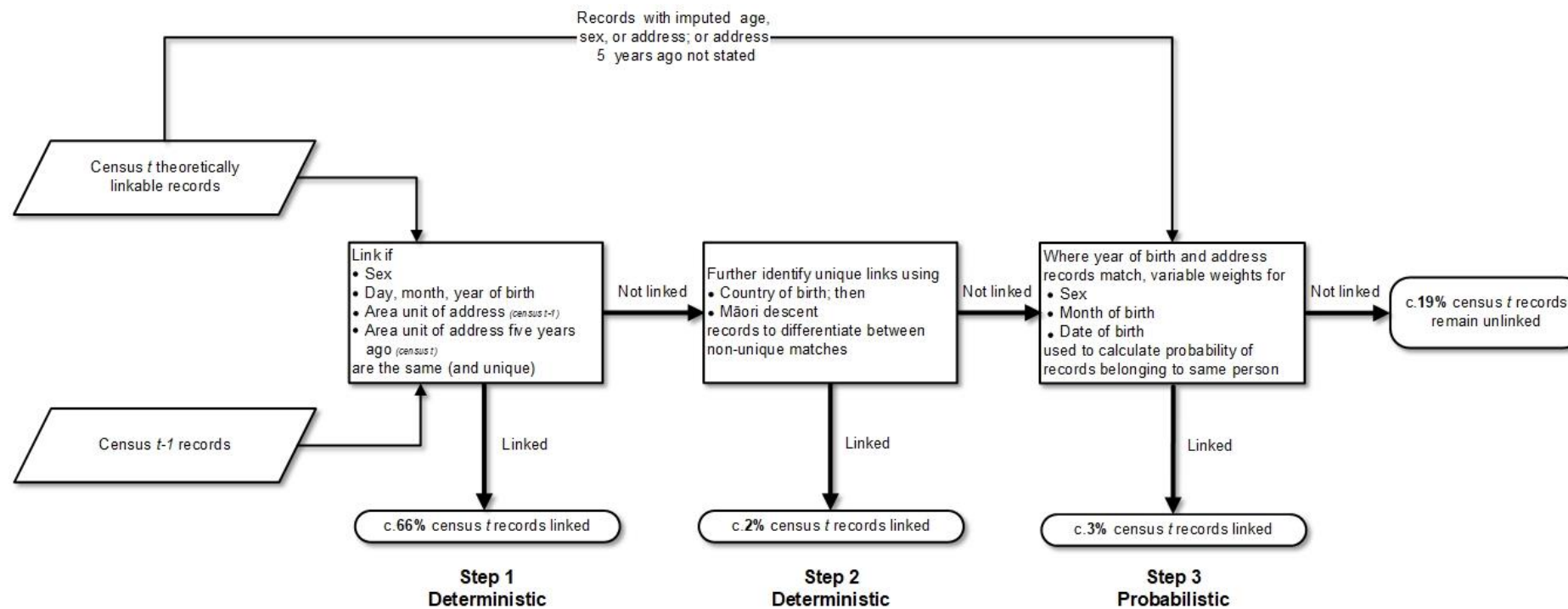
high number of overlooked true matches (Gerhard, Morridge, Pottegård, & Pratt, 2019).

For the NZLC, the deterministic matching phases were undertaken using SAS® 8.2 (SAS Institute Inc., Cary, North Carolina). The original blocking variables used were sex, day/month/year of birth, and area unit of usual residence (i.e. the address of usual residence collected at census $t-1$ and ‘address of usual residence 5 years ago’ collected at census t)²⁶. Where records matched on each of these variables exactly, and the match was unique, they were considered a linked pair. This initial step successfully linked, for each census pair, approximately 68 percent of all eligible records to the previous census. Some records matched exactly on these blocking variables but were not unique. Secondary deterministic linking steps sought to further differentiate between these non-unique links by using country of birth, and then Māori descent²⁷ information. Introducing these additional linking variables was effective at discriminating between otherwise identical records and this secondary deterministic step added 2 further percentage points to link rates.

²⁶ Some of the theoretically linkable census records at each census (t) were not eligible for deterministic matching. This was because, for example, the age included was stochastically imputed (due to non-completion of census forms); parts of the date of birth information were not stated; sex was neither stated nor determined deterministically (e.g. from the name), or the address 5 years ago was either not stated or classifiable to a geographic area unit. Such records were excluded from deterministic matching but were included in the subsequent probabilistic matching stage (see Didham, Nissen, & Dobson, 2014, p. 12).

²⁷ Since 1991, when the ethnicity question first asked the respondent’s ‘ethnic group’ rather than ‘ethnic origin’ question, the New Zealand census has included a separate question asking if the respondent is of Indigenous Māori ancestry/descent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c).

Figure 3: Record matching methodology in the New Zealand Longitudinal Census



Source: Adapted from Didham, Nissen, and Dobson (2014)

Those records which remained unmatched after this deterministic stage then proceeded to a subsequent, *probabilistic* linking stage, undertaken using InfoSphere® QualityStage® (IBM Corp., Armonk, New York). In probabilistic matching, various field values (variables) are compared for two records, with each variable assigned a weight that represents the frequency/uniqueness of the data. The sum of these variable weights then indicates the comparative likelihood that the two records are a match (Schumacher, 2007). While the exact process is technical, links with a low weight have a lower chance of being true matches, while those with a higher weight have a higher chance. Cut-off weights where two records will be treated as a ‘match’ are either selected or can be derived using established methodologies. Probabilistic matching minimises the number of overlooked true matches by allowing the linkage of imperfect matches, although the process runs a risk of introducing false-positive matches (Gerhard et al., 2019).

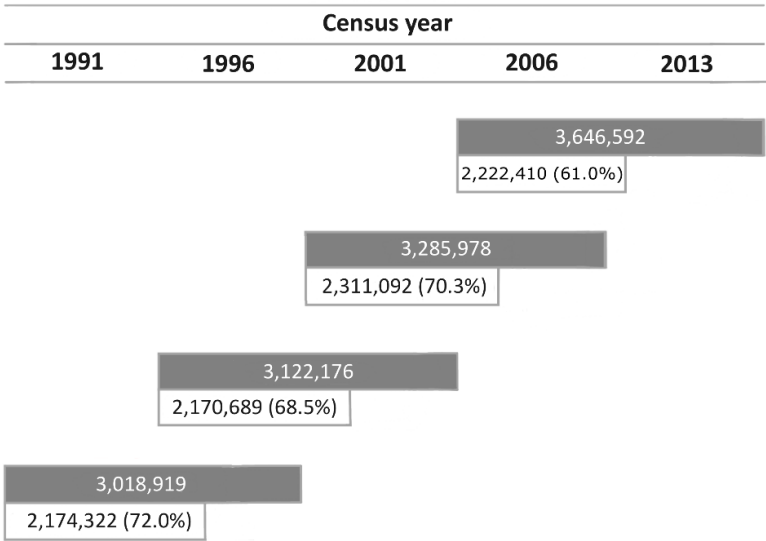
The probabilistic matching process utilised in the NZLC development phases is outlined in detail in Didham, Nissen, & Dobson (2014). As in the deterministic linking stage, year of birth and census t address 5 years ago/census $t-1$ current address were retained as blocking variables, so that records required these values be the same before they were compared. Remaining variables (date of birth, month of birth, and sex) were assigned probability values for matching when from the same person, or randomly having the same value when not the same person. These probabilities were then used to assign estimation weights, representing the likelihood of compared records belonging to the same person. Records above a given cut-off weight were considered true links. This step added approximately another three percentage points to the link rate in each census pair.

This linking methodology was adopted for each of the NZLC census pairs, although the linking process was complicated for the 2006-2013 census pair. Due to the catastrophic Christchurch earthquake of February 22, 2011, the census planned for March 2011 was postponed, and not carried out until 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). The linking of the 2006-2013 census pair was therefore a methodological challenge as the census interval was 7 years, instead of the usual 5 years. The challenge was amplified by using in 2013 the longstanding question on

respondent’s address 5 years ago, rather than changing the format of the question to 7 years (Kang, 2017). In creating this linked pair, these geographic variables were retained as blocking variables, meaning that those who had changed their place of residence in the two-year period between the 2006 collection and the address captured in the ‘address five years ago’ question could not be linked. As a result, link rates for the 2006-2013 census pair are somewhat lower than those of other pairs.

For this study, analysis is limited to NZLC records and individuals linked in the censuses held between 1991 – 2013, a period including 4 of the 6 linked NZLC census pairs (i.e. 1991-1996; 1996-2001; 2001-2006; 2006-2013 but not 1981-1986 or 1986-1991). This period is a fruitful one for examining local European identification as it coincides with broader sociological transformations challenging the dominant position of this group, and minimising the study period as far as possible ensures greatest possible coverage by minimising the impact of accumulated non-linkage. Figure 4 shows the theoretically linkable population for each NZLC pair used in this study, and the number and percent for which a link was achieved. Note that because New Zealand census records do not have unique identifiers, links represent sets of records where the connection is not certain. Nevertheless, the vast majority are likely to be true matches (Didham, Nissen, & Dobson, 2014).

Figure 4: Theoretical populations available for linking vs actual records linked, NZLC 1991-2013



Source: New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC), Statistics New Zealand

Data limitations

It is important to note some limitations in the NZLC dataset. As a longitudinal dataset, the NZLC does suffer from some of the shortcomings associated with longitudinal designs, including the risk of data collection modes (questions) or coding or classification methods changing over time. As Martin, Dorling and Mitchell have noted in the UK context, attempting to study social change by comparing data from successive censuses is “severely hampered by continual changes in census procedures, which produce differences in geography, variables, environment and access mechanisms between successive censuses” (p. 82). Such difficulties have been limited as much as possible in this study with extensive reference made to census metadata files to ensure a detailed understanding of “what the data means and does not mean” (Didham, Nissen, & Dobson, 2014, p. 11). Where applicable, data concordances²⁸ have been applied to ensure maximum comparability between data collated under different classification systems. Such approaches are detailed as they are adopted in the empirical analyses presented in the following chapters.

While reasonable confidence can be held in the quality of links made through the linkage process in the NZLC, a significant limitation is the proportion of records in each census pair that remain unlinked. The NZLC is therefore not a complete dataset. It also includes some degree of bias because not all population groups were equally likely to be linked. Theoretically linkable records would not have been linked for any one or combination of various reasons, including because the person had:

- a) not returned a census form at census $t-1$;
- b) provided a usual residence five years ago inconsistent with the address recorded at census $t-1$;
- c) provided incomplete or incorrect information for other linking variables.

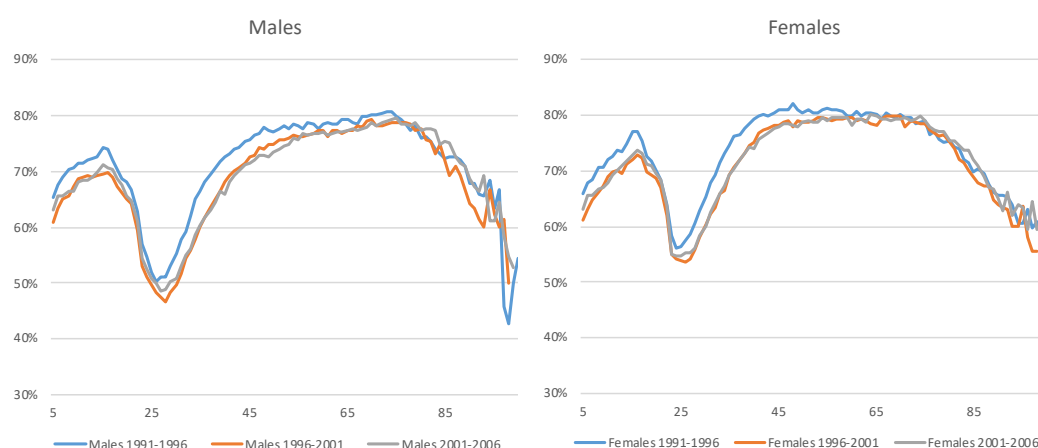
²⁸ In the statistical field, a concordance is a product that allows a user to convert data from one classification system (under which data have been collected) to a new classification system. It is most typically used when geographical regions change over time (Queensland Government Statistician’s Office, 2019).

The likelihood of being linked therefore most often relates to behaviours or characteristics as at the previous census, census $t-1$. For example, the likelihood of 45-49 year olds being linked relates to the behaviour or characteristics of those aged 40-44 years.

Characteristics that influence the likelihood of not being linked are not evenly distributed across the population, so that there is bias introduced in the linking process (with linked individuals different in systematic ways to those who are not linked). Many of the behaviours that lead to differences in linking rates relate to age, with those in early adulthood being more mobile, moving residences often for education and work, and being engaged in more short-term international travel (Didham, Nissen & Dobson, 2014). As a result, those aged 20–34 years were less likely to be linked than other age groups. These age biases are a primary contributor to an apparent ethnic bias, with lower link rates for groups with younger age profiles (such as Māori and Pacific peoples). Due to being more likely to be missed in census counts and more likely to have missing or different data between one census and the next, males were also consistently less likely to be linked than females. These patterns were observed across all linked census pairs (for further discussion of linkage bias, see Bohensky, 2015; Harron et al., 2014; Kvalsvig, Gibb & Teng, 2019).

To help readers further understand the relationship between the linked data used in this study and the wider population, Figure 5 shows the percentage of the theoretical population at census t successfully linked to census $t-1$ for each of the four census pairs used in this study. As can be seen, linkage rates follow a similar pattern for each census pair, ranging from 80 percent plus for adults in the higher middle age to approximately 50 percent for the 25-29 year-old age group. Male link rates are lower than females' at all ages. Appendix 1 also compares the age, sex and ethnic profile of the population of achieved links to the theoretical population available to be linked, for each included NZLC census pair.

Figure 5: Percentage of census t theoretical population records successfully linked to census $t-1$ record, by age and sex: NZLC 1991-2006 census pairs



Source: New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC), Statistics New Zealand²⁹

These are national census counts and not samples and accordingly, weighting has not been used. Various measures to adjust for linkage bias were considered but weighting methodologies would complicate analyses with limited benefits because associations (rates of change or stability) for unlinked records cannot be reliably ascertained³⁰ (Milne, 2014). In general terms, it is worth noting that the ‘European’ ethnic group of interest in this study has the highest comparative linkage rates of any of the groupings of ethnicities in the NZLC (Didham, Nissen, & Dobson, 2014, p. 35). Subsequent chapters provide further discussion as appropriate on the possible impacts of linkage bias on analyses.

Using the NZLC

Statistics New Zealand is legally required to ensure the security and confidentiality of census microdata and access to NZLC data is therefore restricted to approved users within the agency’s data lab environment (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Data lab locations are available at agency offices and secure

²⁹ Note that the 2006-2013 pair has not been included here due to the difficulty of deriving the true theoretical population available to be linked with the respondent’s place of residence at the previous census not known (the 2013 census asked address 5 years ago, but the census was undertaken 7 years after the 2006 census). The pattern of links achieved will however be similar to those shown here.

³⁰ I.e. while linked records could be weighted relatively easily to reflect the whole population as at source census t , the actual census $t-1$ information collected in unlinked census records remains unknown, with rates of change that may differ from records that are linked.

research facilities around New Zealand, including at the University of Waikato. Data and statistical software are available on computer terminals that cannot access the internet or connect to printers. Access to the environment is restricted to New Zealand-based researchers working for bona fide research or analytical purposes that are in the public interest, following a formal application process and approval from the Government Statistician. Researchers accessing microdata are required to attend confidentiality training and must sign a declaration of secrecy, as specified in the Statistics Act 1975. All research outputs for dissemination outside of the secure Data Lab environment are checked by Statistics New Zealand staff before release to ensure rules around confidentiality have been maintained (Statistics New Zealand, 2016).

Microdata output rules describe the methods and safeguards researchers must use to confidentialise output produced from Statistics New Zealand microdata. Such rules minimise privacy risk for microdata, which by definition contains information about specific people, households, and businesses (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). The primary access rule used in this study is that of random rounding to base 3 (RR3), which must be applied to unweighted counts from survey data (including census). As defined by Statistics New Zealand, RR3 requires randomly changing each count in a table to a multiple of 3. Values that are already multiples of 3 are left unchanged, while other values are rounded to the nearest multiple of 3 with a probability of two thirds or the second nearest multiple of 3 with a probability of one third. This rule protects sensitive small counts of 0, 1, and 2, and ensures small counts are not revealed when value changes occur, as all counts are rounded.

Access to the Data Lab for this project was sought and obtained in 2017 as project MAA2017-27 “European Ethnicity in the New Zealand Census’. The statistical analysis involved in this study was conducted in the Data Lab environment using Stata 15.1 (StataCorp LLC., College Station, Texas), and outputs confidentialised according to Statistics New Zealand Microdata output rules. All analyses included in this study are presented with the necessary caveat that *access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to give effect to the security and confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975.*

The results presented in this study are the work of the author, not Statistics New Zealand or individual data suppliers.

Ethnicity data in the NZLC

The variable of primary interest in the following analyses is the ethnic group information of linked individuals. This information is taken from the ethnic group question of the relevant census. Questions on race or ethnicity have long been asked in New Zealand census collections, although changes have taken place over time in the terminology and response categories provided. For clarity, Figure 6 includes copies of the relevant questions taken directly from census forms for the five census collections included in this study.

All these questions adopt the principle of self-identification (including with an option to write-in ethnicities) and use the terminology of ‘ethnic group’, recording these identities from a largely consistent conceptual basis. However, while the question wording and answer format provided in the years 1991 and then subsequently in 2001, 2006 and 2013 were functionally identical, the 1996 question was different, including in wording and with the addition of an ‘other European’ tick-box. This had a clear impact on resulting ethnic counts, in ways discussed in further detail elsewhere in this work.

For many decades Statistics New Zealand has captured multiple ethnicity responses in the census (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). In the 1991 and 1996 census records, up to three ethnicities were recorded, and in the 2001, 2006 and 2013 censuses, up to six.³¹ The analyses in this thesis thus differentiate between individuals recorded in only one ethnic group and those in two or more groups.

³¹ Where more than this number of ethnicities were indicated, various methods have been used to select the ethnic groups which are coded for that microdata record, as detailed in Statistics New Zealand (n.d.).

Figure 6: English-language ethnicity questions in the New Zealand census 1991-2013

1991

7 Which ethnic group do you belong to?
Tick the box or boxes which apply to you

☐ (15) New Zealand European

☐ (16) New Zealand Maori

☐ (17) Samoan

☐ (18) Cook Island Maori

☐ (19) Tongan

☐ (20) Niuean

☐ (21) Chinese

☐ (22) Indian

☐ (23) Other (such as Dutch, Japanese, Tokelauan)

Please state _____

1996

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

☐ NZ Maori

☐ NZ European or Pakeha

☐ other European → Which of these groups?

☐ Samoan ☐ English

☐ Cook Island Maori ☐ Dutch

☐ Tongan ☐ Australian

☐ Niuean ☐ Scottish

☐ Chinese ☐ Irish

☐ Indian ☐ other

☐ other (such as FIJIAN, KOREAN) → Print your ethnic group(s)

2001

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

☐ New Zealand European

☐ Māori

☐ Samoan

☐ Cook Island Maori

☐ Tongan

☐ Niuean

☐ Chinese

☐ Indian

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

2006

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

☐ New Zealand European

☐ Māori

☐ Samoan

☐ Cook Island Maori

☐ Tongan

☐ Niuean

☐ Chinese

☐ Indian

☐ other such as DUTCH, JAPANESE, TOKELAUAN. Please state:

2013

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

☐ New Zealand European

☐ Māori

☐ Samoan

☐ Cook Island Maori

☐ Tongan

☐ Niuean

☐ Chinese

☐ Indian

☐ other such as DUTCH, JAPANESE, TOKELAUAN. Please state:

Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2013c.

The ethnicities recorded in the NZLC are recorded as codes at level four of the Statistics New Zealand *standard classification for ethnicity 2005* (see Appendix 2 for the classification). Level four is the most detailed level of the classification, with some 200 individual codes, including residual codes (e.g. ethnicity was not stated or not otherwise classifiable). The remaining three levels are increasingly aggregated, with the broadest level one only including the six major ethnic groupings: European, Māori, Pacific peoples, Asian, Middle Eastern/Latin American/African or MELAA, and Other.³² To illustrate, someone who wrote-in ‘English’ on a form as their only ethnic group would be classified as English at level four, British and Irish at level three, Other European at level two, and European at level one (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). The chapter that follows conceptualises ethnic response change at both broad and granular levels, to capture both changing patterns of identification across broad categories as well as at lower levels within the European major ethnic grouping.

While the classification of various groups has changed in some generally minor ways over the study period, the records used in this analysis have been recoded to be as compatible as possible with the current (2005) classification, using a concordance developed by Statistics New Zealand. The notable exception here is New Zealander (or Kiwi) write-in responses. Prior to 2006 individuals who gave a New Zealander type response were counted and classified as New Zealand Europeans at levels two, three, and four of the classification, and thus as Europeans at level one. Since 2006, New Zealander-type responses have been coded as a separate level four category, and as Other ethnicity (i.e. not European) at levels one to three (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). As a result, New Zealander responses before the 2006 Census cannot be separately identified in the NZLC data used in this study. This consideration is discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

Summary

The empirical analyses presented in the following chapters use New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC) data. The NZLC is a novel linked dataset created by

³² Residual codes (not stated, etc.) are often also grouped together as another category at this level.

Statistics New Zealand by following a census-to-census data linking process that matched records from adjacent censuses by comparing the details contained in each record, including sex, birth date, and address geographic details. Despite limitations in coverage – especially those people not being linked across census pairs not being missing at random, the NZLC offers an unprecedented source of information on individual- and population-level change. How this resource is utilised in methodological terms is outlined in further depth in the following chapters.

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Fixed not fluid: European identification in the Aotearoa New Zealand Census³³

Social scientists have long treated ethnicity as socially constructed and historically contingent, rather than fixed at birth and transmitted across generations in a linear fashion. A growing body of work has theorised and examined how individuals construct and express their ethnic identities in a variety of contexts and at different life course stages. Most studies have focused on Indigenous and ethnic minority groups; studies focusing on the experience of majority or dominant groups are rare. Utilising a unique longitudinal census dataset that links whole census microdata in successive censuses, this article adds to the literature by empirically measuring the relative fluidity or rigidity of majority European ethnic identification over several decades. Analysing four sets of linked census pairs, we find that European patterns of self-identification diverge significantly from those of Māori and ethnic minority groups. Individuals who identify solely as European in one census are far less likely to change their ethnic self-identification in the next census. These findings suggest that affiliation to dominant ethnicity operates in ways that are meaningfully different from other ethnic groups, indicating key cross-category differences in how majority ethnicity is socially constructed.

Introduction

Social scientists have long treated ethnicity³⁴ as socially constructed and historically contingent, rather than fixed at birth and transmitted across generations in a linear fashion (American Anthropological Association 1998; Anderson 1991). Numerous studies have theorised and examined how individuals express their ethnic identities in a variety of contexts and at different life course

³³ This chapter, co-authored with Professor Tahu Kukutai, was previously published as Broman, P., & Kukutai, T. (2021). Fixed not fluid: European identification in the Aotearoa New Zealand census. *Journal of Population Research*, 38(2), 103-138. It is reproduced here verbatim.

³⁴ A wide range of concepts are used to define this form of cultural, group-based difference, from the biological frame of phenotype or race, to origins, language, or culture. We use ethnicity as an umbrella term for distinguishing such socially defined groups.

stages. Collectively, this research has shown that how individuals perceive and report their ethnicity is not simply a matter of personal identity but is also constituted through social and political processes that operate at the institutional and societal levels (Saperstein and Penner 2012; Saperstein, Penner and Light 2013; Song 2003). These processes shape the significance and meaning of ethnicity and the degree to which ethnic boundaries between groups are starkly defined or more fluid. In the United States, for example, the long defunct ‘one drop’ rule continues to contain the ethnic designation options available to children of White-Black intermarriage (Roth 2005). The population growth of Indigenous peoples in Canada (Guimond 1999; Guimond, Robitaille and Seneca 2015), Australia (Biddle and Crawford 2015), Aotearoa New Zealand (Kukutai and Rarere 2017) and the United States (Liebler and Ortyl, 2014) has been attributed, in part, to de-stigmatisation and a greater willingness to record Indigenous heritage. At the same time, Indigenous peoples in these countries remain grossly overrepresented on nearly every indicator of economic disadvantage, social exclusion, and ill health (Anderson et al. 2016). As nation states diversify, ethnic inequalities increase and the demographic dominance of white majorities wanes, Fredrik Barth’s (1969) argument that ethnic boundaries endure in the face of growing diversity, remains relevant.

The population census is an important context for studying ethnic boundaries vis-a-vis patterns of ethnic classification and self-identification. Studies have shown that how individuals report their ethnicity can change over time or between censuses, reflecting shifts in broader societal structures and discourses, government and institutional classification practices, and individuals’ contexts and self-perception (Hochschild and Powell 2008; Kertzer and Arel 2002; Morning 2008; Saperstein, Penner and Light 2013). Most studies have focused on ethnic response change for ethnic minorities and Indigenous peoples (Caron-Malenfant et al. 2014; Eschbach 1993; Pettersen and Brustad 2015; Robitaille et al. 2010). Others have taken a more methodologically-driven analysis of change in ethnicity reporting across entire national populations (Liebler et al. 2017; Perez and Hirschman, 2009; Simpson and Akinwale 2007; Simpson et al. 2015). Despite this growing literature, empirical studies of the ethnic identification of dominant White groups are rare (for a notable exception, see Waters 1990). This is perhaps

unsurprising: dominant groups, by their very nature, tend to be the ethnically unmarked ‘norm’ (Doane 1997; Fenton and Mann 2010). Yet, in the context of growing White identity politics and nationalism (Jardina 2019; Kaufmann 2018) and the enduring power of White supremacy (Bonilla-Silva 2001; Hage 2012), a better understanding of the nature and form of White ethnic boundaries is both timely and needed.

Focusing on the dominant European population in Aotearoa New Zealand, and using a unique dataset of linked census microdata, we explore the following questions: How permeable (or, alternatively, how rigid) is the boundary of the European population? Which groups are Europeans most likely to move in and out of? How does the level of ethnic response change for Europeans compare to change for Indigenous Māori and ethnic minority groups? Aotearoa New Zealand is ideally suited to this topic. It is an exceptionally ethnically diverse country, with nearly 28 percent of the usually resident population overseas-born in the 2018 Census, one of the highest levels in the OECD (OECD 2019; Statistics New Zealand 2019). Depending on the definition used, Māori comprise 16.5 to 18.5 percent of the population (Statistics New Zealand 2020), which is far larger than the Indigenous share in other ‘CANZUS’ colonial settler states (Canada, the United States, and Australia). As in these countries, the European population share has been declining in recent decades due to lower rates of natural increase, population ageing, and the diversification of migration ‘source’ countries. European New Zealanders have long prided themselves on their progressiveness concerning ethnic and Indigenous relations, particularly compared to neighbouring Australia (Wetherell and Potter 1992). If the ethnic boundaries separating dominant White and non-dominant groups are indeed fluid rather than fixed, Aotearoa New Zealand is one place where we would expect to see this.

To explore these questions we use linked individual-level data from the New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC). Created by linking records from the five-yearly Census of Population and Dwellings, NZLC enables us to track aggregate and individual-level changes in ethnic identification over several decades, from

1991 to 2013³⁵. Analysing four sets of linked census pairs, we find that European patterns of self-identification diverge significantly from those of Māori and ethnic minority groups. Individuals who identify solely as European in one census are far less likely to change their ethnic self-identification in the next census. These findings suggest that affiliation to dominant ethnicity operates in ways that are meaningfully different to affiliating to other ethnic groups. To put our findings in a broader context, we begin by surveying key theoretical perspectives and how these relate to the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Ethnic response change

Changes in census self-identification have been described as ethnic ‘response change’, ‘mobility’, ‘passing’ or ‘crossing’ (Guimond, Robitaille and Seneca 2015; Liebler et al. 2017). While some of this nomenclature suggests a more fundamental shift in individuals’ identities than can be determined from inconsistent responses to a survey³⁶, these patterns nevertheless offer an important window into how people conceive of the nature of ethnic boundaries and their own ethnic positioning.

As the flagship of national official statistics systems, censuses have a unique symbolic meaning. Census ethnic counts render groups visible at a national scale, in ways tied intimately to power and resource allocation (Anderson 1991; Ketzer and Arel 2002). Censuses, and census counts, form a key site in the social construction of recognisable national, group, and individual identities. Census-based studies of ethnic response change have primarily focused on ethnic minorities and Indigenous peoples in North America. Studies of ethnic enumeration rarely consider change: ethnicity is viewed as a steady-state concept. This does not mean, however, that ethnic response change is especially unusual, or a peculiarly ‘modern’ phenomenon. In a study matching (male) US census

³⁵ The 2018 Census had an unexpectedly low response rate and had to be supplemented with the use of other government datasets, which has affected the quality of some ethnicity data (2018 Census External Data Quality Panel 2019). 2018 census microdata had not been included in the NZLC database at the time of writing this paper.

³⁶ Simpson and Akinwale (2007) note, changes in ethnic response on a form does not necessarily indicate a change in identity per se, but can reflect other factors, such as data collection, transcription or coding error; change or ambiguity in the survey instrument, or changes in who in practice is completing the form.

records between 1880 and 1940, Nix and Qian (2015) found 19 percent of Black-enumerated males were also recorded as White at some point during their lifetime, and around 10 percent were subsequently recorded again as Black. Black-to-White changes tended to accompany migration to ‘Whiter’ communities, and occurred with particular frequency in Northern states. Given the social and historical context of Jim Crow-era America, where the boundaries between white and Black are considered to have been especially rigid, these findings demonstrate the surprising degree to which group responses may change.

More recently, a number of studies have focused on the exceptional growth rates in North American Indigenous populations from the 1960s, showing how this was at least partly a result of ethnic mobility into those categories from other groups (Caron-Malenfant et al. 2014; Eschbach 1993; Eschbach et al. 1998; Guimond 1999; 2009; Liebler and Ortyl 2014; Passel 1976; 1996). For example, more than a million American Indian/Alaska Native (AIAN) respondents in the 2000 US Census had not reported this race in 1990 (Liebler and Ortyl 2014). These shifts in individual identification have been linked to macro-political changes such as the rise of Indigenous activism and Indigenous policy (Nagel 1995). These studies have shown that a large number of those newly indicating Aboriginal ethnicity were urban, with above-average education, and formerly ‘White’.

Longitudinal analysis of census responses is usually precluded by the lack of personal identifiers in census records (Goldmann 2009; Liebler et al. 2017). Given this, existing studies of response change have largely relied on indirect residual estimations, tracking the ethnic composition of whole birth cohorts across collections and recording differences in their ethnic composition (Caron-Malenfant et al. 2014). Relatively low rates of migration have meant that relying on such methods is possible for US and Canadian Indigenous groups, but for most groups it has been difficult, if not impossible, to measure flows with certainty, account for any counter-flows, or identify ‘mobile’ individuals at a disaggregated level³⁷. The application of data linkage methods to census records, such as in the

³⁷ Perez and Hirschman (2009) extended these methods to provide such ‘error of closure’ estimates across American racial categories, subtracting national increase and net international migration numbers from official counts to provide ‘reasonable’ estimates of net interracial

NZLC dataset used in this study, offers an important opportunity to study ethnic mobility in much finer granularity than has hitherto been possible.

Dominant group ethnicity

As in other areas of the sociology of ethnicity and race, studies of ethnic identification have rarely focused on the experience of majority or dominant groups. Dominant ethnicity refers to those ethnic groups which exercise dominance within a nation, whether demographic, cultural, political, or economic (Kaufmann and Haklai 2008). Doane (1997) defines dominant ethnic groups as those that exercise power in society to create and maintain a pattern of economic, political, and institutional advantage. In these cases, especially where dominance includes numerical dominance as a local majority, there is a political claim that equates the nation and the majority group.

For dominant White groups, the experience of ethnic identity is likely to differ in important ways from those of non-dominant groups. Doane (1997) has shown how the very sense of peoplehood of dominant groups is ‘hidden’ because of the influence such groups have over institutions such as schools, law, and the media. As a result, the preferences and desires of this group come to be seen as objective, natural and innate. The awareness and salience of ethnicity may therefore be less intensely felt for these than for other groups. Qualitative research suggests that while ethnic or racial status is consistently salient for minorities, members of ethnic majorities do not necessarily recognise or identify themselves in ethnic or racial terms (Frankenberg 1993; Sue 2004). In Aotearoa New Zealand, MacLean (1996, 117) has suggested that because Pākehā (Europeans) are the dominant culture, there is no need for them to develop ethnic awareness. In the UK context Song (2003: 45) has argued that White Europeans have “a great deal to gain by imposing strict boundaries between themselves and non-European groups”.

An important part of the literature around dominant groups has focused on challenges to dominance and the techniques groups use to maintain it (Wimmer

mobility. They found a small drift from the non-Hispanic white population into minority ethnic groups over the past quarter century.

1997; Kaufmann and Haklai 2008). White nationalism is an example. Kaufmann (2018) argues that a ‘whiteshift’ is underway, as minorities grow and those of mixed ethnicity are projected to form a majority in Western countries. These changes, he suggests, are causing a profound political transformation, with white resentments influencing the Brexit vote in Britain and the election of Donald Trump. At the more extreme end of this scale is the white nationalist far-right ‘Great Replacement’ conspiracy theory, which holds that a concerted effort is underway to replace European populations with non-Europeans (especially Muslims). Renaud Camus’ 2011 book *Le Grande Remplacement* adopted this misrepresentation of the demographic term ‘replacement fertility’ to suggest that migration and lower fertility rates mean the continued dominance of whites in their own ‘homelands’ is under threat. Such views have influenced violent attacks by white extremists, including the 2019 Christchurch Mosque and El Paso shootings. In this environment, understanding the patterning and structures of identity in dominant White groups is important in building knowledge of whiteness as a politically activated category.

Though sparse, the evidence to date suggests that levels of change for dominant White ethnic groups are far lower than for minorities. In the UK, Simpson and Akinwale (2015) and Simpson et al. (2016) used data from the Office of National Statistics Linked Study (LS) to measure stability in ethnic identity between the 1991 and 2001 and 2001 and 2011 censuses. They found significant levels of change in ethnic response overall, but the levels of change varied greatly between ethnic groups – and was lowest for Whites. In the US, Liebler et al. (2017) measured racial/ethnic³⁸ mobility in a non-representative dataset linking some 162 million records between the 2000 and 2010 census. They found about 9.8 million (6.1%) individuals changed their racial or ethnic affiliation, with rates of change relatively stable across ages, sexes, and regions. Response change was lowest amongst non-Hispanic Asians (9 percent), Blacks (6 percent), and, especially, Whites (3 percent).

³⁸ The US census asks a question on race that lists racial and national-origin groups and a separate ‘ethnicity’ question asking if respondents are of Hispanic or Latino origin. Liebler et al. (2017) measure change over both categories.

The Aotearoa New Zealand context

In Aotearoa New Zealand, as in other CANZUS settler societies, the social and political context is characterised by trifurcated social relations involving a settler majority of European origins, an Indigenous Māori population, and a more recent, growing, migrant population of diverse ethnic origins. The country has high rates of ethnic intermarriage and multi-ethnic affiliation from the early period of European settlement, with nineteenth century policy and rhetoric explicitly promoting racial amalgamation (Ward 1974). Aside from the Māori and European settler populations, more recent migration flows include those from the Pacific Islands (from the 1960s), Asia (from the 1980s), and increasingly also elsewhere in the world, with over 230 ethnic groups reported in the 2013 Census (Tapaleao 2014). Multiple ethnic identifications have been recognised in census counts since 1986, when New Zealand was one of the first countries in the world to allow respondents to select multiple categories that they identified with, rather than being forced to allocate a single ethnic group (Cormack & Robson, 2010).

Europeans settled the country rapidly following Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840³⁹, and by the 1890s represented over 90 percent of the population (Broman 2018). While their European origins were broader than was typically acknowledged, the majority did have origins in Britain or Ireland, with understandings of identity and belonging tending to emphasise a ‘pioneering’, settler, British group identity (Belich 1996; Didham et al. 2017). In recent decades, however, declining political, personal, and economic ties with the United Kingdom and a Māori cultural and political revitalisation have forced some degree of critical self-reflection on origins and belonging for this group (Spoonley 2015). Concurrently, there has been a growing challenge to the dominance (at least numerically) of the group itself. Immigration policy changes and structural-demographic differences have meant the European population has declined, from 83.2 percent in 1991 to 70.2 percent in 2018 (Statistics New Zealand 2019).

³⁹ While Britain proclaimed sovereignty on the basis of the Treaty, the Waitangi Tribunal’s response to stage one of the *Wai 1040: Te Paparahi o te Raki* inquiry determined that iwi and hapū did not cede sovereignty in signing Te Tiriti (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

These factors have seen local European identity increasingly interrogated, with the writer Peter Wells (2018: 314) arguing that because European New Zealanders have long been the majority group, they have lacked self-awareness, because ‘everybody was the same’. The group has only recently been confronted, as their numerical dominance has been challenged, with questions around their own identity. The 1980s and 1990s seem to have been characterised by an emerging search amongst the European group for a sense of local rootedness or belonging (see King, 1985). Avril Bell (2006: 254) has described a settler (European) lack of substance or ‘ontological unease’, especially concerning the group’s “dubious moral origins”. Despite these perturbations, European New Zealander group identity remains bound to settler colonialism, which continues to shape social trajectories in New Zealand, even if discussions of race tend to be avoided in local policy and academic discussion (Edwards 2017). As the ongoing beneficiaries of settler colonialism, Europeans continue to enjoy political, symbolic, and cultural power not extended to other groups.

Tied to these shifting notions of identity are ongoing debates surrounding the appropriate official name for the European population in New Zealand. As Kertzer and Arel (2002: 20–21) have argued, government counts are “political battlegrounds, where competing notions of ‘real’ identities, and therefore competing names to assign to categories, battle it out.” Battles over the appropriate name for the local European group reflect the ‘unsettled’ nature of settler identity noted by many scholars in this area (Bell 2006; Pearson 2002; Terruhn 2015). Submitters to an official Review of Ethnic Statistics in 1988 made forceful arguments, for example, against the name European (Department of Statistics, 1988), arguments which contributed to the introduction in the 1991 Census of the more localised term New Zealand European. In 1996, the term Pākehā (a Māori colloquial term for local Europeans), was included in the census questionnaire (‘New Zealand European *or* Pakeha’⁴⁰) but this caused controversy, was rejected by many respondents, and has not been used since (Broman 2018). Others, especially in 2006 have also reported New Zealander (or ‘Kiwi’) as a

⁴⁰ The term Pakeha seems to have been dropped after many people in 1996 crossed the word out or otherwise complained about its inclusion (Marcetic, 2018). Many Europeans have a visceral dislike of this word, although it should be noted that a group with the slogan ‘Call Me Pākehā Please’ campaigned for it to be included in the most recent 2018 census (Tokalau, 2018).

write-in ethnicity, the majority of whom in other censuses had indicated European ethnicity (Brown and Gray 2009; Kukutai and Didham 2012). It is interesting to note that the ongoing controversy about official terminology has reflected both a desire to break free from ‘European’ and be naturalised, but also a rejection of any identification in relation to the Indigenous peoples (i.e. not using a Māori name).

Some local studies (Brown and Gray, 2009; Coope and Piesse 2000; Didham 2016; Moore, 1989) have previously examined ethnic mobility in the local population census, mostly for Māori. Brown, Callister, Carter and Engler (2010) have estimated that the overall levels of response change between censuses were 4 percent in 1976-1981, 9 percent in 1991-1996, and 20 percent in 2001-2006. The higher level in the latter is a result primarily of the marked increase in people indicating New Zealander ethnicity in the 2006 Census, following media attention and an email campaign promoting this response⁴¹. Although the email purported rejection of ethnic distinctions, local Europeans were the group most likely – or most able – to claim this national ethnic group. Far fewer people indicated New Zealander ethnicity in the 2013 or 2018 censuses.

If this example does indicate some form of contextual response change for the majority ethnicity, overall levels of stability or change for this group remain little understood, especially in comparison to other ethnic groups. The following analyses examine whether there have been any observable shifts in the ethnic reporting, or fluidity in the labels adopted, by members of New Zealand’s majority group.

Data and Method

To trace individual ethnic identification across censuses, data from the New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC) is used. A technical paper describing the methodology used in creating this dataset has been published elsewhere (Didham et al. 2014), and only a brief outline is given here. Census records were linked in pairs, with records from the more recent ‘source’ census (*t*) compared against

⁴¹ People recording New Zealander ethnicity increased from 85,300 people in 2001 to 429,429 in 2006 (Kukutai and Didham 2012), and this number dropped still further to 65,973 people in 2013 (Didham 2017).

those from the previous ‘target’ census ($t-1$) in a series of stages. The process is shown in Figure 7.

A theoretical population (at census t) available to be linked was first defined for each census pair. This population excluded records with no chance of being linked because the person was not born, or was resident overseas, at the previous census⁴². SAS® 9.4 (SAS Institute Inc., Cary, North Carolina) was then used to compare these eligible census t records to census $t-1$ records⁴³. Where the sex, day/month/year of birth, and area unit of usual residence (i.e. of the address of usual residence collected at census $t-1$ and ‘address of usual residence 5 years ago’ collected at census t) of records were a unique match, they were considered a linked pair. For each census pair, this initial *deterministic* stage linked approximately 68 percent of eligible records. A subsequent second deterministic stage used country of birth and then Māori descent⁴⁴ information to further differentiate between records that matched on all three of the earlier blocking variables but did not constitute a unique match. This step added approximately a further two percentage points to link rates.

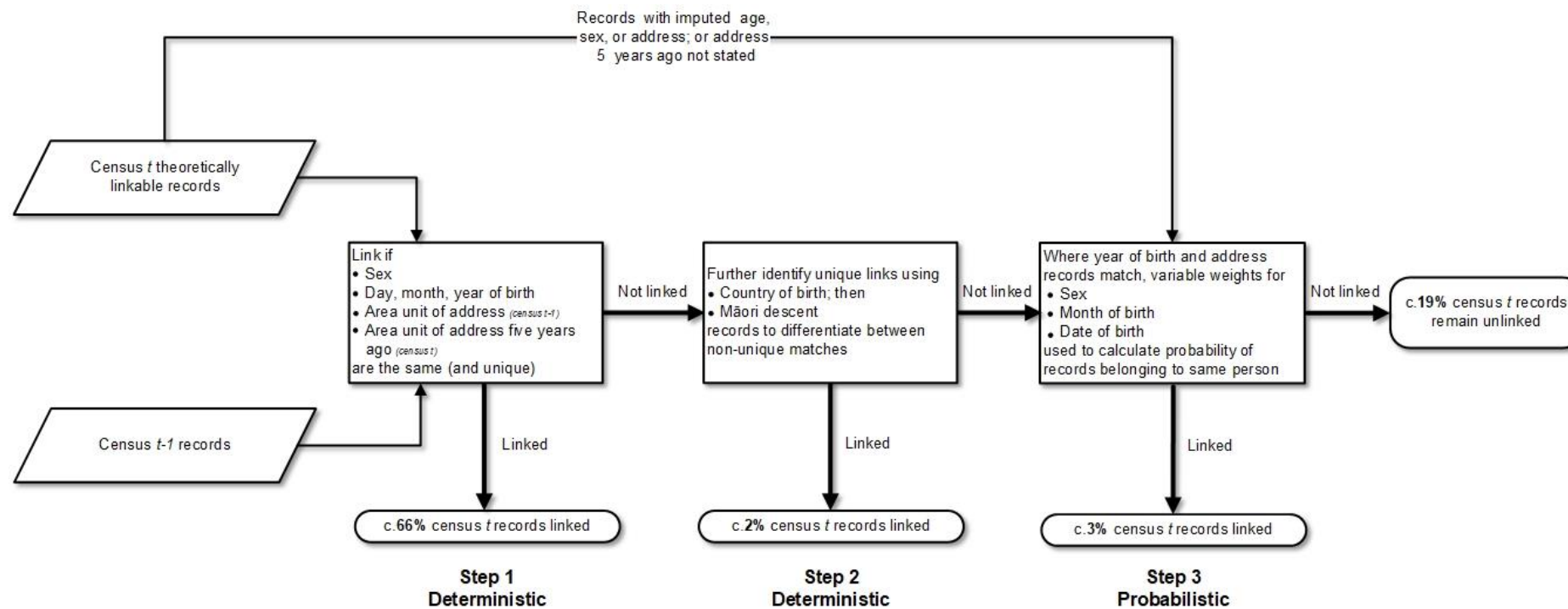
The remaining unmatched records proceeded to a final, *probabilistic* linking stage undertaken using InfoSphere® QualityStage® (IBM Corp., Armonk, New York). As in the deterministic stage, year of birth and census t address 5 years ago/census $t-1$ current address were retained as blocking variables, so that records required these values be the same before they were compared. The remaining variables (date of birth, month of birth, and sex) were assigned probability values for matching when from the same person, or randomly having the same value when not the same person. These probabilities allowed the software to assign estimation weights to compared records, representing the likelihood of being a ‘true’ match.

⁴² Records created via a ‘substitute’ census form were also excluded. This approach was used when Statistics New Zealand gained sufficient evidence during the collection process that a person existed or a dwelling was occupied but no corresponding form was received (Statistics New Zealand 2014). Some variables are imputed for these records, but they do not contain sufficient information to satisfy the requirements of the linking process.

⁴³ Some theoretically linkable census records at each census (t) were not eligible for deterministic matching because age, sex, or address variables were not stated or otherwise available. Such records were included in the subsequent probabilistic matching stage.

⁴⁴ Since 1991, when a question on ‘ethnic group’ was introduced, a separate question in the New Zealand census has asked if the respondent is of (Indigenous) Māori ancestry/descent.

Figure 7: Record matching in the New Zealand Longitudinal Census

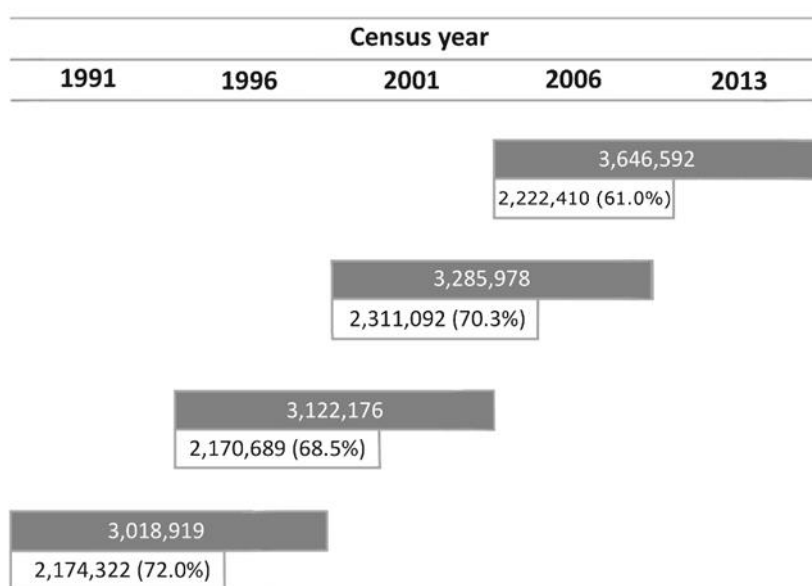


Source: Adapted from Didham, Nissen, and Dobson (2014)

Records above a given cut-off weight were considered true links, adding approximately another three percentage points to link rates.

While the NZLC dataset links census pairs from 1981, this study analyses change in four census pairs covering a 22-year period: 1991-1996; 1996-2001; 2001-2006; and 2006-2013. Undertaking our analysis by linked pair ensures the greatest possible coverage by minimising the impact of accumulated non-linkage, and overall the period is a fruitful one for examining local European identification as it coincides with broader local demographic changes challenging the dominant position of this group. Figure 8 shows the theoretically linkable population and the number and percent for which a link was achieved, for each included pair.

Figure 8: Theoretical populations available for linking vs number of records linked - 1991-2013 census pairs, NZLC



Source: New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC), Statistics New Zealand

The proportion of theoretically linked records that were successfully linked was similar in the first three census periods, with around 70 percent of all eligible records successfully linked to a record in the previous census. The lower linkage rate for 2006-2013 records is due largely to the longer period between censuses: a national census scheduled for March 2011 was postponed until 2013 as a result of the Christchurch earthquake of February 22, 2011. Matching on the recorded address as at the previous census was more difficult for this census.

Data Limitations

It is important to note some limitations in the NZLC data used in this study. While confidence can be held in the quality of links made through this process, certain subpopulations were more difficult to link than others. Theoretically linkable records sometimes failed to be linked, such as where the person a) did not return a census form at census $t-1$; b) provided a usual residence five years ago inconsistent with the address recorded at census $t-1$; or c) provided incomplete or incorrect information for other key linking variables (Didham et al. 2014). The likelihood of such is not evenly distributed, so that those at more mobile early adult ages (20–34 years) are less likely to have been linked. Some ethnic groups, especially those with younger age profiles (such as Māori and Pacific peoples) have relatively lower link rates. Males are more likely to be missed in census counts and to provide inconsistent information between one census and the next and so are less likely to be linked than females.

As a result, link missingness did not occur at random, and the matched data used here are not necessarily representative and should not be interpreted as such. Nevertheless, the data cover a considerable portion of the New Zealand population and are sufficiently dense to demonstrate broad levels of change in ethnic identification, as well as indicate the general direction of change. As linking is weighted towards more settled and less mobile individuals, they also likely understate true rates of change in ethnic reporting. To help readers further understand the relationship between the linked data used in this study and the wider population, Appendix 4A compares the age, sex, and ethnic profile of the population of achieved links with the census t usually resident population, for each included census pair.

Measuring Ethnicity

Each census included in this study asked an ‘ethnic group’ question with listed tick-box categories, and an open-ended ‘other’ category allowing write-in answers (see Appendix 4B for the census ethnicity questions). Census ethnic responses are classified according to the Ethnicity New Zealand Standard Classification 2005. The classification has four levels, ranging from six ‘major ethnic groups’ at level

one (European, Māori, Asian, Pacific, Middle Eastern, Latin American or African [‘MELAA’] and Other) to 200+ groups at level four. In the most recent classification (Statistics New Zealand 2017), the level 1 European major ethnic group disaggregates to some 60 specific ethnic groups at level 4 including Australian, American, Canadian, English, Afrikaner, and Gypsy. While coding and classification practices have changed over the period, the records used in this analysis have been re-coded to be as compatible as possible with the current classification.

The exception is New Zealander (or Kiwi) write-in responses. In the 1986 Census, these were coded separately, as ‘New Zealander’, considered a European category at higher levels. From 1991 to 2006 these were coded as New Zealand European at levels two, three and four of the classification, also aggregating to European at level one. Classification changes in 2006 saw New Zealander-type responses again hard coded as a separate (level 4) category, this aggregating instead to ‘Other ethnicity’ (not European) at levels one to three (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). This paper examines ethnic stability and change in the aggregate level one categories and then at more nuanced lower levels within the level 1 European grouping. As these censuses have also allowed individuals to report multiple ethnicities, the following analysis distinguishes between those identifying solely with a single ethnic group, and those reporting European in combination with other ethnicities.

Results

We begin by examining the prevalence and direction of ethnic response change for all level one groups over the focal period. Tables 4a-4d show, for each census pair, comparisons of ethnic responses for the major ethnic groups and the most popular combinations. Each table includes census ethnicity responses in 14 mutually exclusive categories, clustered into three groups. The first indicates single-ethnicity responses for each of the six-level one major ethnic groups (European, Māori, Pacific, Asian, MELAA, or Other ethnicity). We note that a person who identified as both New Zealand European and Scottish would be classified as sole European (as both groups are classified as European at level one), but not someone recorded as New Zealand European and Māori (who would

be counted in both European and Māori). The second group is made up of European response/s ‘combined’ with one or more responses from each of the other major ethnic groups (e.g., European and Māori; European and Pacific⁴⁵). The final group includes a category of responses for European responses in combination with ethnicities from two or more other major ethnic groups (e.g., European, Pacific and Māori); a category for responses from two or more non-European ethnicities (such as Pacific and Māori); and a ‘residual’ category for individuals for whom no ethnicity was recorded. The number and percent remaining in the same category from one census to the next is shown in bold in each table.

Focusing first on the sole ethnic group diagonals, we can see levels of change vary significantly by group but change is generally lower than for the combined group ethnicities. Rates of change were somewhat higher between 1991 and 1996, likely due to changes to the 1996 ethnicity question. Compared to the 1991 question (which 2001 and later censuses later reverted to), the 1996 Census question made it more explicit that respondents could indicate more than one ethnicity (see Appendix 4B). As a result, the proportion of respondents recording more than one ethnicity increased, from 5.0 percent of the total population (166,158 people) in 1991 to 15.5 percent (536,757) in 1996 (Kukutai and Callister 2009). The effect of the change is seen in the shifts from various sole categories into combination categories in Table 4a, mirrored by reverse flows back into the single ethnicity categories in Table 4b.

While shifts from sole European to the various other categories were large in numerical terms, this reflects the numerical dominance of Europeans rather than any greater underlying propensity to change. Indeed, of those who identified exclusively with European ethnic group/s in 1996, almost 98 percent also identified solely as European in 2001. The exception was the period 2001-2006 (Table 4c), where the percent remaining sole European dropped to 81.9 percent. This is a result of the increase in New Zealander responses in the 2006 Census, shown in the marked increase and then decline in the *sole Other* and *European*

⁴⁵ Note that categories will include people who report two or more ethnicities within each level one category, so that those who recorded New Zealand European (level one European), Samoan, and Tongan (both level one Pacific peoples) would be counted here as European and Pacific.

and Other categories (Tables 4c and 4d). As earlier noted, the issue of New Zealander ethnicity had seen public attention in the years leading up to the 2006 Census, and a chain email urging people to write-in a New Zealander response circulated in the months prior (Kukutai and Didham 2012).

The number of people recorded in the sole Asian category increased over each intercensal period, reflecting the growing level of migration from this part of the world (Ho 2015). Sole Asian responses were relatively stable, with over 90 percent remaining in the category across every census pair. This relative stability likely reflects the high proportion of overseas-born in the population (79 percent in 2006, Statistics New Zealand 2006), recent migration experience, and lower levels of inter-ethnic partnering (Callister, Didham and Potter 2005). The sole Asian category was relatively insensitive to the 1996 question change.

By contrast, the sole Māori category displays high levels of intercensal change in identification. In any given census pair, only 71 to 82 percent of those identified as solely Māori in the first census gave the same response in the second, with the 1996 question change having a marked impact. In all census periods, flows out of the sole Māori category were predominantly into Māori-European, which reflects findings from prior research (Coope and Piesse 2000; Didham 2016).

The impact of changes in the ethnicity question in 1996 is similarly evident in patterns for sole Pacific responses, with a relatively low 84 percent of sole Pacific responses in 1991 also recording sole Pacific in 1996 (many instead recording Pacific and European). In other census pairs, stability within the sole Pacific category ranged from 88 to 93 percent. Where change occurred, it was most distributed fairly evenly across sole Pacific, Pacific and European, and the two or more (non-European) group categories, most likely Pacific and Māori.

Table 4a: 1991-1996 ethnic mobility, NZLC linked records - Level 1 (alone and selected combinations)

1991 ethnic grouping/s	1996 ethnic grouping/s													Total	
	Sole European	Sole Māori	Sole Pacific	Sole Asian	Sole MELAA	Sole Other	European + Māori	European + Pacific	European + Asian	European + MELAA	European + Other	European + 2 or more	2 or more non-European	Residuals	
Frequency															
Sole European	1,737,855	7,791	1,407	951	297	36	39,417	5,043	2,208	1,197	213	1,188	444	12,423	1,810,470
Sole Māori	5,136	113,487	741	90	6	0	35,790	159	21	3	3	1,497	2,625	1,368	160,926
Sole Pacific	1,179	426	54,303	213	3	0	168	4,764	18	0	3	633	1,986	654	64,350
Sole Asian	960	87	216	42,669	21	6	60	27	1,017	6	3	75	510	405	46,062
Sole MELAA ¹	342	3	6	9	1,320	0	6	6	6	258	0	3	12	33	2,004
Sole Other	39	0	0	9	3	48	3	0	6	0	21	3	3	0	135
European + Māori	5,859	8,403	78	9	0	0	41,991	69	6	6	0	768	198	402	57,789
European + Pacific	813	51	879	9	0	0	48	8,079	9	6	0	369	180	63	10,506
European + Asian	687	9	9	780	0	6	18	21	3,159	12	12	117	36	30	4,896
European + MELAA	282	3	3	0	123	0	3	0	0	447	3	12	3	15	894
European + Other	18	0	0	0	0	9	3	0	0	0	18	3	0	3	54
European + 2 or more ²	162	171	81	9	0	0	366	219	39	9	0	2,712	480	12	4,260
2 or more non-European ³	117	441	507	156	6	3	150	120	12	3	3	1,083	4,314	30	6,945
Residuals ⁴	3,735	282	168	108	9	0	363	87	30	21	0	39	45	147	5,034
Total	1,757,184	131,154	58,398	45,012	1,788	108	118,386	18,594	6,531	1,968	279	8,502	10,836	15,585	2,174,325
Percent of 1991 group															
Sole European	96.0	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.7	100.0
Sole Māori	3.2	70.5	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	22.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	1.6	0.9	100.0
Sole Pacific	1.8	0.7	84.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	3.1	1.0	100.0
Sole Asian	2.1	0.2	0.5	92.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.1	0.9	100.0
Sole MELAA	17.1	0.1	0.3	0.4	65.9	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	12.9	0.0	0.1	0.6	1.6	100.0
Sole Other	28.9	0.0	0.0	6.7	2.2	35.6	2.2	0.0	4.4	0.0	15.6	2.2	2.2	0.0	100.0
European + Māori	10.1	14.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	72.7	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.3	0.7	100.0
European + Pacific	7.7	0.5	8.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	76.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.5	1.7	0.6	100.0
European + Asian	14.0	0.2	0.2	15.9	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.4	64.5	0.2	0.2	2.4	0.7	0.6	100.0
European + MELAA	31.5	0.3	0.3	0.0	13.8	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.3	1.3	0.3	1.7	100.0
European + Other	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	5.6	0.0	5.6	100.0
European + 2 or more	3.8	4.0	1.9	0.2	0.0	0.0	8.6	5.1	0.9	0.2	0.0	63.7	11.3	0.3	100.0
2 or more non-European	1.7	6.3	7.3	2.2	0.1	0.0	2.2	1.7	0.2	0.0	0.0	15.6	62.1	0.4	100.0
Residuals	74.2	5.6	3.3	2.1	0.2	0.0	7.2	1.7	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.8	0.9	2.9	100.0
Total	80.8	6.0	2.7	2.1	0.1	0.0	5.4	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.5	0.7	100.0

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⁴ Includes Don't know/Refused to answer/Repeated value/Response unidentifiable/Response outside scope/Not stated.

Table 4b: 1996-2001 ethnic mobility, NZLC linked records - Level 1 (alone and selected combinations)

1996 ethnic grouping/s	2001 ethnic grouping/s														Total
	Sole European	Sole Māori	Sole Pacific	Sole Asian	Sole MELAA	Sole Other	European + Māori	European + Pacific	European + Asian	European + MELAA	European + Other	European + 2 or more	2 or more non-European	Residuals	
Frequency															
Sole European	1,675,251	3,939	1,296	1,185	450	60	14,244	1,752	1,086	558	63	552	207	10,947	1,711,590
Sole Māori	6,051	104,127	507	108	12	3	15,252	81	12	3	0	465	843	669	128,133
Sole Pacific	1,134	393	59,586	201	12	0	120	1,638	12	3	3	246	732	330	64,416
Sole Asian	1,521	93	201	68,394	36	9	63	24	933	3	0	36	165	351	71,829
Sole MELAA ¹	453	9	18	21	3,234	3	6	0	0	186	0	9	15	57	4,011
Sole Other	33	0	0	9	6	42	3	0	3	0	12	0	3	3	114
European + Māori	27,390	24,108	207	66	6	0	68,751	102	24	12	3	984	183	732	122,568
European + Pacific	3,870	75	4,206	33	0	0	108	10,923	12	3	0	468	66	117	19,881
European + Asian	2,310	18	21	1,428	6	3	24	9	3,969	9	6	102	12	84	8,001
European + MELAA	1,158	3	6	0	279	0	9	6	6	690	0	18	3	36	2,214
European + Other	195	3	0	0	3	15	3	0	30	6	54	9	3	9	330
European + 2 or more ²	834	981	621	63	9	3	1,095	507	93	18	3	4,728	942	54	9,951
2 or more non-European ³	360	1,659	2,046	522	15	3	279	228	21	6	0	1,437	5,529	54	12,159
Residuals ⁴	11,388	1,257	804	597	51	3	693	78	45	12	0	57	63	441	15,489
Total	1,731,948	136,665	69,519	72,633	4,119	144	100,650	15,348	6,246	1,509	144	9,111	8,766	13,884	2,170,686
Percent of 1996 group															
Sole European	97.9	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	100.0
Sole Māori	4.7	81.3	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	11.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.7	0.5	100.0
Sole Pacific	1.8	0.6	92.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.2	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.1	0.5	100.0
Sole Asian	2.1	0.1	0.3	95.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.5	100.0
Sole MELAA	11.3	0.2	0.4	0.5	80.6	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.6	0.0	0.2	0.4	1.4	100.0
Sole Other	28.9	0.0	0.0	7.9	5.3	36.8	2.6	0.0	2.6	0.0	10.5	0.0	2.6	2.6	100.0
European + Māori	22.3	19.7	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	56.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.1	0.6	100.0
European + Pacific	19.5	0.4	21.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.5	54.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.3	0.6	100.0
European + Asian	28.9	0.2	0.3	17.8	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	49.6	0.1	0.1	1.3	0.1	1.0	100.0
European + MELAA	52.3	0.1	0.3	0.0	12.6	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.3	31.2	0.0	0.8	0.1	1.6	100.0
European + Other	59.1	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.9	4.5	0.9	0.0	9.1	1.8	16.4	2.7	0.9	2.7	100.0
European + 2 or more	8.4	9.9	6.2	0.6	0.1	0.0	11.0	5.1	0.9	0.2	0.0	47.5	9.5	0.5	100.0
2 or more non-European	3.0	13.6	16.8	4.3	0.1	0.0	2.3	1.9	0.2	0.0	0.0	11.8	45.5	0.4	100.0
Residuals	73.5	8.1	5.2	3.9	0.3	0.0	4.5	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.4	2.8	100.0
Total	79.8	6.3	3.2	3.3	0.2	0.0	4.6	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.6	100.0

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Table 4c: 2001-2006 ethnic mobility, NZLC linked records - Level 1 (alone and selected combinations)

2001 ethnic grouping/s	2006 ethnic grouping/s														Total
	Sole European	Sole Māori	Sole Pacific	Sole Asian	Sole MELAA	Sole Other	European + Māori	European + Pacific	European + Asian	European + MELAA	European + Other	European + 2 or more	2 or more non-European	Residuals	
Frequency															
Sole European	1,461,297	5,553	1,542	1,875	513	244,905	20,448	2,226	1,191	450	22,677	2,055	10,092	8,469	1,783,293
Sole Māori	3,042	114,411	567	126	6	1,623	15,531	66	6	0	45	897	3,018	693	140,031
Sole Pacific	1,110	447	76,407	318	30	453	153	1,938	15	0	24	360	2,355	414	84,024
Sole Asian	1,506	114	378	107,130	81	1,173	84	45	870	3	18	81	2,616	432	114,531
Sole MELAA	822	18	33	72	6,903	189	18	3	3	165	12	15	177	114	8,544
Sole Other	39	3	0	6	3	72	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	6	138
European + Māori	10,683	17,283	177	78	12	5,856	73,320	75	9	3	198	3,138	2,394	417	113,643
European + Pacific	1,833	48	2,322	48	6	690	63	11,418	6	0	39	783	618	72	17,946
European + Asian	1,428	12	18	1,137	3	564	21	15	4,269	6	42	255	594	42	8,406
European + MELAA ¹	843	3	0	3	213	120	9	0	3	672	21	57	108	33	2,085
European + Other	81	0	0	3	0	36	0	0	6	3	51	6	0	3	189
European + 2 or more ²	486	642	396	42	6	342	825	438	78	18	21	7,098	1,284	36	11,757
2 or more non-European ³	192	885	1,071	231	24	93	141	96	15	0	9	963	7,083	42	10,845
Residuals ⁴	8,865	1,191	549	702	123	1,998	741	108	57	27	177	132	285	720	15,675
Total	1,492,227	140,610	83,460	111,771	7,923	258,114	111,357	16,473	6,528	1,347	23,227	15,840	30,627	11,493	2,311,107
Percent of 2001 group															
Sole European	81.9	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	13.7	1.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	1.3	0.1	0.6	0.5	100.0
Sole Māori	2.2	81.7	0.4	0.1	0.0	1.2	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.2	0.5	100.0
Sole Pacific	1.3	0.5	90.9	0.4	0.0	0.5	0.2	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	2.8	0.5	100.0
Sole Asian	1.3	0.1	0.3	93.5	0.1	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.1	2.3	0.4	100.0
Sole MELAA	9.6	0.2	0.4	0.8	80.8	2.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.1	0.2	2.1	1.3	100.0
Sole Other	28.3	2.2	0.0	4.3	2.2	52.2	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	2.2	4.3	100.0
European + Māori	9.4	15.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	5.2	64.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	2.8	2.1	0.4	100.0
European + Pacific	10.2	0.3	12.9	0.3	0.0	2.8	0.4	63.6	0.0	0.0	0.2	4.4	3.4	0.4	100.0
European + Asian	17.0	0.1	0.2	13.5	0.0	6.7	0.2	0.2	50.8	0.1	0.5	3.0	7.1	0.5	100.0
European + MELAA	40.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	10.2	5.8	0.4	0.0	0.1	32.2	1.0	2.7	5.2	1.6	100.0
European + Other	42.9	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	19.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	1.6	27.0	3.2	0.0	1.6	100.0
European + 2 or more	4.1	5.5	3.4	0.4	0.1	2.9	7.0	4.1	0.7	0.2	0.2	60.4	10.9	0.3	100.0
2 or more non-European	1.8	8.2	9.9	2.1	0.2	0.9	1.3	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.1	8.9	65.3	0.4	100.0
Residuals	56.6	7.6	3.5	4.5	0.8	12.7	4.7	0.7	0.4	0.2	1.1	0.8	1.8	4.6	100.0
Total	64.6	6.1	3.6	4.8	0.3	11.2	4.8	0.7	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.7	1.3	0.5	100.0

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³ Where respondents have indicated ethnicities from two or more level one groupings, excluding European.

⁴ Includes Don't know/Refused to answer/Repeated value/Response unidentifiable/Response outside scope/Not stated.

Table 4d: 2006-2013 ethnic mobility, NZLC linked records - Level 1 (alone and selected combinations)

2006 ethnic grouping/s	2013 ethnic grouping/s														Total
	Sole European	Sole Māori	Sole Pacific	Sole Asian	Sole MELAA	Sole Other	European + Māori	European + Pacific	European + Asian	European + MELAA	European + Other	European + 2 or more	2 or more non-European	Residuals	
Frequency															
Sole European	1,313,310	8,472	3,192	11,193	2,148	11,238	18,954	2,217	1,497	516	1,560	1,026	606	5,217	1,381,146
Sole Māori	10,401	100,122	1,242	1,722	195	336	16,659	168	54	12	24	666	1,179	543	133,323
Sole Pacific	3,054	882	75,675	1,938	174	114	507	1,926	27	9	12	393	1,359	291	86,361
Sole Asian	7,968	744	1,518	147,399	645	510	684	201	1,083	27	18	168	924	519	162,408
Sole MELAA ¹	1,629	105	123	552	11,061	63	96	18	9	180	3	24	78	183	14,124
Sole Other	204,204	2,571	693	2,280	312	19,764	7,461	720	504	69	993	543	294	1,035	241,443
European + Māori	15,576	14,721	591	1,287	150	585	72,852	174	54	15	30	1,029	270	339	107,673
European + Pacific	1,959	159	1,908	288	24	75	159	10,530	18	3	9	489	144	51	15,816
European + Asian	1,518	48	39	870	12	99	45	15	4,512	6	6	123	69	27	7,389
European + MELAA	672	9	12	33	246	18	9	3	9	654	0	36	15	12	1,728
European + Other	19,773	117	51	129	27	804	318	42	39	12	312	27	9	93	21,753
European + 2 or more ²	1,887	975	411	303	33	222	3,348	645	252	39	12	7,284	1,176	57	16,644
2 or more non-European ³	1,620	1,827	1,734	2,145	195	369	1,881	462	426	72	6	1,047	7,029	66	18,906
Residuals ⁴	8,592	1,074	636	1,188	279	354	660	81	54	15	24	78	90	576	13,701
Total	1,592,163	131,826	87,825	171,327	15,501	34,551	123,633	17,202	8,538	1,629	3,009	12,960	13,242	9,009	2,222,415
Percent of 2006 group⁵															
Sole European	95.1	0.6	0.2	0.8	0.2	0.8	1.4	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4	100.0
Sole Māori	7.8	75.1	0.9	1.3	0.1	0.3	12.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.9	0.4	100.0
Sole Pacific	3.5	1.0	87.6	2.2	0.2	0.1	0.6	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.6	0.3	100.0
Sole Asian	4.9	0.5	0.9	90.8	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.6	0.3	100.0
Sole MELAA	11.5	0.7	0.9	3.9	78.3	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.1	1.3	0.0	0.2	0.6	1.3	100.0
Sole Other	84.6	1.1	0.3	0.9	0.1	8.2	3.1	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.4	100.0
European + Māori	14.5	13.7	0.5	1.2	0.1	0.5	67.7	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.3	100.0
European + Pacific	12.4	1.0	12.1	1.8	0.2	0.5	1.0	66.6	0.1	0.0	0.1	3.1	0.9	0.3	100.0
European + Asian	20.5	0.6	0.5	11.8	0.2	1.3	0.6	0.2	61.1	0.1	0.1	1.7	0.9	0.4	100.0
European + MELAA	38.9	0.5	0.7	1.9	14.2	1.0	0.5	0.2	0.5	37.8	0.0	2.1	0.9	0.7	100.0
European + Other	90.9	0.5	0.2	0.6	0.1	3.7	1.5	0.2	0.2	0.1	1.4	0.1	0.0	0.4	100.0
European + 2 or more	11.3	5.9	2.5	1.8	0.2	1.3	20.1	3.9	1.5	0.2	0.1	43.8	7.1	0.3	100.0
2 or more non-European	8.6	9.7	9.2	11.3	1.0	2.0	9.9	2.4	2.3	0.4	0.0	5.7	37.2	0.3	100.0
Residuals	62.7	7.8	4.6	8.7	2.0	2.6	4.8	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.7	4.2	100.0
Total	71.6	5.9	4.0	7.7	0.7	1.6	5.6	0.8	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.6	0.4	100.0

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³ Where respondents have indicated ethnicities from two or more level one groupings, excluding European.

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The various ethnic combination categories were generally far less stable than sole ethnic groups, churn that is unsurprising given that multiple affiliations challenge, by definition, the notion of discrete ethnic groupings. Similar rates of change can be seen in the European and Māori, and European and Pacific groups, in that only around two thirds remained consistently in these categories in each intercensal period. For those that changed, the percentage movement into either of the sole constituent groups was about equal. Of those recorded as both European and Māori in 2006, 14.5 percent identified solely as European in 2013 and 13.7 percent as only Māori.

These findings are consistent with the limited prior research undertaken in other countries with dominant White populations, showing that the White ethnic identification is remarkably stable over time, with very little change compared to minority groups (Liebler et al. 2017; Simpson and Akinwale 2007; Simpson, Jivraj and Warren 2016). While each of these studies all only covered one intercensal period, our study observes ethnic response change across four intercensal periods, and so we can be confident that the general pattern of White ethnic stability is robust, rather than the result of period effects. Having said that, the higher level of change observed between 1991 - 1996, and 2001 - 2006 shows that temporal variation in White ethnic responses due to instrumental or political period effects is certainly possible. We are also mindful that level one groupings are likely to be internally diverse and could potentially mask more nuanced patterns of response change within and across specific European ethnic groups.

To control for this, we also examine response changes for a select number of level three European ethnic groups for the period 1991 to 1996, and 1996 to 2001. We centre our analysis on the 1996 Census because of unique one-off changes to both the question and response options. In addition to a question change that stated ‘tick as many circles as you need to show which ethnic group/s you belong to’, the New Zealand European tick-box was changed to NZ European *or* Pakeha. Pākehā is a Māori colloquialism for non-Māori (especially Europeans), with history dating to the early period of non-Māori settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand, although its precise etymological origins or meaning is not necessarily clear (Baker 1945; King 1985). In the 1980s and 1990s a large literature explored

Pākehā identity within the settler - Māori relationship, although many European New Zealanders have a visceral dislike of the term, some preferring other labels and some rejecting it on the basis it is a te reo Māori word (Bell 1996). An Other European tick-box was also provided separate to the NZ European/Pakeha tick-box, with an arrow to a subsumed question box asking ‘which of these groups?’, with tick-boxes for English, Dutch, Australian, Scottish, Irish, and Other (see Appendix 4B).

This analysis provides an opportunity to test the stability of European responses when the form encourages more granular expressions of European identity (Table 5). For clarity, only New Zealand-born people are included in this table, so that responses in the various other European categories do not include any migrants with direct birth ties to these countries, only New Zealand-born people who indicate the various identities. Levels of change are shown at level three⁴⁶, and rows and columns sum to the total New Zealand-born population in the two included census pairs. The ‘Ethnicity/ethnicities not listed’ category includes any group or combination not otherwise listed, while ‘residuals’ indicate not stated, don’t know, unidentifiable, or similar type responses.

⁴⁶ While the level three categories listed are for the most part identical to the level four category, British and Irish is a level three category which aggregates British not further defined (nfd), Celtic, Channel Islander, Cornish, English, Gaelic, Irish, Manx, Orkney Islander, Shetland Islander, Scottish, and Welsh level four records.

Table 5: Ethnic group change for selected ethnic groups, New Zealand-born individuals, 1991-1996 & 1996-2001 NZLC census pairs

1991-1996 Census pair													
	1996 ethnic grouping/s												
1991 ethnic grouping/s	New Zealand European or Pakeha only	British or Irish only	New Zealand European or Pakeha + British or Irish	Dutch only	New Zealand European + Dutch	Australian only	New Zealand European + Australian	Any other European ethnicity/ethnicities	New Zealand European or Pakeha + Māori	Māori only	Ethnicity/ethnicities not listed	Residuals	Total
New Zealand European only	1,388,628	14,124	49,596	1,056	5,364	144	1,653	5,841	37,002	7,509	25,782	9,360	1,546,056
British or Irish ¹ only	462	258	210	0	0	0	0	12	30	21	54	9	1,065
New Zealand European + British or Irish	456	99	312	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	96	6	984
Dutch only	261	0	0	270	303	0	0	12	9	6	36	0	897
New Zealand European + Dutch	399	0	0	117	618	0	0	96	39	0	36	0	1,314
Australian only	114	0	0	0	0	51	33	15	12	9	15	0	258
New Zealand European + Australian	57	0	0	0	0	6	30	9	6	0	9	0	120
Any other European ² ethnicity/ethnicities	1,251	45	54	0	9	12	9	1,257	177	114	3,498	0	6,435
New Zealand European + Māori	5,232	93	180	0	9	0	0	21	40,101	8,193	2,064	351	56,247
Māori only	4,470	105	156	6	15	9	0	27	34,122	111,627	5,316	1,143	156,996
Ethnicity/ethnicities not listed ³	3,030	72	147	9	15	0	9	87	759	1,086	57,021	474	62,691
Residuals ⁴	2,187	36	87	6	15	0	0	0	339	276	363	93	3,411
Total	1,406,550	14,826	50,760	1,470	6,351	225	1,743	7,401	112,596	128,832	94,281	11,442	1,836,480

1996-2001 Census pair													
2001 ethnic grouping/s													
1996 ethnic grouping/s	New Zealand European or Pakeha only	British or Irish only	New Zealand European or Pakeha + British or Irish	Dutch only	New Zealand European + Dutch	Australian only	New Zealand European + Australian	Any other European ethnicity/ethnicities	New Zealand European or Pakeha + Māori	Māori only	Ethnicity/ Ethnicities not listed	Residuals	Total
New Zealand European only	1,334,259	417	753	213	645	30	60	1,635	12,834	3,315	4,395	5,343	1,363,902
British or Irish only	12,876	270	153	0	0	0	0	75	159	141	132	120	13,932
New Zealand European + British or Irish	45,246	141	579	0	9	0	0	165	399	117	207	231	47,094
Dutch only	1,005	0	0	297	210	0	0	6	6	9	6	15	1,551
New Zealand European + Dutch	5,370	0	0	285	1,080	0	0	18	39	15	30	39	6,870
Australian	291	0	0	0	0	15	12	0	6	24	15	6	369
New Zealand European + Australian only	1,779	0	0	0	0	12	51	0	15	9	24	6	1,899
Any other European ethnicity/ethnicities	20,040	96	90	30	183	6	12	1,980	303	117	267	156	23,283
New Zealand European + Māori	25,956	24	39	6	27	0	9	132	66,834	23,409	1,386	609	118,437
Māori only	5,802	0	6	0	0	0	0	27	15,027	102,579	1,788	483	125,721
Ethnicity/ethnicities not listed	17,757	36	21	15	45	0	0	162	2,232	3,399	76,464	501	100,635
Residuals	9,738	12	12	0	0	0	0	33	666	1,224	702	255	12,651
Total	1,480,125	999	1,662	861	2,211	69	150	4,230	98,520	134,349	8,5416	7,761	1,816,350

Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to give effect to the security and confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975. The results presented in this study are the work of the author, not Statistics NZ or individual data suppliers.

Confidentiality rules have been applied to all cells, including randomly rounding to base 3. Individual figures may not add up to totals, and values for the same data may vary slightly between different text, tables and graphs.

¹ British or Irish here means one or more of the level 4 ethnic groups included in the level 3 category British or Irish. This includes: British no further details (nfd), Celtic, Channel Islander, Cornish, English, Gaelic, Irish, Manx, Orkney Islander, Scottish, Shetland Islander, Welsh and Other British (not elsewhere classified).

² Includes one or more ethnicities solely within the level 1 'European' group of ethnicities, not otherwise indicated in the table.

³ Includes any ethnic groups/group combinations not otherwise listed, including European groups in combination with non-European groups that are not New Zealand European (or Pakeha) and Māori.

⁴ Includes Don't know/Refused to answer/Repeated value/Response unidentifiable/Response outside scope/Not stated.

A clear shift occurred in ethnic identification between 1991-1996, as more people identified with more than one ethnicity. Identifying with multiple ethnicities has increased in countries across the world, with New Zealand no exception (Aspinall and Rocha 2020), but changes in the question in 1996 made it more explicit that respondents could indicate more than one ethnicity and this, along with listing other European groups on the form⁴⁷, saw the number of people indicating these identities increase. Of the 1,146,056 New Zealand-born people who identified exclusively as New Zealand European in 1991, 157,428 (10.2 percent) had a different response in 1996. A majority kept New Zealand European ethnicity and added other affiliation/s, most commonly one or more British or Irish ethnicity or Māori. These changes, not lasting, demonstrate European New Zealanders expressing other identities when given the explicit opportunity to do so. Inasmuch as ‘New Zealand European’ was typically retained they largely confirm the stability of local whiteness.

Discussion

This study addresses two significant gaps in the literature on ethnic identification and boundaries. The first is the lack of research on ethnic response change involving multiple groups and time points. While previous studies have examined intercensal changes in ethnic identification, none (to our knowledge) have been able to track individuals over five census periods. Apart from having access to a unique dataset, Aotearoa NZ is an ideal context to study ethnic response change given its high level of ethnic diversity and the importance of ethnicity in public policy (Spoonley 2015). The second gap that we address is the paucity of research on the dynamics of ethnic identification within dominant White groups. Our emphasis on European identification helps meet local calls for more detailed examinations of “how majorities are resisting or adapting to the challenges they face to their dominant ethnicity position” (Pearson 2009: 52). This question is an increasingly important one in Europe and the Anglo settler states where, as Jardina (2019) has argued, a growing number of White/European groups identify with their whiteness in a politically meaningful way. Understanding the nature

⁴⁷ Disaggregating European into various listed groups may relate to criticisms from minority groups, expressed in the 1988 Review of Ethnic Statistics, that while minority groups were enumerated in great detail, Europeans were not subject to the same level of scrutiny (Department of Statistics 1988).

and extent of ethnic response change is also of practical importance given the wide-ranging uses of census ethnicity data including for political representation, public policy, resource allocation, and population projections (Census 2018 External Data Quality Panel 2019; Perez and Hirschman 2009). Statistics New Zealand, for example, explicitly accounts for the impact of ethnic response change in its ethnic population projections (Statistics New Zealand 2017).

Our results are consistent with studies from a range of contexts which have shown that changes in census-based expressions of ethnicity vary over time and by group. Rates of change were generally lowest for Europeans, consistent with the low levels of change seen in dominant White groups in England and Wales between the 1991 and 2001 and also 2001 and 2011 censuses (Simpson and Akinwale 2007; Simpson, Jivraj and Warren 2016) and in the United States between 2000 and 2010 (Liebler et al. 2017). Rates of change were also relatively low for the Asian group, higher for Pacific peoples and highest for Māori. While this paper does not seek to explain these observed differences, the low rates of change from the Asian category seem to relate to the generally shorter migration history of this group. The Pasifika group has a longer local history and thus opportunity for inter-ethnic partnering. Māori-European inter-ethnic partnering has been common since the very beginning of European settlement and shifts between the sole Māori and other groups should also be seen in light of the Māori emphasis on whakapapa (genealogical connection, see Mahuika 2019) and inclusive boundaries of Māori identity. That is, regardless of whether an individual has or claims non-Māori ethnicity, he or she is still considered Māori in social, cultural, tribal, and political contexts (O'Regan 1987).

When discussing European ethnic response change, it is useful to talk about shifts at two levels. The first is at the highest level of aggregation. At level one, the European major ethnic group was significantly more stable than other ethnic groupings across all census periods. The exception was 2001-2006 when a large number of Europeans changed their response to 'New Zealander', either alone or in combination. Though this phenomenon seems to have been driven by factors unique to this period (Didham 2016; Kukutai and Didham 2006), the predominance of Europeans raises questions around why it was this group that

was the most willing – or able – to claim a New Zealander ethnicity. Dynamics of settler colonialism seem to be implicated in this European claim to the centre of the nation: in the past few decades, similar ‘national naming’ by (mostly) settler-European majorities has been observed in Canada (Boyd 1999), Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017) and New Caledonia (Broustet and Rivoilan 2015). Such ethnic claims serve to frame the national identity in implicitly majoritarian or settler terms.

At another level is movement between categories within the broad European grouping of ethnicities, as in the 1996 Census⁴⁸. Undoubtedly key here were the changes in the collection instrument, and the ‘other European’ groups listed. Callister (2004) has argued that including these ‘other European’ categories, distinct from New Zealand European, and including the term ‘Pakeha’, together served to project a sense of New Zealand Europeans as *native* New Zealanders, distinct from others of European ancestry. That many New Zealand-born people indicated these ‘other European’ affiliations underscores many of the themes and dilemmas of local European identity. The apparent ‘culturelessness’ of majority identity may have made such affiliations attractive as ‘symbolic ethnicities’ (Gans 1979), or they may represent a lingering attachment to imperial British identity. In general terms, the lack of agreement on a ‘New Zealand European’ group name reflects the ongoing ambiguity surrounding the European status in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Both forms of response change, however, do not seem to reflect any widespread conscious changes in ethnic belonging or identity. Instead, they reflect external factors, including changes in the collection instrument in 1996 and public debates and a campaign promoting New Zealander responses in 2006. That these should result in changes to ethnic reporting suggests a group acquiescent to the nudges provided by external factors, and longstanding dissatisfaction/debate around the best label or name for local Europeans, but do not broadly speaking seem to reflect any shift in the sense of self amongst this group.

⁴⁸ The relative stability in the total Usually Resident Population counted in the level 1 European category, 83.2 percent in 1991 and 83.1 percent in 1996, would seem to validate this suggestion (Broman 2018).

With that said, and without reifying this category, the comparatively high stability in the European group is worthy of further discussion. Stability here is suggestive of a more race-like (i.e. fixed) conception of identity amongst this group than others, although lower levels of multi-ethnic reporting (and thus higher stability) for Europeans is unsurprising given the generally lower level of inter-ethnic partnering amongst majority groups due to the greater availability of potential partners of the same ethnicity (Blau 1977). For example, with more than half of Māori (53.5 percent or 320,406 people) identifying with two or more ethnic groups in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand 2014), it is unsurprising that this group should see high levels of change across groups. While this demographic effect of group size on potential partners means there is likely a larger ‘core’ of European group members of solely European settler descent, it must be noted here how the European category is such a sizable majority in part because it signifies a group with a wide range of origins⁴⁹. Many groups are subsumed within this broad identity category, with perhaps the most constant shared cultural characteristic being a shared position of colonial privilege: Europeans are positioned, as Elder, Ellis and Pratt (2004: 209) argue, at ‘the centre or core of the nation’. In this way, the relative stability of European responses reflects longstanding processes of ‘majority’ boundary-making and keeping in settler-colonial New Zealand.

Our study does have some important limitations. Most notably, not all census records could be linked to the previous census in each NZLC census pair, and records were not missing at random. Attrition in link missingness for individuals precluded us from following individuals over more than two census periods and meant we have focused our attention here separately on four linked pairs, which is likely to understate true rates of individual-level ethnic response change. Taken as a whole, however, and although we do not attempt to generalise our findings to other CANZUS countries, we think it reasonable to suggest that the boundaries separating dominant White ethnic groups from non-dominant ones are far less porous than acknowledged, and that, in the context of growing diversity, these

⁴⁹ Some have suggested that early European settlers had generally more parochial notions of identity centred in countries, counties, or even parishes (Akenson 1990; Wells 2008).

boundaries are not breaking down. Given the challenges faced in ongoing efforts to deconstruct whiteness in the public sphere, this relative rigidity is telling.

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Appendix 4A: Census *t* Usually Resident Population totals compared to linked (in-study) records, 1991-2013 census pairs

1991-1996	1996 Census Usually Resident Population			Records linked to 1991 Census			Percent of 1996 URP included in study		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Female s	Males	Total
0-4	135,489	144,111	279,597	-	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
5-14	269,100	283,389	552,486	173,407	179,816	353,223	64.4	63.5	63.9
15-24	266,334	268,410	534,735	163,141	160,316	323,457	61.3	59.7	60.5
25-34	291,873	274,902	566,787	158,573	129,582	288,155	54.3	47.1	50.8
35-44	275,517	264,735	540,255	193,219	168,293	361,512	70.1	63.6	66.9
45-54	214,308	213,606	427,902	162,142	152,580	314,722	75.7	71.4	73.6
55-64	147,663	146,208	293,868	112,499	107,794	220,293	76.2	73.7	75.0
65-84	213,288	170,916	384,207	158,961	128,506	287,467	74.5	75.2	74.8
85 +	27,264	11,199	38,463	17,859	7,634	25,493	65.5	68.2	66.3
Total:	1,840,839	1,777,461	3,618,300	1,139,799	1,034,523	2,174,322	61.9	58.2	60.1
1996-2001	2001 Census URP records			Records linked to 1996 Census			Percent of 2001 URP included in study		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Female	Male	Total
0-4	132,108	138,690	270,807	-	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
5-14	280,947	295,992	576,939	172,161	179,946	352,107	61.3	60.8	61.0
15-24	251,319	253,746	505,065	147,114	143,439	290,553	58.5	56.5	57.5
25-34	275,967	250,209	526,179	137,454	108,336	245,787	49.8	43.3	46.7
35-44	301,905	281,184	583,080	199,344	165,876	365,208	66.0	59.0	62.6
45-54	247,476	240,483	487,956	180,297	165,312	345,612	72.9	68.7	70.8
55-64	170,802	166,017	336,831	125,646	118,800	244,437	73.6	71.6	72.6
65-84	219,615	182,166	401,790	161,478	134,379	295,857	73.5	73.8	73.6
85 +	34,125	14,517	48,642	21,672	9,459	31,137	63.5	65.2	64.0
Total:	1,914,273	1,823,007	3,737,280	1,145,175	1,025,511	2,170,686	59.8	56.3	58.1
2001-2006	2006 Census URP records			Records linked to 2001 Census			Percent of 2006 URP included in study		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Female	Male	Total
0-4	134,694	140,379	275,079	-	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
5-14	288,858	303,645	592,497	172,722	180,345	353,058	59.8	59.4	59.6
15-24	283,653	287,526	571,176	163,077	160,086	323,160	57.5	55.7	56.6
25-34	270,897	248,097	519,006	126,132	101,037	227,178	46.6	40.7	43.8
35-44	321,351	293,898	615,249	203,181	164,433	367,617	63.2	55.9	59.8
45-54	278,793	267,363	546,150	199,320	177,138	376,458	71.5	66.3	68.9
55-64	209,631	203,562	413,187	154,881	145,446	300,324	73.9	71.5	72.7
65-84	235,458	203,475	438,936	175,044	150,528	325,578	74.3	74.0	74.2
85 +	38,997	17,670	56,667	12,114	25,626	37,737	31.1	145.0	66.6
Total:	2,062,329	1,965,618	4,027,947	1,219,974	1,091,118	2,311,095	59.2	55.5	57.4
2006-2013	2013 Census URP records			Records linked to 2006 Census			Percent of 2013 URP included in study		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Female	Males	Total
0-6*	201,051	209,709	410,754	-	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
7-14*	222,417	232,464	454,887	122,280	126,621	248,901	55.0	54.5	54.7
15-24	289,944	296,505	586,452	157,908	160,371	318,270	54.5	54.1	54.3
25-34	267,834	246,852	514,686	98,544	89,676	188,214	36.8	36.3	36.6
35-44	302,829	270,435	573,273	163,104	130,506	293,607	53.9	48.3	51.2
45-54	312,726	288,912	601,626	207,972	179,205	387,168	66.5	62.0	64.4
55-64	253,089	240,270	493,344	177,297	163,563	340,860	70.1	68.1	69.1
65-84	281,025	252,696	533,721	208,065	184,821	392,898	74.0	73.1	73.6
85 +	47,136	26,181	73,323	33,216	19,281	52,503	70.5	73.6	71.6

Total:	2,178,030	2,064,018	4,242,048	1,054,044	1,168,386	2,222,421	48.4	56.6	52.4
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Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to give effect to the security and confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975. The results presented in this study are the work of the author, not Statistics NZ or individual data suppliers.

Confidentiality rules have been applied to all cells, including randomly rounding to base 3. Individual figures may not add up to totals, and values for the same data may vary slightly between different text, tables and graphs.

* These age groupings differ from previous censuses due to the postponement of the planned 2011 census to 2013 following the 2011 Christchurch earthquake.

Appendix 4B: English-language ethnic group questions in the New Zealand census, 1991-2013

1991	1996	2001
<p>7 Which ethnic group do you belong to? Tick the box or boxes which apply to you</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand European</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand Maori</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Samoan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Cook Island Maori</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tongan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Niuean</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Chinese</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Indian</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other (such as Dutch, Japanese, Tokelauan)</p> <p>Please state _____</p>	<p>10 Tick as many circles as you need to show which ethnic group(s) you belong to.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> NZ Maori</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> NZ European or Pakeha</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> other European → Which of these groups?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Samoan <input type="checkbox"/> English</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Cook Island Maori <input type="checkbox"/> Dutch</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tongan <input type="checkbox"/> Australian</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Niuean <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> Irish</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Indian <input type="checkbox"/> other</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> other (such as FIJIAN, KOREAN) → Print your ethnic group(s)</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>11 Which ethnic group do you belong to? Mark the space or spaces which apply to you.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand European</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Maori</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Samoan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Cook Island Maori</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tongan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Niuean</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Chinese</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Indian</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> other (such as DUTCH, JAPANESE, TOKELAUAN). Please state:</p> <p>_____</p>
2006	2013	
<p>11 Which ethnic group do you belong to? Mark the space or spaces which apply to you.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand European</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Māori</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Samoan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Cook Island Maori</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tongan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Niuean</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Chinese</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Indian</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> other such as DUTCH, JAPANESE, TOKELAUAN. Please state:</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>11 Which ethnic group do you belong to? Mark the space or spaces which apply to you.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand European</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Māori</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Samoan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Cook Island Maori</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tongan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Niuean</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Chinese</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Indian</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> other such as DUTCH, JAPANESE, TOKELAUAN. Please state:</p> <p>_____</p>	

- Chapter 5 -

The (not so) silent centre: New Zealander ethnicity responses in the census⁵⁰

Recent census-based studies suggest that the identification patterns of such dominant ethnic groups vary dramatically from those of minorities, being less likely to change. An important exception has been ‘national naming’, where individuals shift their identification to take on national identifiers, such as ‘Canadian’ or ‘New Zealander’. National identity, often considered supraethnic, is usually claimed in census counts by members of dominant groups, although the personal characteristics of those doing so, or the broader implications for ethnic and national identity, are less clear. We use linked microdata to explore patterns observed in the 2006 New Zealand census, when an especially striking shift to national naming occurred. We find the likelihood of identifying ‘New Zealander’ correlates with being middle-aged, male, living in European-only households, living in less deprived areas, and those with higher European population share. Such within-group differences have implications for understanding ethnic and national identity in dominant groups.

Introduction

Studies of ethnic enumeration in the population census have revealed substantial differences in how governments conceptualise, classify and count their populations by ethnicity (Ittman, Cordell & Maddox, 2010; Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Kukutai & Thompson, 2015; Morning, 2008; Simon, Piche, & Gagnon, 2015). Not only is there marked variation in how ethnicity is represented by the state, but also in how it is experienced and expressed. Far from being an innate, stable human characteristic, there is significant volatility in how individuals record their

⁵⁰ This manuscript, co-authored with Professor Tahu Kukutai and Associate Professor Avril Bell, has been submitted to the journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

ethnicity over time (Liebler et al., 2017; Simpson, Jivraj, & Warren, 2016) and in different contexts (Harris & Sim, 2002; Saperstein 2006; Saperstein & Penner, 2012). To date, census studies have tended to focus on the identities of ethnic minorities - groups that have historically had little say over how they are classified in the census, and that have faced various forms of exclusion and discrimination owing to their ethnicity (Wirth, 1945). Far less attention has been paid to dominant⁵¹ ethnic groups that hold normative power and control of national institutions and resources (Doane, 1997). In Europe and all of the 'neo-Europes'⁵² (Crosby, 1986) the populations that are politically, socially, and economically dominant are white - or, to be more specific, are socially constructed as white (Guess, 2006). Given the rise of white nationalism and 'alt-right' white supremacy (Atkinson, 2018), understanding the nuances of dominant white group identity at the population level - rather than on the margins (Reitman, 2018) - has never been more relevant, or necessary.

The relative invisibility of dominant white groups in the expansive literature on ethnic enumeration appears to reflect several embedded assumptions in the field. One is that processes of ethnic change and stratification - for example, ethnic group boundaries (Barth, 1969) and assimilation (Gordon, 1964) - are best apprehended through examining patterns of identification among minorities. We agree that minorities' experiences and opportunities are shaped in specific ways by social structure and historical context, but suggest that the identity choices of dominant white groups also reflect important features of ethnic hierarchies. A second assumption is that there is insufficient interest or variation in expressions of ethnicity among whites to warrant attention. That is, there is little incentive for those that enjoy identity-based privileges to engage critically with, or to change, their identity. At first blush, this assumption seems largely well-founded. Descriptive analyses using linked census records to measure ethnic responses over time have found dominant white groups in England and Wales (Simpson et al.,

⁵¹ 'Dominant', in a sociological rather than demographic sense, although, in many instances, dominant white groups are (currently) dominant both in terms of political power as well as numerically dominant.

⁵² This set of countries also include the so-called 'CANZUS' states - Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. All are affluent English-speaking democracies with a shared British colonial past (Ford, 2012).

2016), the United States (Liebler et al., 2017) and Aotearoa New Zealand (Broman & Kukutai, forthcoming) are the least likely to change their ethnic designation over time.

However, there is at least one exception to the population-level pattern of ‘white stability’ - a phenomenon we call ‘national naming’. Observed in several countries, this is where significant numbers of individuals from the dominant group change their ethnic identification to take on the national identifier. In Canada, for example, there was a dramatic rise in the number reporting ‘Canadian’ as an ethnic origin response - from 0.5% in 1986 to nearly 4% in 1991 and (after being listed on the form) over 30% in 1996. This increase was matched by a substantial decline in the number recording British or French origins (Boyd, 1999; Boyd & Norris, 2001; Lee & Edmonston, 2010). In New Caledonia (a French settler colony in the Pacific), almost 7% of the population indicated ‘Calédonien(ne)’ ethnicity in the 2014 Census⁵³. Most of these were concentrated in the areas around the capital where the more privileged ‘European’ (mostly French settler) population lives, as distinct from the areas associated with Indigenous Kanak population (Broustet & Ravolien, 2015). Perhaps the most striking example of a shift to national naming occurred in Aotearoa NZ, where the number of ethnic ‘New Zealanders’ jumped from 91,578 (2.6%) in the 2001 Census to 429,429 (11.1%) in 2006. Over 90% of the ethnic ‘New Zealanders’ had previously recorded ‘New Zealand European’ as their ethnic group (Brown & Gray, 2009; Kukutai & Didham, 2012). It is important to note that none of these three cases were driven initially by changes to the census questionnaire - the shifts in dominant group identification were driven by factors external to the census.

In this paper, we focus on the 2006 experience in Aotearoa NZ to explore three questions related to the phenomenon of national naming by dominant white groups: 1) What conditions might lead individuals from dominant white groups to claim the national identifier as their ethnic designation in the census? 2) What personal characteristics and features of the household context are more (or less)

⁵³ As a result, the 2019 census asked respondents separately if they considered themselves to be Caledonian.

likely to be associated with this change? and, 3) What might the phenomenon of national naming represent in terms of the nuanced meanings of dominant white ethnicity? While focused on the European population in Aotearoa NZ, these questions have wider relevance for understanding the dynamics of dominant group identities in other countries. Our exploration is guided by and extends recent strands of research examining the contemporary experiences of dominant white majorities in the context of broader demographic change (DiAngelo, 2018; Kaufmann, 2019). The census is an ideal context in which to examine the interplay of ethnicity, identity, dominance, and power. With its roots in military conscription and taxation, the census has long been an instrument for the distribution of power and resources (Ruppert, 2017; Whitby, 2020).

To explore these questions we use a unique dataset - the New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC) - which links individual de-identified census records from 1981 through to 2013 (Didham, Nissen, & Dobson, 2014). Given our focus on national naming in the 2006 Census, we constructed a panel of 1,544,583 individuals who identified with a European ethnic group in 2001 and who could be linked to the 2006 Census. Applying binary logistic regression models, we were able to empirically examine changes in identification within the European group, and the individual and contextual factors associated with change. Consistent with a perspective of national naming as an identity claim tied to power, we found significant associations between identifying as an ethnic 'New Zealander' and being middle-aged, male, living in a European-only household, and living in areas that are less deprived and have a higher European population share. Although the census is a blunt instrument for examining the complex meanings and motivations that underlie ethnic identity decisions, it is unparalleled in being able to show the structure of ethnicity and population-level changes in ethnicity over time. In the case of Aotearoa NZ, our analysis reveals the privileged nature of national naming - to be an ethnic 'New Zealander' is not an identity that is equally accessible, or claimed, by all. Moreover, systematic variation in the likelihood of claiming it means we are able to advance understanding of ethnic and national identities, and the relationship between them, at a population level. To put these patterns of census-reporting in context requires a fuller understanding of both the ethnic politics and dynamics that preceded the

2006 Census and the evolving nature of dominant white ethnicity in the colonial settler state that is Aotearoa NZ. We pick up on both of these themes below.

New Zealand European and the 2006 Census

Aotearoa New Zealand was colonised by Great Britain in the nineteenth century, and rapid settlement saw the European population outnumber the Indigenous Māori by 1858 (Belich, 1996). Migration policy meant the settler population was overwhelmingly of British or Irish origin and tended to view itself, in national and ethnic senses, as British, and indeed as ‘better Britons’ (Pearson, 2002). As elsewhere, colonisation here was marked by violence and dispossession, although an important national mythology has centred on what Belich (1986) has described as the ‘race relations legend’: that New Zealand boasts the best race relations in the world. The country was long the most ethnically homogeneous of the settler states, with a predominantly British settler population and a smaller Māori population in mostly rural areas (Phillips, 2005). Non-European migration waves have seen the country rapidly diversify in recent years: the ‘European’ proportion of the population declined from 83.2% in the 1991 Census to 71.7% in 2018 (Statistics New Zealand, 2019). Wells (2018) has argued that this declining population share is tied to a growing awareness of Europeans as one ethnicity among many.

Other factors are also challenging the formerly stable group identity of local Europeans. Lessening political and economic ties have negated notions of European- or British-ness (King, 1985; Wells, 2018), while former understandings of Europeans as noble or pioneering settlers are no longer conceivable in light of global civil rights and decolonisation movements and an Indigenous Māori political and cultural renaissance (Spoonley, 2015; Walker, 1990). A questioning of local European identity continues to play out, notably in debates around the most appropriate name for this group, especially, and perhaps not surprisingly given the politicised nature of these counts, in the census. Reviews of ethnic statistics in the 1980s (Brown, 1983; Department of Statistics, 1988) noted growing disquiet around the longstanding ‘European’ label, and the 1991 Census introduced the more localised term ‘New Zealand European’. The word Pākehā was added in the 1996 Census (‘New Zealand European *or* Pakeha’). This term, a

Māori colloquialism for Europeans, had attracted much academic attention in the 1980s and 1990s (Keith, 1987; Nairn, 1986; Spoonley, 1991). However, many local Europeans have a visceral dislike of this Māori-language label, believing it to be derogatory (Pearson & Sissons, 1997). Marcetic (2018) notes how many 1996 Census respondents crossed out the word ‘Pakeha’ or complained about its inclusion, and it has not been included in any subsequent census.

The 1983 and 1988 official reviews had considered ‘New Zealander’ as an ethnic category, but rejected it because it could apply to any naturalised citizen (Brown, 1983; Department of Statistics, 1988). Although these were counted as New Zealand European responses, people had been writing it (or ‘Kiwi’) in from at least 1986 (Kukutai & Didham, 2012). In 2005, in the context of a growing number of such responses, the national statistics office announced that, while it would not list the category, it would code and classify it separately (Cormack & Robson, 2010). These changes in the ethnic classification received media and political attention, and, prior to the 2006 Census, a viral email urged people to indicate they were ‘New Zealanders’ (Middleton, 2006). A total of 429,429 people did so, although the following 2013 Census saw a much smaller number (c. 66,000). Questions around the substantive meaning of this sudden, impermanent shift are intensified by previous findings (Brown & Gray, 2009) that the vast majority (over 90%) had previously indicated European. Given the overwhelming association between ‘New Zealander’ and the dominant ethnic group, it is to theories around dominant identity we now turn.

Theorising dominant ethnicity

In the social sciences, the concept of ethnic groups and identities has historically been applied to minority populations within any specific society. Ethnicity hovers uneasily between discredited notions of ‘race’ (applicable to all) and this focus on minorities. This two-directional emphasis is evident in Max Weber’s early sociological definition of an ethnic group:

We shall call ‘ethnic groups’ those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the

propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relation exists. (1968[1922], p. 389).

While everyone can be categorised by ‘physical type’ and/or ‘custom’, within the Eurocentric perspective of Weber (and most social science theorising), only the identities of minorities are shaped by a sense of commonality built out of the shared experience of colonisation and/or migration. Or, more broadly, only the identities of minorities are shaped by their relationship to other cultural groups, and, in particular, to a cultural majority, and it is these inter-group relations that lead to the development of ethnic consciousness (Jenkins, 2008, p. 93). Dominant populations, in contrast, occupy the unmarked centre of any society; their physical type and customs/culture are the norm, their ways of being not denigrated or under threat. As a result, members of these groups do not develop an ethnic consciousness. They do not understand their identities as shaped by a relationship with other cultures. Thus, the subjective experience of dominant groups is generally not one of ethnicity. Rather, they typically experience their culture as the national culture rather than ethnic (Karner, 2011, p. 101).

The central issues in understanding the particularities of dominant ethnicities are, then, power and the lack of ethnic consciousness. Importantly, as Doane (1997, p. 381) has argued in his analysis of the ‘hidden’ (i.e. unconscious) dominant white ethnicity in the USA, it is not just that dominance means that consciousness does not develop, but that the lack of ethnic consciousness itself reproduces the power and privilege of the dominant group, enabling their ongoing occupation of the unmarked centre of the nation. As a result, Doane (1997, p. 390) suggests that the emphasis on self-consciousness as a criterion in defining ethnicity should be re-considered, as it allows dominant groups to continue to be excluded from ethnic analyses.

However, in recent decades, dominant group ethnic consciousness has emerged as an issue in a range of contexts, always as the result of some form of contestation or sense of threat (for example, Fenton & May, 2002; Kaufmann & Haklai, 2008). In such cases, as with ethnic minorities broadly, a sense of ethnic consciousness develops in relationship with other groups; it is the contrast between self and

other, ‘us’ and ‘them’, that sparks ethnic consciousness. These contestations faced by dominant groups can come from various directions – challenges to the national boundaries as in moves to political devolution, cession or amalgamation of national borders, challenges of internal cultural difference or multiculturalism arising from the incorporation of sizable migrant populations, or challenges to settler dominance from Indigenous minorities in the case of settler nations specifically. For example, Fenton (2003) and Black (2018), researching the rise of a (white) English national identity, linked this to challenges felt to hegemonic Britishness as a result of the introduction of devolved Scottish and Welsh parliaments in the 1990s, while Jenkins (1995) points out that Protestant identity in Northern Ireland exists only in contrast to Catholicism. In New Zealand, Spoonley (1995) points out how local Pakeha identity has origins in relation to Māori.

The question then arises as to whether the claim to a New Zealander ‘ethnicity’ in the 2006 Census should be taken at face value as a claim to a new ethnic identity, or understood as a reassertion by a section of the dominant group of their claim to occupy the national ‘mainstream’ in response to a sense of threat. Paul Callister (2011) has argued for the former possibility, that ‘New Zealander’ responses should be understood as signs of a process of ethnogenesis, the emergence of a second ‘indigenous’ ethnic group, particularly likely amongst white settler New Zealanders whose families have lived in New Zealand for multiple generations. However, the fact that ‘New Zealander’ responses sharply dropped away again in subsequent censuses would seem to belie that the 2006 turn to ‘New Zealander’ represented a process of ethnogenesis. Further, it is telling that it was the national identity label being used in 2006, rather than an alternative, such as Pakeha, which arguably would more clearly signal the development of an ethnic consciousness amongst the dominant population.

The alternative argument is that the 2006 rise in ‘New Zealander’ responses represented a reassertion of national dominance and centrality amongst a segment of the dominant population feeling in some sense under threat. Given the political context of the 2006 Census, this interpretation seems likely. As Doane (1997, p.

378) says, the dominant ethnic group ‘appropriates the mainstream’ of the national culture. In so doing, he argues, they confound their interests with those of the wider society and their legitimacy becomes a given. Further, in the same move, the ethnic identities and interests of minorities are delegitimised as an undesirable refusal to be part of the national mainstream (Doane, 1997, pp. 384-385).

This kind of argument about the politics of ‘New Zealander’ responses as a defensive reassertion of national dominance dovetails with Karner’s (2001) typology of how ethnic majorities respond to otherness. Karner’s argument is based on an analysis of Austrian nationalist discourses regarding a range of ethnic others, in which he identifies two hegemonic and two counter-hegemonic discourses engaged by majority ethnic Austrians. The hegemonic discourses, for which he uses Levi-Strauss’s terminology, are anthropoemic (working to exclude the other) and anthropophagic (working to assimilate otherness). These defend the national hegemony, Karner (2011, p. 108) argues, in that both “reproduce existing configurations of power.” In contrast, the two counter-hegemonic discourses work to recognise and include cultural differences within the nation, effectively also decentring the dominant group. These he labels critical pluralism (which includes cultural difference and encourages reflection on histories of conflict between groups) and hybridity (which marks and celebrates the cultural syncretism between different groups within the society). If we reflect on ‘New Zealander’ responses to the census in relation to this typology, it is difficult to equate these with either of the counter-hegemonic strategies. Logically, and echoing Doane’s analysis, the assertion of ‘New Zealander’ ethnicity is most likely an anthropophagic strategy that seeks to deny and assimilate cultural difference into a hegemonic, majority-dominated national culture.

If ‘New Zealander’ responses in the census are an expression of a sense of threat and a reassertion of national dominance on the part of a segment of the dominant ethnic group, then which segment of the population experienced this sense of threat becomes an interesting question. No ethnic group is monolithic and dominant ethnicities are no exception. Rather, different sections of the dominant

group will occupy positions of more or less power, more or less material comfort or vulnerability, and so on. The notion of ‘eth-classes’, class fractions within an ethnic group, is one obvious line along which dominant ethnic interests and allegiances are likely to diverge, and, with them, the kind of defensiveness that prompts such assertions of dominance (Doane, 1997, pp. 380-381). It is also possible that other lines of fracture and difference exist within dominant groups, and this is the kind of question that linked census microdata allow us to explore.

Data and Method – the New Zealand Longitudinal Census

We use novel New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC) data to model and understand sequential changes in European New Zealander identification between 2001 and 2006. The cross-sectional nature of census data has historically precluded analysis of individual change, but more recent computational advances have allowed for the linkage of census records into detailed panel datasets (Ruggles, Fitch, & Roberts, 2018). The NZLC, created by Statistics New Zealand, is one such dataset, and currently links complete census microdata across seven New Zealand censuses held between 1981 and 2013. The linkage methodology, described in detail by Didham et al. (2014), is outlined only briefly here.

Each adjacent census pair was linked separately, with theoretically linkable⁵⁴ records from the more recent ‘source’ census (t) matched against those from the previous ‘target’ census ($t-1$) using SAS® 9.4 (SAS Institute Inc., Cary, North Carolina). Where records of sex, day/month/year of birth, and area unit of usual residence⁵⁵ constituted a unique match, these were considered a linked pair. Subsequently, where records matched on these blocking variables, but did not constitute a unique match, country of birth and Māori descent information was used to further differentiate records. These deterministic linkage stages matched around 70% of all theoretically eligible records in each census pair. A subsequent probabilistic matching stage using InfoSphere® QualityStage® software (IBM Corp., Armonk, New York) calculated the likelihood of remaining records being

⁵⁴ i.e. those for people born and resident in New Zealand as at the previous census.

⁵⁵ i.e. of the address of usual residence collected at census $t-1$ and ‘address of usual residence 5 years ago’ collected at census t .

from the same person, with a cut-off weight for considering ‘true’ links. This stage linked around another 3% of records.

Our study uses a panel constructed from the 2001-2006 NZLC census pair. For this pair, 70.3% of linkable 2006 records were successfully linked to the 2001 Census. The conservative approach to linkage in the NZLC means the vast majority of these likely represent true matches, but it is important to note that there is some bias in the dataset, because records do not remain unlinked at random. For example, female records are more likely to be linked than males, and records at the child and older adult ages are more likely to be linked than younger adults, due at least in part to their lower mobility (linkage relies on correct previous address recall). However, our interest in the dominant ethnic group means our panel is constructed from both the largest population and the population with the highest levels of linkage, and the biases between our linked panel samples compared to total census *t* populations able to be linked are generally small (see Table 6). Consequently, we consider that the multivariate relationships among variables in our sample are unlikely to deviate systematically from those of the population. This aligns with the approach taken by Strijbis (2019) in studying census ethnic response change in Ecuador.

Table 6: 2006 Census theoretically linkable population totals compared to linked (in-study) records, 2001-2006 census pair NZLC

Age at 2006	2006 Census theoretically linkable records			Records linked to 2001 Census			Percent of 2006 theoretically linkable population included in study		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Female	Male	Total
0-4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-14	254,703	268,626	523,329	172,722	180,345	353,067	67.8%	67.1%	67.5%
15-24	240,246	245,184	485,430	163,077	160,086	323,163	67.9%	65.3%	66.6%
25-34	208,782	192,798	401,580	126,132	101,037	227,169	60.4%	52.4%	56.6%
35-44	274,551	248,220	522,771	203,181	164,433	367,614	74.0%	66.2%	70.3%
45-54	253,938	241,500	495,438	199,320	177,138	376,458	78.5%	73.3%	76.0%
55-64	195,459	189,876	385,335	154,881	145,446	300,327	79.2%	76.6%	77.9%
65-74	129,792	120,516	250,308	103,017	94,092	197,109	79.4%	78.1%	78.7%
75-84	94,368	72,336	166,704	72,027	56,436	128,463	76.3%	78.0%	77.1%
85 +	38,082	16,989	55,071	25,626	12,114	37,740	67.3%	71.3%	68.5%
Total:	1,689,921	1,596,045	3,285,966	1,219,983	1,091,127	2,311,110	72.2%	68.4%	70.3%

From the 2001-2006 census pair we construct a panel of those who indicated only 'European' ethnicities in the 2001 census and were aged over 15 years in the 2006 census, with indicating New Zealander ethnicity in 2006 as the dependent variable. Restricting the panel to those 15 years of age or over (in 2006) reflects our interest in a *conscious* 'New Zealander' self-identification, and follows the assumption of past studies (Brunsma, 2005) that an adult most likely fills out the forms of those aged under 15. Being coded 'New Zealander' required writing-in this (or 'Kiwi') as one's ethnic group, indicating an especially active claim to this identity by those who did so. The ethnicity question in both the 2001 and 2006 censuses was identical, meaning any influence of question mode on patterns of identification can largely be discounted. Independent variables are as recorded in the 2006 census, and include individual, household and community measures, as described below.

We use binary logistic regression using Stata (StataCorp, College Station, Texas). A logistic regression model is selected less for prediction than establishing the relative influence of independent variables on Europeans indicating the 'New Zealander' response of interest. Binary regression is sensitive to relative group size and favours classification into larger groups, and this is certainly the case for our panel, where there are 235,071 events (i.e. New Zealander) and 1,317,195 non-events (non-New Zealander). As such, model fits are not necessarily optimal, but do have the ability to discriminate between events and non-event. More importantly, the very large sample sizes mean we are confident in the directionality and relative magnitude of the multivariate relationships shown.

Results

In examining who answered the 'call' and indicated New Zealander ethnicity, NZLC data support previous findings (e.g. Brown & Gray, 2009; Kukutai & Didham, 2012), that members of the majority European group were by far most likely to do so. Table 7 provides, for the population aged over 15 years in 2006, aggregate comparisons of ethnic responses between censuses in the 2001-2006 and 2006-2013 NZLC census pairs. In the 2006-2013 census pair, of the 225,075 'New Zealanders' in 2006, 186,894 (83.0%) indicated only European ethnicity/ies in 2013, and a further 10,476 (4.7%) indicated European and non-European

(though not New Zealander). Also notable are the relatively few New Zealander responses in linked 2013 census records when compared to 2006.

Table 7: Ethnic group change 2001-2006 & 2006-2013 NZLC census pairs
Selected ethnic groupings, aged 15+ at 2006 census

2001-2006 census pair						
	European only	European and non-European (not New Zealander)	Non-European (not New Zealander)	New Zealander	Residuals	Total
European only ¹	1,276,233	18,132	7,485	235,071	7,662	1,544,583
European and non-European	11,208	64,734	16,773	9,522	417	102,654
Non-European	5,265	15,150	259,326	6,051	1,281	287,073
Residuals ²	8,040	708	1,908	2,001	654	13,311
Total	1,300,746	98,724	285,492	252,645	10,014	1,947,621
2006-2013 census pair						
	European only	European and non-European (not New Zealander)	Non-European (not New Zealander)	New Zealander	Residuals	Total
European only	1,047,204	16,389	16,734	10,152	4,029	1,094,508
European and non-European (not New Zealander)	14,691	65,682	15,741	852	312	97,278
Non-European (not New Zealander)	14,313	16,419	225,732	1,074	879	258,417
New Zealander	186,894	10,476	7,449	19,263	993	225,075
Residuals	6,525	582	1,701	315	402	9,525
Total	1,269,627	109,548	267,357	31,656	6,615	1,684,803

Source: New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC), Statistics New Zealand
 Confidentiality rules have been applied to all cells, including randomly rounding to base 3. Individual figures may not add up to totals, and values for the same data may vary slightly between different text, tables and graphs.

¹ Includes one or more ethnicities solely within the level 1 'European' group of ethnicities. Level 1 of the New Zealand ethnicity classification groups lower-level ethnic groups at the highest level, and includes European, Māori, Pacific peoples, Asian, MELAA (Middle Eastern, Latin American or African), and Other ethnicity. Note that in the 2001 Census New Zealander responses were hard-coded as New Zealand European and counted in the European category. There was n=85,300 such responses in total (of all ages) in 2001 (Kukutai & Didham, 2012).

² Don't know/Refused to answer/Repeated value/Response unidentifiable/Response outside scope/Not stated.

The second part of our analysis predicts the likelihood of indicating New Zealander ethnicity with regression analysis. Given our focus on dominant

identity and the apparent concentration of Europeans in the ‘New Zealander’ category, we analyse a panel of ‘European’ individuals in the 2001 census linked to the 2006 census, and treat identifying as New Zealander in the later census as the dependent variable (the reference group being those not doing so). Coefficients thus represent the estimated effect of a given covariate on the likelihood of responding New Zealander.

Table 8 shows the results. Significant effects are shown, firstly, for base demographic variables including sex, age and birthplace. Males are 17% more likely to identify as New Zealander than females, and, in terms of age, middle aged people (45-64 year olds) 71% are more likely to than those aged 15-24. Those aged 25-44 are 56% more likely, and those aged over 65 only 5% more likely. We believe the increased likelihood of male and middle aged people identifying as New Zealander may indicate a causal link between claiming New Zealander and relative socio-political power (we will say more on this in our discussion). Birthplace has the most pronounced effect in the model, with a European born in New Zealand 3.5 times more likely to report New Zealander ethnicity than one born overseas. This may be unsurprising, given the importance of birthplace as an ‘overriding’ indicator of national identity (see Kiely et al., 2001), but also illustrates a nativism inherent to claiming ‘New Zealander’ ethnicity.

Table 8: Logistic regression of 2001 Europeans aged 15+ and indicating New Zealander ethnicity in the 2006 census

Variable	2001 European (1=2006 New Zealander) ^a	95% CI
Sex		
Female	-	-
Male	1.17***	1.16 – 1.18
Age		
15-24 years	-	-
25-44 years	1.56***	1.54 – 1.58
45-64 years	1.71***	1.69 – 1.74
65+ years	1.05***	1.03 – 1.07
Birthplace		
Overseas	-	-
New Zealand	3.51***	3.45 – 3.57
Qualification level		
No qualification	-	-
High school qualification	1.34***	1.33 – 1.36
Post-secondary qualification	1.46***	1.44 – 1.48
Bachelor's or higher	1.34***	1.32 – 1.36
Not stated	0.10	0.97 – 1.02
Dwelling		
Only European/New Zealander	-	-
Incl Non-European/New Zealander	0.70***	0.69 – 0.71
Region		
<70% European	-	-
>70% European	1.09***	1.08 – 1.10
NZ Island		
North Island	-	-
South Island	1.02**	1.01 – 1.03
NZDep (Deprivation) Index		
1	-	-
2	0.99	0.97 – 1.01
3	0.10	0.98 – 1.01
4	1.01	0.99 – 1.03
5	0.97**	0.96 – 0.99
6	0.97**	0.95 – 0.99
7	0.96***	0.94 – 0.97
8	0.94***	0.92 – 0.96
9	0.95***	0.93 – 0.97
10	0.88***	0.86 – 0.91
Constant	0.03***	0.03 – 0.03
N	1,544,583	

Source: New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC), Statistics New Zealand

^a Number of observations = 1,544,583 European only responses recorded in 2001 census and subsequently linked to 2006 census. New Zealander response (alone or in combination) in 2006: no = 1,317,195, yes = 235,071.

* P <.05.

** P <.01.

*** P <.001.

Several variables indicate the possible impact of diversity in respondents' social circles on indicating New Zealander. The likelihood of doing so increases somewhat if the percentage of the respondent's Territorial Authority⁵⁶ (local government area) who are European is higher than 70% and if they reside in the

⁵⁶ Territorial Authorities (city and district councils) are statutory entities in New Zealand that exercise local governance (see Statistics New Zealand, 2016a). While some reorganisation occurred over the study period, we use the classification current in 2020, which comprises 67 separate authorities.

less ethnically diverse South Island⁵⁷. When a non-European or non-New Zealander is recorded as residing in the same dwelling, the likelihood of indicating New Zealander decreases by 30%. If, as we hypothesise, ‘New Zealander’ represents an essentially exclusionary claim amongst a segment of the majority, these findings align with the conventional contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) that interactions between groups lessen hostility and promote inclusion. Diversity, at micro and macro levels, is correlated with a significantly lesser propensity to identify as New Zealander.

Socioeconomic status also plays a role, with individuals with higher levels of education having a higher probability of indicating New Zealander than those with no qualification (the reference category). Moreover, the likelihood decreases as the New Zealand Deprivation Index (NZDep06) score of the neighbourhood meshblock⁵⁸ increases. NZDep is an index measure of local socioeconomic deprivation measured in deciles, so that a score of 1 indicates the 10% least deprived neighbourhoods while 10 indicates the 10% most deprived (Salmond, Crampton, & Atkinson, 2007). The increased odds of indicating New Zealander with higher levels of education and lower local deprivation measures suggest that these responses are associated with a higher class position.

Discussion

Focusing on patterns of identification in census contexts provides insight into identity at a population level at which such questions are not often studied. This is doubly true of dominant group identities, which are rarely examined in population statistics. Minority group experiences and outcomes are often interrogated against those of Europeans, but as the benchmark or comparator population, European experiences rarely warrant the same scrutiny (DeSouza & Cormack, 2009; Whitfield et al., 2008). This reflects a broader assumption of these groups as the standard from which minorities deviate, and the norm to which everything else is

⁵⁷ Of New Zealand’s two main islands, the North is the more heavily populated and ethnically diverse - it had a census usually resident population of 2,829,801 in 2001, of whom 2,052,483 (72.5%) were European. By comparison, of 906,753 people residing in the South Island, 818,481 (90.3%) were European (Statistics New Zealand, 2020).

⁵⁸ Meshblocks are the smallest geographic units defined by Statistics New Zealand, with a resident population of around 60–110 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2016b).

compared (Quraishi & Philburn, 2015). National naming illustrates the normativity of dominant groups, which are typically the most willing - or able - to stake a claim to the national name as an identity marker. In settler states (including New Zealand, Australia, Canada, New Caledonia and many US states) these names originally denoted Indigenous peoples, before being appropriated by settlers (Denoon, 2002). Settler peoples have constructed identities and consolidated their rights to rule, and belong, in the form of nationalism (Bell, 2006). New Zealander responses in the 2006 census must be understood within this universalising and normative context.

It is important to note that the 2006 experience (and other examples of national naming in settler states) is an outlier, and that dominant ethnicity is typically more 'fixed' than that of minority groups (Broman & Kukutai, forthcoming; Liebler et al., 2017; Simpson et al., 2016). That the shift to New Zealander did not last beyond 2006 does raise the question of why this census. It seems to reflect the particularly contested ethnic politics of the preceding inter-censal period, which had been characterised by controversy over Māori ownership of the foreshore and seabed culminating in a 2004 hīkoi (protest march) attended by an estimated 50,000 people (Durie, Boast, & O'Regan, 2009), and a racialised and divisive wedge politics – stoking resentment over 'privileges' enjoyed by Māori – pursued by the opposition National Party in the 2005 election (Maddison, 2005). As a visible expression of Māori sovereignty, the hīkoi especially should not be underestimated as a driver. Political or identity claims by one group can certainly influence others, as in the increases in the number of people in *England* claiming English rather than British identity following devolution and the establishment of Welsh and Scottish Parliaments in the United Kingdom (Black, 2018).

The patterns of identification and the factors associated with New Zealander responses that we described in the previous section suggest that these are best understood as a reactionary claim to the centre of the nation. The covariates associated with these responses, middle age, male, NZ born, more European social milieu (local area or household) and higher socioeconomic status, can without exception, be considered to be those closest to 'power'. Why these should

be associated with a reactionary claim may be explained through DiAngelo's (2018) notion of 'fragility'. DiAngelo uses this term to describe the reduced tolerance to questions of race - the lower 'racial stamina' - of whites, despite their comparative racial security. This, she argues, sees whites respond to 'racial triggers' with irrational emotions and behaviours (anger, dismissals) which 'work to reinstate white equilibrium.' Importantly, relative power is associated with more (not less) fragility, because it means less experience with unpleasantness and greater cause to maintain dominance within the social hierarchy. When considering this observation, it is not surprising that being male, middle age, of higher education, living in areas of lower deprivation, and within more European milieux are all positively associated with shifting to New Zealander ethnicity.

Ultimately the results show the strongest support for a conceptualisation of 'New Zealander' as representing a claim to the hegemonic centre of the nation. For some, New Zealander ethnicity should be encouraged - Boereboom (2017, p. 317) has argued for example that "It is time for New Zealand to come of age by including the category 'New Zealander' for respondents who identify with our unique national identity"⁵⁹ - but the effects observed in our analysis, such as the significantly lesser likelihood of reporting 'New Zealander' ethnicity should the respondent share a dwelling with a non-European, would seem to suggest that this expression of identity represents less an idealised coming of age than a reactionary assertion of national dominance more likely to be claimed by those most accustomed to possessing it. In this respect, these findings offer support at the population level to previous qualitative studies in New Zealand (Gray, Jaber, & Anglem, 2013; Jones, 2001; Terruhn, 2015) which have found dominance, power and privilege to be integral to European understandings and expressions of identity.

⁵⁹ See also Callister's (2011) various proffered explanations for the New Zealander ethnic responses in the 2006 census, suggesting that they may represent a) a form of ethnogenesis - "the emergence of a second 'Indigenous' group"; b) a protest against ethnic labelling; or c) a means for non-European or migrant communities to 'signal integration' into New Zealand.

Conclusion

Amid the global ‘crisis of whiteness’ (Devega, 2019) and growing ethno-nationalism, there is a growing need to understand the identity claims and positioning of dominant groups, even if these are typically not understood or interrogated as ‘ethnic’ claims⁶⁰ (Doane, 1997). The phenomenon of national naming in the census is common to dominant groups across settler-states, yet whether systematic patterns exist in those ‘signing up’ to national identity is not necessarily clear. In this article, we have utilised linked census records from the New Zealand Linked Census dataset to analyse national naming in a large panel of dominant group members who indicated ‘New Zealander’ in the 2006 census. Using aggregate census data allows for detailed investigation of this pointed conflation of ethnicity with nationality and sheds light on the extent to which patterns exist in the identity claims made by dominant group members in this narrow but important context.

In short, we found that factors such as being male, middle aged, New Zealand-born and living in more European local and household contexts increases the likelihood of indicating New Zealander. Given this, the most germane macro explanation is that these responses represent a reactionary claim to the centre of the nation by those who are symbolically closest to it. This is a rather more exclusionary framing of national naming than other authors have suggested, although it better reflects the colonial dynamics which continue to structure ethnic relations in New Zealand.

While our analysis relates specifically to Aotearoa New Zealand, our findings may have relevance to broader understandings of dominant ethnicity and of the ‘national naming’ observed in the censuses of several settler-colonial states. That ‘national-naming’ is linked predominantly to members of dominant (settler) groups is clear, but we have demonstrated a relationship between these claims and various personal characteristics, and systematic cleavages in identity claims in the

⁶⁰ New Zealand has an Ethnic Communities Minister and government portfolio, for example, which “seeks to ensure that ethnic communities develop and maintain a positive sense of belonging to New Zealand” (Department of Internal Affairs, 2017).

dominant white group, with age, sex and other factors playing a role. This has broader implications for understandings of national identity - particularly positive notions of nationality as a supraethnic marker of cohesion. It is common to overlook in-group differences in identity and belonging, especially for dominant groups which are normative by definition, but deeper consideration of differences within these categories (without minimising the amorphousness central to their power) may prove productive in ongoing efforts towards deconstructing dominance in our racist societies.

Disclaimer

Access to the anonymised New Zealand Longitudinal Census data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to give effect to the security and confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975. The results presented in this study are the work of the authors, not Statistics New Zealand or individual data suppliers.

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- Chapter 6 -

Conclusion

The primary aim of this thesis has been to examine patterns of European identification in Aotearoa New Zealand censuses, and in doing so to enrich our understandings of a relatively unexamined majority identity. Using the linked census records in the New Zealand Longitudinal Census (NZLC), it was possible to trace European responses over a five-census period 1991-2013, and explore empirically and in theoretically informed detail the shifts observed over the period. Censuses play a politicised role in the social construction of ethnicity that is difficult to overstate, and so offer a fruitful context to investigate ethnic structures and boundaries. Understanding these vis-à-vis Europeans is of growing importance, as demographic changes in New Zealand (as elsewhere) challenge their dominant ethnic position and an era of ‘white invisibility’ appears to be coming to a close.

Chapter 2 provided a descriptive account of how Europeans have been categorised and counted in New Zealand censuses. Particular attention is paid to debates and controversies since the 1980s around the most appropriate ethnonym or group name to use for them in the census. In 1991 New Zealand European replaced European on (English-language) questionnaires, an apparent attempt to localise the categorisation, and in 1996 New Zealand European *or* Pakeha was used but prompted backlash and has not appeared again⁶¹. Also in 1996 specific European ethnic groups were listed on forms (e.g. English or Dutch), and many New Zealand-born people chose them. Since at least the 1980s and especially in 2006 some people - most of European descent - have preferred to write-in ‘New Zealander’ or ‘Kiwi’ on forms. A succession of official reviews have deliberated on the issue of categorising New Zealanders of European descent and lamented the lack of a widely-accepted and statistically useful descriptor.

⁶¹ Though before the 2018 census a lobby group ‘call me Pākehā please’ formed to call for the return of the term Pākehā in the census.

These debates, I argue, are tied to broader uncertainties around the identity of this ethnic group. The pioneering British settler identity, which may in the past have been relatively secure, is no longer viable with ties to Britain declining and awareness of the fundamental wrongs associated with colonialism growing. At the same time, demographic factors mean the numerical dominance of Europeans is declining, increasing awareness of Europeans as one ethnic group among many. Chapter 2 outlined the perspectives of critical whiteness and settler colonial studies to contextualise these factors and provide a theoretical framework for the thesis as a whole. The field of critical whiteness studies has focused attention on the structures which maintain white privilege, including the broader invisibility associated with whiteness as a hegemonic norm. Settler colonial studies is a growing field (see, for example, Bell, 2014; Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006) which emphasises the unique logics and enduring common characteristics of settler colonialism - aimed essentially at replacing the Indigenous with the Settler.

Chapter 3 provided an overview of the NZLC dataset used in the subsequent empirical chapters. It summarised the linking process - a multistep exercise involving both deterministic and probabilistic matching - and the matching variables age, sex and day/month/year of birth, with clarifying stages also using country of birth and Māori descent information. The dataset was critically analysed, and its strengths and weaknesses outlined, particularly in relation to the non-random likelihood of individual records remaining unlinked. This chapter also provided contextual detail of the census ethnicity variable of primary interest in this study, and how this has been operationalised and codified over time.

Chapter 4, the first of two main empirical analyses, measures rates of ethnic response change in four separate census pairs: 1991-1996, 1996-2001, 2001-2006, and 2006-2013. The lack of individual identifiers in essentially cross-sectional census data has meant that ethnic response change in censuses has been difficult to ascertain and while recent overseas studies have used linked census data to measure changes between single censuses, this is the first published study to measure response change nationally across more than one intercensal period. By a considerable margin, European was the most stable of New Zealand's six 'level 1' ethnic groups across all but one census pair. This was 2001-2006, when

considerable numbers changed into the ‘Other’ grouping (including New Zealander responses). While still within the European grouping, a large number of people also shifted to or added Other European ethnicities in the 1996 census, when the question format changed and an Other European tick-box and groupings were provided. In 2001, in the absence of such options, the vast majority returned to the New Zealand European grouping.

The relative stability of European ethnicity in New Zealand belies somewhat the established understanding of ethnicity as a social construction with boundaries that over time. It matches patterns found in English and United States censuses, where White British and non-Hispanic Whites have also been found to be the ethnic groups least likely to change (Liebler, et al., 2017; Simpson & Akinwale, 2007; Simpson, Jivraj & Warren, 2016). Part of this stability relates to group size – that is, being the majority means a lower likelihood of interethnic partnering and mixed ethnic offspring (Atatoa Carr, Kukutai, Bandara & Broman, 2017; Callister & Didham, 2014). In this sense factors inherent to its construction as a majority group somewhat underpin its stability. Ethnic data (indeed all data), is only ever a subjective abstraction of ground truth. ‘European’ is a group with heterogeneous origins that has salience in New Zealand only due to colonial imperatives and in alterity to Indigenous Māori and ‘alien’ migrant groups. In this respect, the race-like stability of European identity relates to historical patterns of European and settler hegemony and power.

As New Zealander responses in 2006 constituted the sole major shift from the European category across 5 censuses, these responses were more closely considered in Chapter 5. Over 90 percent of the 400,000+ New Zealanders in 2006 had previously been counted in the European group. Taking 2001 Europeans as the study population and using identifying as New Zealander in 2006 as the dependent variable, this chapter adopted a logistic regression approach to understand the factors associated with changing to New Zealander. A range of interpretations for New Zealander ethnicity have been proffered to date. Some see it as relatively benign, suggesting that it may be a protest against ethnic labelling or a way of signalling integration (Callister, 2011), or a “unique expression of identity by people who have a generational attachment to New Zealand”,

independent of geographical roots (Boereboom, 2017, p. 317). Others have been more critical, including Bell (1996) and Veracini (2015). The latter cites New Zealander ethnic identification as an example of ‘transfer by settler indigenisation’, a recognisable trope of settler colonisation where settlers discursively naturalize themselves in place and displace original inhabitants.

The results showed the odds of identifying New Zealander being greater for males, middle-aged people, those born in New Zealand, and people with post-secondary education (relative to no qualification or a bachelor’s degree or higher). New Zealander ethnicity was also associated with living in European/New Zealander-only dwellings, residing in local government areas with a higher percentage of Europeans/New Zealanders, and being in the South Island. It was more likely for those living in low deprivation areas, as measured by the New Zealand Deprivation Index⁶². The chapter argues that these correlations support a conceptualisation of ‘New Zealander’ as exclusive and backwards facing, with closer proximity to (settler colonial) power and less local or household diversity increasing the likelihood of claiming New Zealander identity. It posits that these claims are related to the contemporary cultural fears of people who saw themselves imperilled by immigration and Māori political claims. DiAngelo’s (2018) concept of ‘white fragility’ is useful for understanding why some may have been more likely to claim New Zealander ethnicity. This fragility is the intolerance to racial stressors which prompts *defensive moves* by whites seeking to reinstate the racial equilibrium. DiAngelo associates relative power and status with increased fragility – those with relative power have less experience with racial unpleasantness, greater expectations of racial comfort, and more interest in maintaining dominance within the social hierarchy. Framing New Zealander ethnic claims as one such defensive move would explain why it was more likely for Europeans in more European social milieu and with greater relative power.

⁶² Based on nine census variables, NZDep2006 is an area-based measure of relative deprivation of each meshblock - a small geographic unit with a median of 87 people in 2006 (Salmond, Crampton, & Atkinson, 2007).

Conclusion and implications

The thesis has made several important contributions. Most obviously it has provided a comprehensive overview of European categorisation across recent New Zealand census counts. While prior research has paid attention to parts of this story, such as New Zealander responses (Brown & Gray, 2009; Kukutai & Didham, 2012), theoretically informed analysis of these trends has been lacking. This study has shown how patterns of European identification in the census can be understood as part of a wide-ranging and ongoing debate around the nature and place of New Zealand Europeans. The identity of this group is increasingly ‘unsettled’, as older tropes of ‘pioneer’, ‘noble settler’, ‘better British’ are no longer tenable (Pearson, 2001; Wells, 2019). Moreover, as settler hegemony is challenged - both demographically and discursively – the identity of groups with colonial origins are coming more into relief, being caught as they are between weakening ties to metropolises, and increasingly recognised Indigenous claims to legitimacy. The census is a key site in the social construction of ethnic groups, with counts that take on an independent existence as a kind of fact. As such they are inherently political: it is no surprise that European naming has been so strongly debated in the census context.

Notwithstanding these questions around the name to use - proper nouns are political in the context of ethnic politics - the thesis has paid greater attention to the relative stability of majority ethnicities that has also been demonstrated in other contexts (Liebler et al., 2017; Simpson, Jivraj & Warren, 2016), though with little discussion or focus on why this would be. It has argued that this relates largely to factors unique to majority identity, which is after all inextricably tied to power. Racialised thinking provided theoretical justification for colonialism and this country’s heavily racialised colonial past continues to structure local ethnic relations and understandings of identity (Rocha, 2012; Spoonley, 1993). The ‘majority’ population has wide linguistic, religious, and national cultural origins which, in an example of ‘dynamic nominalism’ (Hacking, 1986), only consolidated into an effective single identity via colonialism. In a context where access to resources, opportunities, and power remains structured by settler

colonialism, those with the power to do so have an obvious motive to identify themselves as members of the settler majority and little motive to change.

The thesis has paid overdue attention to the European ethnicity/birthplace discrepancy in the 1996 census. Here many more respondents indicated one or more 'other European' identities (with nested boxes for 'English' 'Dutch' 'Australian' 'Scottish' 'Irish' and 'Other' - print your ethnic group) than those who were born in Europe. At base level, this is an example of mere inclusion on questionnaires increasing the size of groups. The discrepancies between the groups listed and historic migration patterns are interesting, however. Despite significant inter-migration, very few indicated Australian (evidently not a 'sticky' identity for Europeans in New Zealand). A smaller proportion of those indicating English were New Zealand-born compared to those indicating Irish or Scottish, despite England being, by a considerable margin, the largest settler source nation. These 'symbolic' ethnicities offer differentiation from the 'English' norm which may itself appeal in an era of identity politics but it should not be discounted that some of their attraction may lie in these groups having experienced their own grim histories and outsider status and thus being supposedly less guilty of colonisation. As Jen Margaret wrote in her 2018 Joan Cook Memorial Essay *State of the Pākehā Nation*, "some people distance themselves from colonisation – 'I didn't do it' 'My ancestors were Irish, they were oppressed too.'".

The exception to 'European' stability overall has been the shifts, particularly in 2006, to New Zealander ethnic identity. Settlers laying claim to the national signifier as their race or ethnicity has occurred in several settler states - including Australia, Canada, and New Caledonia (Boyd, 1999; Boyd & Norris, 2001; Broustet & Rivoilan, 2015; Horn, 1987; Lee & Edmonston, 2010). Observing that shifting group relations at the macro level are implicated in shifting identification patterns at the individual level, the thesis has regarded New Zealander responses as an expression of broader settler majority impulses and anxieties. These responses were overwhelmingly European, and the individual characteristics associated with them indicate that New Zealander does not represent a localised and inclusive ethnic identity, a settler 'coming of age'. It is perhaps best understood as a means for settlers to indigenise themselves as *the* New

Zealanders, and to go ethnically unmarked in this place. It is an example of the inherent desire of settler societies to naturalise themselves in place and create a 'post-settler' polity (Barker, 2012; Bell, 2014; Veracini, 2010).

A key contribution of this thesis, then, has been in providing a more nuanced understanding of 'New Zealanderism' as reflecting the cultural fears of a people who saw themselves imperilled by immigration and Indigenous political demands. Nationality is intricately tied to ethnicity, as David Pearson's definition of a nation as "politicised ethnic group" (1990, p. 217) makes clear. New Zealander was understood to indicate Māori from the contact period until the 1850s - not coincidentally around the time settlers came to outnumber Māori. The rapid rise and then fall in settlers claiming New Zealander ethnicity in 2006 is worth contextualising historically, and it has been argued here that the uniquely charged ethnic politics of this period - evidenced in the Seabed and Foreshore hīkoi and the then-leader of the opposition's popular Orewa speech railing against Māori 'privilege' - influenced this phenomenon. DiAngelo's (2018) notion of 'white fragility' offers a useful conceptual tool for understanding these responses as essentially reactionary, and the previous chapter has made a contribution by extending this concept from the individual to the population level.

Perhaps the major contribution of this study though has been in expanding the understanding of ethnic enumeration into majority ethnic groups. Public, academic and policy interest has tended to focus on minority groups (Callister, 2004), and this has been true of studies of census counts and their importance in ethnic construction. Majority groups have often been "simply what is left over after minorities are defined" (Pearson, 2001, p. 14). This study has demonstrated, however, that the European/White majority is no less actively engaged in reconstructing their identity in response to contemporary conditions and their own values and perceptions than groups which they outnumber. Official New Zealand population counts have and will continue to reveal important insights into how members of the majority group constitute and conceive themselves.

Limitations and future research

This thesis is not without limitations. The reliance on census data offers some clear benefits - it is a national dataset, the most political of ethnic counts, and allows for an understanding of ethnic response change as it relates to a range of individual variables. The thesis has demonstrated how census counts offer insight into collective identity and the structure of group relations, but they cannot provide lower-level understanding of individual psychological processes driving these changes. Work in this vein, offering an empirical contribution to understanding 'settlers' usually considered in very abstract terms, would be significantly extended through qualitative study of responses such as New Zealander or New Zealand-born 'Irish'. Explanations for the patterns observed have been proffered which draw on theoretical understandings of the settler psyche and majority and white identity but undoubtedly these explanations would gain weight if they were supported by more nuanced and detailed qualitative data.

There are also other data limitations. The most recent linked data available being from 2013. A (troubled) census was undertaken in 2018 but unfortunately had not been linked in New Zealand Longitudinal Census data at the time of this study. Further analysis incorporating more recent data would further extend findings. Another limitation relates to the linkage process. Because the quality of variables used in record matching varies across the population, the likelihood of remaining unlinked is not random, and some bias therefore exists in the datasets used. The sheer numerical weight of the data means several millions of individual records have been analysed, and the focus on European ethnicity (which for various reasons is the population most likely to be linked) means that reasonable confidence can be placed in the broad findings of this study. Nevertheless, a greater level of matching - though requiring considerable computational/human resource - or a sophisticated weighting methodology to account for missing links would further improve and extend analysis of ethnic response change.

These limitations and future directions for research notwithstanding, this study has helped to enhance understanding of New Zealand European and majority identity more broadly. As demographic changes increasingly challenge this

groups' dominant ethnic position, patterns of identification such as using the national identifier show, above all, members of this group seeking to maintain their normative position. In this respect, the findings show how power and dominance play a key role in structuring majority ethnic claims and offer further evidence of ethnic counts as illustrative of both the individual and the society that produced them.

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Appendices

- Appendix 1 -

Census *t* Usually Resident Population (URP) totals compared to linked (in-study) records, 1991-2013 census pairs, NZLC

1991-1996	1996 Census Usually Resident Population			Records linked to 1991 Census			Percent of 1996 URP included in study		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Female	Males	Total
0-4	135,489	144,111	279,597	-	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
5-14	269,100	283,389	552,486	173,407	179,816	353,223	64.4	63.5	63.9
15-24	266,334	268,410	534,735	163,141	160,316	323,457	61.3	59.7	60.5
25-34	291,873	274,902	566,787	158,573	129,582	288,155	54.3	47.1	50.8
35-44	275,517	264,735	540,255	193,219	168,293	361,512	70.1	63.6	66.9
45-54	214,308	213,606	427,902	162,142	152,580	314,722	75.7	71.4	73.6
55-64	147,663	146,208	293,868	112,499	107,794	220,293	76.2	73.7	75.0
65-84	213,288	170,916	384,207	158,961	128,506	287,467	74.5	75.2	74.8
85 +	27,264	11,199	38,463	17,859	7,634	25,493	65.5	68.2	66.3
Total:	1,840,839	1,777,461	3,618,300	1,139,799	1,034,523	2,174,322	61.9	58.2	60.1
1996-2001	2001 Census URP records			Records linked to 1996 Census			Percent of 2001 URP included in study		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Female	Male	Total
0-4	132,108	138,690	270,807	-	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
5-14	280,947	295,992	576,939	172,161	179,946	352,107	61.3	60.8	61.0
15-24	251,319	253,746	505,065	147,114	143,439	290,553	58.5	56.5	57.5
25-34	275,967	250,209	526,179	137,454	108,336	245,787	49.8	43.3	46.7
35-44	301,905	281,184	583,080	199,344	165,876	365,208	66.0	59.0	62.6
45-54	247,476	240,483	487,956	180,297	165,312	345,612	72.9	68.7	70.8
55-64	170,802	166,017	336,831	125,646	118,800	244,437	73.6	71.6	72.6
65-84	219,615	182,166	401,790	161,478	134,379	295,857	73.5	73.8	73.6
85 +	34,125	14,517	48,642	21,672	9,459	31,137	63.5	65.2	64.0
Total:	1,914,273	1,823,007	3,737,280	1,145,175	1,025,511	2,170,686	59.8	56.3	58.1
2001-2006	2006 Census URP records			Records linked to 2001 Census			Percent of 2006 URP included in study		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Female	Male	Total
0-4	134,694	140,379	275,079	-	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
5-14	288,858	303,645	592,497	172,722	180,345	353,058	59.8	59.4	59.6
15-24	283,653	287,526	571,176	163,077	160,086	323,160	57.5	55.7	56.6
25-34	270,897	248,097	519,006	126,132	101,037	227,178	46.6	40.7	43.8
35-44	321,351	293,898	615,249	203,181	164,433	367,617	63.2	55.9	59.8
45-54	278,793	267,363	546,150	199,320	177,138	376,458	71.5	66.3	68.9
55-64	209,631	203,562	413,187	154,881	145,446	300,324	73.9	71.5	72.7
65-84	235,458	203,475	438,936	175,044	150,528	325,578	74.3	74.0	74.2
85 +	38,997	17,670	56,667	12,114	25,626	37,737	31.1	145.0	66.6
Total:	2,062,329	1,965,618	4,027,947	1,219,974	1,091,118	2,311,095	59.2	55.5	57.4
2006-2013	2013 Census URP records			Records linked to 2006 Census			Percent of 2013 URP included in study		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Female	Male	Total
0-6*	201,051	209,709	410,754	-	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0

7-14*	222,417	232,464	454,887	122,280	126,621	248,901	55.0	54.5	54.7
15-24	289,944	296,505	586,452	157,908	160,371	318,270	54.5	54.1	54.3
25-34	267,834	246,852	514,686	98,544	89,676	188,214	36.8	36.3	36.6
35-44	302,829	270,435	573,273	163,104	130,506	293,607	53.9	48.3	51.2
45-54	312,726	288,912	601,626	207,972	179,205	387,168	66.5	62.0	64.4
55-64	253,089	240,270	493,344	177,297	163,563	340,860	70.1	68.1	69.1
65-84	281,025	252,696	533,721	208,065	184,821	392,898	74.0	73.1	73.6
85 +	47,136	26,181	73,323	33,216	19,281	52,503	70.5	73.6	71.6
Total:	2,178,030	2,064,018	4,242,048	1,054,044	1,168,386	2,222,421	48.4	56.6	52.4

Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to give effect to the security and confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975. The results presented in this study are the work of the author, not Statistics NZ or individual data suppliers.

Confidentiality rules have been applied to all cells, including randomly rounding to base 3. Individual figures may not add up to totals, and values for the same data may vary slightly between different text, tables and graphs.

- Appendix 2 -

The New Zealand Statistical Standard for Ethnicity 2005

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
1 European	10 European no further details (nfd)	100 European no further details (nfd)	10000 European no further details (nfd)
	11 New Zealand European	111 New Zealand European	11111 New Zealand European
	12 Other European	121 British and Irish	12100 British nfd 12111 Celtic nfd 12112 Channel Islander 12113 Cornish 12114 English 12116 Irish 12117 Manx 12119 Scottish 12121 Welsh 12199 British nec (not elsewhere classified)
		122 Dutch	12211 Dutch
		123 Greek	12311 Greek
		124 Polish	12411 Polish
		125 South Slav	125 South Slav 12500 South Slav nfd 12511 Croatian 12512 Dalmatian 12513 Macedonian 12514 Serbian 12515 Slovenian 12516 Bosnian 12599 South Slav nec
		126 Italian	12611 Italian
		127 German	12711 German
		128 Australian	12811 Australian
		129 Other European	12911 Albanian 12912 Armenian 12913 Austrian 12914 Belgian 12915 Bulgarian 12916 Belorussian 12918 Cypriot nfd 12919 Czech 12920 Danish 12921 Estonian 12922 Finnish 12923 Flemish 12924 French 12926 Hungarian 12927 Icelandic 12928 Latvian 12929 Lithuanian 12930 Maltese 12931 Norwegian 12932 Portuguese 12933 Romanian 12934 Gypsy

			12935 Russian 12937 Slavic 12938 Slovak 12939 Spanish 12940 Swedish 12941 Swiss 12942 Ukrainian 12943 American 12945 Canadian 12947 New Caledonian 12948 South African European 12949 Afrikaner 12950 Zimbabwean European 12999 European nec
2 Māori	21 Māori	211 Māori	21111 Māori
3 Pacific Peoples	30 Pacific Peoples nfd	300 Pacific Peoples nfd	30000 Pacific Peoples nfd
	31 Samoan	311 Samoan	31111 Samoan
	32 Cook Island Maori	321 Cook Island Maori	32100 Cook Island Maori
	33 Tongan	331 Tongan	33111 Tongan
	34 Niuean	341 Niuean	34111 Niuean
	35 Tokelauan	351 Tokelauan	35111 Tokelauan
	36 Fijian	361 Fijian	36111 Fijian
	37 Other Pacific Peoples	371 Other Pacific Peoples	37112 Indigenous Australian 37122 Hawaiian 37124 Kiribati 37130 Nauruan 37135 Papua New Guinean 37137 Pitcairn Islander 37138 Rotuman 37140 Tahitian 37141 Solomon Islander 37144 Tuvaluan 37145 Ni Vanuatu 37199 Pacific Peoples nec
4 Asian	40 Asian nfd	400 Asian nfd	40000 Asian nfd
	41 Southeast Asian	410 Southeast Asian nfd	41000 Southeast Asian nfd
		411 Filipino	41111 Filipino
		412 Cambodian	41211 Cambodian
		413 Vietnamese	41311 Vietnamese
		414 Other Southeast Asian	41411 Burmese 41412 Indonesian 41413 Lao 41414 Malay 41415 Thai 41416 Karen 41417 Chin 41499 Southeast Asian nec
	42 Chinese	421 Chinese	42100 Chinese nfd

			42111 Hong Kong Chinese 42112 Cambodian Chinese 42113 Malaysian Chinese 42114 Singaporean Chinese 42115 Vietnamese Chinese 42116 Taiwanese 42199 Chinese nec
	43 Indian	431 Indian	43100 Indian nfd 43111 Bengali 43112 Fijian Indian 43114 Indian Tamil 43115 Punjabi 43116 Sikh 43117 Anglo Indian 43118 Malaysian Indian 43119 South African Indian 43199 Indian nec
	44 Other Asian	441 Sri Lankan	44100 Sri Lankan nfd 44111 Sinhalese 44112 Sri Lankan Tamil 44199 Sri Lankan nec
		442 Japanese	44211 Japanese
		443 Korean	44311 Korean
		444 Other Asian	44411 Afghani 44412 Bangladeshi 44413 Nepalese 44414 Pakistani 44415 Tibetan 44416 Eurasian 44417 Bhutanese 44418 Maldivian 44419 Mongolian 44499 Asian nec
	5 Middle Eastern/Latin American/African (MELAA)	51 Middle Eastern	511 Middle Eastern
			51100 Middle Eastern nfd 51111 Algerian 51112 Arab 51113 Assyrian 51114 Egyptian 51115 Iranian/Persian 51116 Iraqi 51117 Israeli/Jewish 51118 Jordanian 51119 Kurd 51120 Lebanese 51122 Moroccan 51124 Palestinian 51125 Syrian 51127 Turkish 51199 Middle Eastern nec

	52 Latin American	521 Latin American	52100 Latin American nfd 52111 Argentinian 52112 Bolivian 52113 Brazilian 52114 Chilean 52115 Colombian 52118 Ecuadorian 52123 Mexican 52127 Peruvian 52128 Puerto Rican 52129 Uruguayan 52130 Venezuelan 52199 Latin American nec
	53 African	531 African	53100 African nfd 53113 Jamaican 53114 Kenyan 53115 Nigerian 53116 African American 53118 Caribbean 53119 Somali 53120 Eritrean 53121 Ethiopian 53122 Ghanaian 53123 Burundian 53124 Congolese 53125 Sudanese 53126 Zambian 53127 Other Zimbabwean 53199 African nec
6 Other Ethnicity	61 Other Ethnicity	611 Other Ethnicity	61113 Indigenous American 61115 Mauritian 61116 Seychellois 61117 Other South African 61118 New Zealander 61199 Other Ethnicity nec
9 Residual Categories	94 Don't Know	944 Don't Know	94444 Don't Know
	95 Refused to Answer	955 Refused to Answer	95555 Refused to Answer
	96 Repeated Value	966 Repeated Value	96666 Repeated Value
	97 Response Unidentifiable	977 Response Unidentifiable	97777 Response Unidentifiable
	98 Response Outside Scope	988 Response Outside Scope	98888 Response Outside Scope
	99 Not Stated	999 Not Stated	99999 Not Stated

- Appendix 3 -

Co-authorship forms



Co-Authorship Form

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Chapter 4

Broman, P., & Kukutai, T. (2021). Fixed not fluid: European identification in the Aotearoa New Zealand census. Journal of Population Research.

Nature of contribution
by PhD candidate

Conceptualising study, empirical analysis and first draft

Extent of contribution
by PhD candidate (%)

80%

CO-AUTHORS

Name

Nature of Contribution

Professor Tahu Kukutai

Guidance and feedback, assistance with draft

Certification by Co-Authors

The undersigned hereby certify that:

- ❖ the above statement correctly reflects the nature and extent of the PhD candidate's contribution to this work, and the nature of the contribution of each of the co-authors; and

Name

Signature

Date

Tahu Kukutai

25/3/21

July 2015



Co-Authorship Form

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Please indicate the chapter/section/pages of this thesis that are extracted from a co-authored work and give the title and publication details or details of submission of the co-authored work.

Chapter 5

Broman, P., Kukutai, T., & Bell, A. (2020). The (not so) silent centre: New Zealander ethnicity responses in the census. Manuscript submitted to *Ethnic and Racial Studies*

Nature of contribution by PhD candidate

Conceptualisation, data analysis, initial manuscript draft

Extent of contribution by PhD candidate (%)

75%


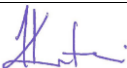
CO-AUTHORS

Name	Nature of Contribution
Prof Tahu Kukutai	Guidance and feedback, assistance with draft
A Prof Avril Bell	Guidance and feedback, assistance with draft

Certification by Co-Authors

The undersigned hereby certify that:

- ❖ the above statement correctly reflects the nature and extent of the PhD candidate's contribution to this work, and the nature of the contribution of each of the co-authors; and

Name	Signature	Date
Avril Bell		25/03/2021
Tahu Kukutai		25/3/21