

Session 267 - Belonging and control in population history

Convenor: Caroline Bledsoe, Northwestern University

Discussant: Arland Thornton, University of Michigan

Ethnicity and race data collection at some Latin American countries census

Thais Tartalha Nascimento Lombardi

Alessandra Traldi Simoni

Barbara Roberto Estanislau

Ricardo Sampaio Dagnino

José Maurício Arruti

Introduction

At a time when developed countries are discussing whether it is worth it to continue to take the census or move towards other less costly and time consuming options, countries in the developing world are still debating the design and implementation of their census (Coleman 2013). However, despite the disparity between these countries it is clear that the common understanding is that having available and reliable data on population is crucial to policy and planning, whether it comes from the census or from registers data. Therefore, this common understanding leads one to consider how census data, mostly generated as official governmental data, is highly tied to – and influenced by – a political environment. This is particularly true for developing countries where there is still debate on the design and implementation of census as can be seen in some Latin American countries (Bercovich 2009; Schkolnik and Del Popolo 2004).

Recent Latin American political history has been characterized by the end of dictatorial regimes and the re-democratization process, where one of the most important aspects was the creation of new constitutions. During this period, the engagement of the civil society, mainly through social movements, and the importance of including traditional population rights into the legal system should be highlighted. Inequalities inherited from the colonial times were projected into a population segregation that creates an environment of undesired population turned invisible versus a desired population, the visible one. Invisibility was tied to “undeveloped” and traditional livelihoods, mainly represented by indigenous, rural, and black communities, accounting for an ethnic component of this undesired, invisible population. Therefore, the new legal instruments were accounting for the ethnic diversity of the population and trying to enhance social justice as much as to diminish inequality and among many issues raised within left wing parties and NGOs, ethnicity stands up as a particularly visible and tackled issue (V. Urquidi, Teixeira, and Lana 2008). However, to build and deliver policies that effectively deal with ethnicity, there was a need for data available and with good quality.

Consequently at the same time qualitative research was conducted, census, survey and other official data was being scrutinized to fit the necessity of a wide and deep understanding of the ethnic characteristics of the population. This investment in building better instruments to capture and depict ethnicity was reflected in the debates and changes between the 1990s and 2000s census rounds in many of the Latin American countries (IBGE 2011; DANE 2010; CEPAL 2007). For this reason, an important contemporary inquire should look at what the last two census rounds can tell us about ethnicity in Latin America? How do they capture and depict ethnicity and how has the official discourse on ethnicity being reflected by ethnicity categories? How much has the political and legal process contributed to the dissimilarities between the census and among the countries?

To answer these questions, this research compares four Latin American countries that have implemented changes in the way ethnicity categories are arranged within the census and how it is related to each country's own political and legal process. An important remark for this study is that ethnicity is considered here as encompassing indigenous and afro-descendant as much as other minority population whose distinctive cultural and socio/political characteristics are not homogeneously mixed with the remaining population but exactly because of its outstanding diversity should be considered as a population within a population. The chosen countries are Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Ecuador, and the reason for choosing these countries is based on their similar ethnicity legal tools (laws, decrees, bills) and different in depiction of ethnicity in official data. So far analysis has shown that the official discourse on ethnicity has a major impact on how it is depicted in the census questionnaires and what kind of data is generated.

Ethnic and Racial Census Data Collection in Latin America

Choosing Latin America countries as case studies in this analysis is related to the historical contexts that shape most of their population history. Particularly, we are concerned about the contacts and negotiations between different population groups during all their modern history (that is to say from the arriving of the Europeans at the American continent to contemporary time). Therefore, the intriguing aspect of this inquiry is that despite the common aspects concerning population multiple racial and ethnical constitution, there are different official narratives built upon census data (Albieri, Pereira, and Brito 2006; Lombardi, Simoni, and Craice 2012; Del Popolo and Oyarce 2004). Therefore, when considering long time series overview of the racial and ethnical profile of those countries one should account for the historical process they underwent, as the slave trade between the XVI and XIX centuries, and the indigenous genocides from the first years after Europeans arrival until recent times. Moreover recent data on ethnicity and race should account for the profile of the population that has resulted from the past population dynamics process and the dynamics that emerged from the historical process. In reality, when looking to contemporary data one can find all those populations represented by a range of ethnicity and racial data, albeit it has not been necessarily reflecting the racial and ethnical dynamics going on at the ground level.

Main reason is that this kind of data is not but a construction of categories and concepts onto which the official agencies built a scenario of population composition, bringing together complex aspects. Also, for most of the census bureaus in Latin America the conceptual source behind the ethnical and racial questions comes from the Economical Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC¹), a United Nations agency that holds a population division and its basic dimensions encompass (Schkolnik 2009, p.67-68): 1. Identity Self-recognition – rather a political aspect, concerning the right to self-recognize as belonging to an ethnic group and this belonging being recognized by the ethnic group and others; 2. Common origin – regarding the common ancestry claimed by the ethnic group and tied to social and collective memory, also said to be the most neglected by the census question due to its difficult collection; 3. Culture – regarding aspects as language, social/political organization, religion, costumes, traditions, and others aspects concerning practices and ways of life learned since childhood and common to all ethnic group, forming a central core of the ethnic identity; 4. Territory – regarding the uses of the land and the collective and ancestral memory, added by territorial ties and practices as much as the fundamental interactions between the ethnic and the land where it is. Nonetheless, even having those dimensions to guide the development of ethnicity collected within the Census the resulting question and data is quite different as can be seen below at the countries analysis.

What should remain from this debate is the fact that the ethnic identity needs more than just the data on language or the self-recognition as part of an ethnic group, it is closely related with diversity of practices and territorial uses that are brought together under a National State which has

¹ CEPAL is the acronym for ECLAC and it is of common use and knowledge through Latin America and the Caribbean.

the constitutional obligation to secure those dimensions continue to exist. This reinforces the importance of looking carefully to how those dimension are being apprehended by official data and how it is being used to put in effect all the legal instruments of ethnic rights. Articles and documents refer to the importance of the recognition of ethnic diversity to deliver better policies to the population within those countries but at the same time not agree on which is the best way to produce data to inform those policies. What all of them agree is that this is the way to try overcome the inequalities, prejudices and socioeconomic problems that afflicted the minority ethnic groups (Arruti 2000; Del Popolo and Avila 2006; CEPAL 2007; Ferreyra 2009; Del Popolo and Oyarce 2004; Quijada, Bernand, and Schneider 2000; Schkolnik and Del Popolo 2004). One last remark on the dimension of the ethnic groups is about whom we are talking about when discussing ethnicity. The interpretations here is that though ethnic rights tend to concern just the so called “ancestral/original population” – meaning the indigenous groups – the afro-descent groups that claim their right to be included as an ethnic group once having all ethnic dimension are regarded here – and in most of the census and legal instruments of Latin American countries – as an ethnic group².

On the centre of this reside the census, main accredited dataset to depict a population. Nevertheless it is not an objective tool as it seems. Restricting the comparison between Latin American countries, a paper by Alicia Bercovich (Bercovich 2009) builds its argument on how just recently – for the 2010 round – the census are being carefully harmonized across countries to permit a fully comparable dataset and that this initiative is tied to a political and economic interest, among countries, to have comparable information. Still, those differences are not just a matter of design of the question but the whole project of what information is required and how it is going to be collected, added by a great deal of cultural and political context to shape the change, as accounted by Lombardi, Simoni and Craice (Lombardi, Simoni, and Craice 2012) . Nonetheless what stands out is that a major issue for the census debate in Latin America is the demand on accurate ethnicity data. For Susana Schkolnik (Schkolnik 2009) the plea for a deeper and complete knowledge of the ethnical characteristics at Latin America is closed related to the historical process that this area underwent. Following her argument is the different questions frames from the census questionnaires of the four countries. Thus, for Argentina, Colombia and Ecuador the question is if, and to which ethnical group do you belong (or identify with), while for Brazil the inquiry is by race/colour. None of them have both questions and so all of them produce different data. However what united all of those countries is their legal background that recognizes population ethnical diversity and guarantee traditional population their rights to land and to secure and reproduce their language and their costumes.

Therefore it is plausible to understand these details when analysing racial and ethnic data vis-à-vis the social movements or civil society demands for ethnical recognition by the government and the countries laws. For that matter is relevant to say that claims upon the recognition of traditional population rights concerning land property, traditional practices, and cultural heritage, have been raised all over the continent in a much louder voice and have shown hidden aspects of the official narrative about population racial composition and their differences from country to country. Those movement that demanded rights to ethnic and minority groups gained strength during the seventies and emwaerges as an important question both nationally as internationally. These movements have a great impact on Latin American countries that from this decade on enter a process of rewriting and reviewing their constitutions, after the dictatorial regimes period ended at the continent. Thus these constitutions already incorporate the demands of ethnic groups within each national state although in different levels and dispositions as can be observe within the full text. These demands and their juridical representations create in each country a definition of what is a traditional ethnic group and what are their rights. However, the created categories have an impact on how each national census chooses to describe these populations and for that reason they are going to be described in detail for each country.

² However, the debate on whether and under which context the afro-descent population should be consider an ethnic group is much more complex and deserves a deeper analysis not undertaken here. For this debate please follow papers from Jose Mauricio Arruti (Arruti 2000), Monica Quijada and colleagues (Quijada, Bernand, and Schneider 2000) and Maguemati Wabgou (Wabgou 2012).

Furthermore it is important to understand how the constitutions are built. According to Fajardo (Fajardo 2009), the constitutions in Latin America can be classified in three cycles regarding the most important international conventions. Brazilian Constitution was the first to be written in the first cycle, in 1988. From this perspective it is ground-breaking, a pioneer one, though presenting limited changes once is built within the discussion of multiculturalism and rights of cultural diversity, having little political impact when compared to the most recent ones. The constitutions of Argentina, 1994, and Colombia, 1991, already bring in their text the discussion of internal legal pluralism. That was translated into public policies in the recognition of ethnical categories, with Colombia taking the lead and approved throughout the last decade measures on how to secure land and cultural/traditional practices of those populations. Lastly, Ecuador also has a Constitution that belongs to this second cycle, from 1998, that did not incorporate that much the diverse composition and rights of the population. Nonetheless, a new Constitution, approved by a public referendum in 2008, includes a new discussion that incorporates social demands for an effectively Plurinational State, incorporating the concept of “buen vivir”, in Spanish, or in kichwa, “sumac kawsay”, an indigenous concept of development.

Following on the legal status within those countries Vivian Urquidi and colleagues (Urquidi 2012; Urquidi, Teixeira, and Lana 2008) have pointed to the importance of some international agreements and conventions, from which all four countries analysed in this paper have ratified. Among those the authors highlight the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention number 169 that concerns about indigenous and tribal people. The reason to detach this one from other is that the ILO 169 Convention is not just assuring the right of indigenous and tribal people but also delimiting what characterizes those groups and how their culture, costumes, territory and language should be protected and secured. Additionally this convention can be regarded both as a reflexion of the debates around ethnic rights and as a “to do” manual on how to incorporate those rights into legal systems. To end, the fact that from 22 countries that ratified the convention, 15 where from Latin America and that year of 1989 – when the convention that originates the document happened – is a landmark to the next moment of issuing new constitutions in Latin America points towards the importance of the debate held at this convention to shape the following legal system.

From this scenario, and considering the political process, we investigated how these Constitutions that brings concepts of ethnicity both for indigenous populations and afro-descendants, are reflected in the national census. Conspicuous that Census categories are privileged sources of investigation as each State chooses through this particular method of data collecting how its population is described and perceived - without ignoring the political dispute over the definition of ethnical categories in it and the importance of the mobilization of these peoples to be represented and their participation in the process as a whole. Likewise, this fact shows a specific way of dealing with those populations demands and allows us to compare each country’s constitution in order to understand how these treaties and conventions are subsidizing each National State legal disposition about ethnicity and race.

For now the focus is the two last Census round allowing a more contemporary emphasis at the census and the legal system. To create a clear overview of how those categories operates within each studied country we present a summary table in the appendix 1. Below it is presented a country base overview of the legal/census categories development.

1.1. Argentina

Located in the south part of the continent, Argentina has started to collect data about its indigenous population just in the 2001 Census. The questions introduced asked for a self-recognition of an indigenous descent within the residence. If there is any affirmative answer, a complementary questions asks about the indigenous group that the person belonged to. Additionally to that the 2010 Census added the self-declared black population to identify his/her group of origin. It’s also interesting to highlight at this point that the Argentinian Census does not have a question about

race/colour in its questionnaire, rather capturing whether the person has some ethnical heritage (and what heritage) that should be recorded as Census data, strictly collecting ethnicity information. The question is built to capture the individuals that self-recognize themselves as belonging to some ethnical group and one pursuit of this question is to provide data to compare the captured traditional population with the population living at reserved areas. However, ethnicity is regarded as overlapping with the traditional population category, excluding for example, any information on black population that does not identify themselves as belonging to a traditional group. The Latin American category of *mestiço* or mixed blood is not captured because cannot be fitted into the traditional population repertoire.

Moving to the legal aspects underlying this recent changes we have that the Argentinian Constitution, called “Ley Mayor” (Ferreya 2009, p.258), was first issued in 1853, being reformed in 1860, 1866, 1898, 1957 and finally in 1994. The first version didn't considered the indigenous population at all, because it believes that those population rights should be the same that were applied to the rest of the population. Only the article 67, item 15, mention the existing need of a specific treatment to the indigenous, followed by the intention to promote their conversion to the catholic religion (Ferreya 2009; Robledo 2002). This item was extinct by the Constitutional Convention of 1949, because there was a belief that the number of indigenous groups were too small to require a special normative. It was not until the 1994 reformulation that this situation changed when is included the article 75, item 17. This article inspired by the international movements to protect the indigenous rights bring to the constitution the right these populations to have their culture, language and territory respected and secured (Robledo 2002). Following that, other legal and practical measures were taken, like the law 24.956 from 1997 which provides that from the 2001 all the National Census of Population, Households and Dwellers³ will have a question to capture self-declared indigenous descendent, followed by the nomination of their ethnic group. From all other seven national census (1869, 1895, 1914, 1947, 1960, 1980 and 1991), just the first three collected some data about the indigenous theme in a partial way, disappearing afterwards.

In 1947 the state had argued that the small number of indigenous people justified the inexistence of a particular normative. However without a number of the indigenous population from the 1914 to 1966 the State decided to run a National Indigenous Census, which haven't been finished because the central government did not accepted the requirement for more time to finished it made by the census bureau. Despite that, two states, Formosa and Salta, decided to run an internal census in the years of 1970 and 1984, respectively. Hence, before the 2001 Census change, the figures of the indigenous population in Argentina just could be estimated by the National Register of Indigenous Communities (RENACI). The RENACI was collected by the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs (INAI)⁴ and the National Team of Indigenous Pastoral (ENDEPA). Therefore, after the 2001 Census, with the will to improve the knowledge about indigenous population the National Institute for Statistics and Census (INDEC) promote a Complementary Research of Indigenous People (ECPI, 2004-2005) with a representative sample of about 57000 households of all the country states. Results from the ECPI were important to modifications for the 2010 Census round but hasn't been run again.

On the other hand the data and legal normative for the afro-descendant population is quite different. As a population group they have been in the Argentinian laws and procedures since the beginning of slave trade and therefore their existence intertwined with the country formation. Driven by a work from Monica Quijada, Carmen Bernand and Arndt Schneider (Quijada, Bernand, and Schneider 2000) the proof of that can be heard on some travellers' account that Buenos Aires' population was kind of a mix of white, indigenous and black people all together. However, in 1855, the British consul Woodbine Parish reports the considerable declination of the black people in contrast with the crescent number of foreign, especially from Europe, which came to be the Argentinian's population idiosyncrasy. All the same, the first figures of the afro-descendant

³ Authors' translation of the original in Spanish: *Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas*.

⁴ The INAI is an official agency dealing with indigenous population and their affairs created in 1958.

population in Argentina were collected by a census run in the city of Buenos Aires and its purposes was establish how much slaves without license were there (the figures showed 936 slaves and 25% of the population was owners of them). Additionally the licenses and royal authorizations say that, until 1680, the number of slaves in Buenos Aires reached 22.892 persons. At the time (and for a long time before that), they were considered to belong to a lower social rank than the mestizo and indigenous people, mainly because of their work in domestic tasks or as craftsmen.

Throughout the Argentinian history all kind of accounting that includes the afro-descendants were because of their status of labour force or their work within the army. From 1895 until 2001 they were not considered like belonging to a racial group, particularly to a government estimation that the number of afro-descendant people were negligible. In fact the negligible estimations were part of a political discourse that try to foster and raise the idea of the Argentinian population as the most European population in South America, meaning the one that more had more physical features resembling the Europeans, such as white skin, light hair colour. All that changed with the indigenous movements open a way to the afro-descendants also demanding their place with the population and their visibility. This was reflected in 2010 Census, when the afro-descendant population could self-declared as afro-descendant. Nonetheless they still cannot related to the ethnicity (once the state still regard them as a homogeneous group), and to any kind of social policy or rights.

1.1. Brazil

Although regarding its national identity as founded in a blend of many colours and cultures, it was not until the 1991 census that Brazil started to collected data on ethnicity, introducing then, the category of indigenous population. In addition to that the 2010 census round added questions about the language and the ethnical group that the person belong to. However the most striking change in 2010 census was not the addition of the language question but the displacement of the question from a sample questionnaire to the basic/universal one (IBGE 2011). All of those changes come under an increasing mobilization among civil society and social movements for the recognition of traditional ethnical identities as indigenous people. The addition of the indigenous categories within the race/colour question changed the main purpose of this question for inquiry not just about the colour of your skin but also about your ethnic identity. For that same reason afro-descendants communities, the *quilombolas* still struggle to be represented by Census categories as it should be added a possibility other than choose “black” or “pardo” (mixed blood) for this question.

That struggles and changes about the census questions leads us to the main difference of the Brazilian census: it is the only country that continues to frame the question as to which race/colour you identify with. The implication is that the data collection at the basic level does not inquiry on ethnic diversity but on what scale of skin colour do you identify with. That leads to the second point to be raised here: Brazil’s census is mixing ethnicity (the indigenous category) with skin colour. By doing this the census expect that a descent of indigenous population that does not have the sense of belonging could answer that his/her race/colour is mixed blood or black or white, capturing exactly the (or lack of) ethnic identity of the person. On the other hand why enhancing this recognition for the indigenous population and their descendants and left aside the black communities? Then, should we create a category named *quilombola* and detached them from the black category as it was done with the indigenous? Turning this ethnic depiction even more blurred we could also ask where lies the ethnic identity for those indigenous communities that until recently describe themselves as black because of the colour of their skin? Are they no longer black because they are indigenous?

Raise those question set the panorama to understand the complexity of the ethnical and racial relations that happened in Brazil and how it is being reflected at the legal aspects and at the census categories. The choice to maintain a question about race/colour demonstrate the difficulty to drop the skin colour influence on the socioeconomic inequalities within the country, as much as tell a history of which groups were moving around the country. Different from the other countries, the Brazilian Census added a category for Asian population, describing their race/colour as “yellow”. Likewise the

incorporation of a category for the rom population in Colombia, the incorporation of the Asian category is due to the importance of the participation of this group in the population composition. Additionally these category is also captured as a race/colour one and not an ethnic one. Again the ethnic aspect is only present when regarding the indigenous group.

On the legal side the ethnic diverse composition of the population is fairly regarded within the constitutional text issued in 1988, the last constitution of the country. It was received as rather a legal pioneering constitutional text once it already account for the recognition of the traditional population rights. It was even creating a law that would provide the legal argument for the afro-descendant *quilombolas* groups to demand and secure their ancestral land as much as the indigenous population. Following, other legal instruments, guiding the process on how to demand and secure traditional population land were being developed. As well other groups where being recognized as traditional population, as the rubber tapper and *cabloco* communities in the Amazon and reservoirs were they have the collective entitlement of the land the main instruments to secure their land. However, recognize the right to land and their ethnic identity wasn't necessarily followed by their representation within the ethnic categories of the country. According to a work from Jose Mauricio Arruti (Arruti 2000) the Brazilian *quilombolas* offer a case of where very fine legal instruments are protecting entities to which the official data just do not exist or are blended with another group. For him and for (Paixão 2009) this exemplifies the commitment of the legal and executive bodies of the countries with the provision of means to less advantage groups to secure their rights, at the same time that finds difficult to disentangle ethnicity from physical features. Similarly to the debates in Ecuador and Colombia the unfolding of Black population groups into ethnic groups and non-ethnic groups still have shades that the official characterization build by the census prefer to withdraw of the matter and let a better clear scenario to them make a move and the same applies to the pardo (mixed blood) category. It seems a long road for Brazil to create a census depiction that would matches with the diversity the legal system has encompass.

1.2. Colombia

Colombia differs from the two previous country for its effort to developed not only legal tools to embrace the ethnic composition of its population but also try to translate those ethnicity diversity into Census categories. Within the main three ethnic groups – indigenous, afro-descendants⁵, and roms⁶ – there is an effort to unfold the multiple groups and so better depict the population. As accounted by Rafael Ferreira (Ferreira 2006) particularly for the indigenous population there was a massive participation of indigenous representatives to help enumerate the many indigenous groups and have them listed within the census questionnaire. Although for all the four countries the participation of the indigenous representatives is welcomed and fostered just in Colombia and Ecuador they shown a massive participation and impact.

Another distinctive landmark for the Colombian Census is that their ethnicity categories are based on careful ethnographic research as reported both by Rafael Ferreira (Ferreira 2006) and the Colombian Census Bureau called DANE⁷ (DANE 2010). However the major problematic issue with way the census capture and depict ethnicity is that exactly because it was based on previous ethnographic studies that guarantee a better knowledge of ethnic diversity it also fixed this diversity into territorial pockets. This choice gave the census a better capacity to depict diversity but enable it to capture the population mobility once it totally disregard the possibility, for example, of the people of Archipelago of San Andrés to self-recognize themselves as belonging to this group if outside the archipelago region. It is a trade-off there is trying to be overcome by next census round.

⁵ Called Afro-Colombians by the official data and social movements.

⁶ The ethnical name by which the gipsy population is recognized and recognize themselves.

⁷ Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística – that can be translated as National Administrative Department of Statistic.

Nevertheless the legal recognition of the ethnic diversity of the population can be traced back to the constitution issued in 1991. Ratifying the ILO 169 Convention it legally recognizes the ethnic composition of the population, restricted at this moment, to the indigenous population once this was the only ethnic group that was already present within law and legal instruments. Within the Census the data on indigenous population is being collected since the 1912 Census – with a gap in the 1928 Census where there is no ethnicity data collection. Among the four countries it is the one with better availability of data on indigenous population. After the 70's it can be seen an effort to better depict those indigenous groups, although it is restricted to the questions on indigenous population available for reservoirs areas only (Bodnar 2004). Likewise this availability can be divided by an important aspect of data collection that is the change from ethnicity inferred by the census officer (based on place of residence or physical features) from a self-recognition from 1993 census on. The change on how the data is accessed is directly reflecting the constitutional laws providing one of the dimensions of the legal recognition of population diversity: the right to self-recognizes as belonging to an ethnic group.

On the other hand the ethnic recognition was not being clearly extended to the afro-descendant population until the law 70 and 152 of 1993. The first recognizes the right to the afro-descendant population to secure their ancestral land, while the last provides orientation to bring this population to participate on the development and planning within the areas they live. Nonetheless it was not until the 1745 decree of 1995 that the collective entitlement of those land was secured. Subsequently many other legal instruments concerning how to access rights and how to protect and secure the culture and costumes were implemented. Even so, what should be highlighted about the afro-descendant census depiction is that on one hand it was restricting ethnicity to some communities while at the other was trying to capture physical features of non-ethnic groups. The 1993 Census question (that asked if belonging to a black community) was criticized because afro-descendant that does not identify themselves as belong to a community would not be capture. For that reason the 2005 Census question unfold the question and ask if people identify themselves as Negro(Black)/Mulato(Brown) – the race/physical feature component – or as Afro-Colombians/Afro-descendants – the ethnic dimension. Also the *Raizal* and *Palenqueros* communities could identify themselves as an self-contained ethnic group and not mixed with indigenous or afro-descendants. This interesting unfolding of the ethnic category of the census was a response not just to social movements but also to problems encountered within other countries, as for example Brazil's difficulty to capture the *quilombolas* or rubber tapper communities.

Afterwards the legal instruments to support and guarantee the ethnic rights have been improved, particularly during the last decade where laws and decrees concerning the necessary seats and participation of those groups on planning borders and administrative agencies. On the other hand those legal instruments turn to the census depiction of the population to make its calculation of the share of local budgets and reservoirs budgets as much to determine the number of ethnic representatives in each council/agency/borders. For that reason the responsibility – and the power to deliver the “official” depiction of the population – resides within the census bureau in Colombia. For that reason despite the careful work that have been done between the census bureau, the government and the ethnic groups representatives there is always room to be alert to how this data is collected. So far the categories have present a very close depiction of the ethnic diversity within the country, the question is how much it is capturing the mobility of this ethnical groups (a *Raizal* can answer that is a *Raizal* if living in Bogota?) or if the unfolding done until now is enough to depict ethnicity. For the sake of a detailed and good quality data, we hope it is. Finally, it is important to mention that this is the only country that collect data on the Rom population. Worldwide recognized as an ethnic group and informally know as gipsies or romanis this group has conquest the right to be depicted as one of the ethnic groups in Colombia and beyond that they conquest the right to secure their costumes, culture and language. These characteristics certainly made of Colombia one of the countries were the legal recognition of the population ethnic diversity is being pursuit in all social and political instances.

1.3. Ecuador

The available sources of data on ethnicity in Ecuador are mainly represented by the Census and some other official complementary questionnaire. Therefore, the ethnic group better represented by this data is the indigenous population. The first attempt to capture ethnicity in the Ecuadorian census was a question about language. This question appears at the first census in 1950, disappearing for all the next census just returning in the 1990 census. Asking which language was spoken by the household members it was possible to have a proxy of the figures of the indigenous population. Figures from the 1950 census accounts that 13.6% of the total population of the country at the time declared to speak an indigenous language at home, those languages being quechua, cayapa, jíbaro or záparo. Nevertheless when the question is again asked in the 1990 census only 3.6% of the total population was reported as speaking an indigenous language at home. At the time this result was considered mistaken and disregarded. For that reason in 1995 the Technical Secretariat of the Ecuadorian Indigenous Population Decennial Committee realized an inquiry about the real figures of the indigenous population of Ecuador and present results that account that 26.7% of the population is indigenous. These results contest those presented by the official census run only five years earlier.

All this debate about the ethnic composition of the Ecuadorian population were happening at the same time that the country was rewriting its constitution and deciding if would ratify the ILO 169 Convention. Finally, the convention was ratified and the constitution were issued in the same year, 1998. Despite that the ratification, and consequently the recognition of the indigenous and tribal population rights, was not converted into a constitution that recognizes a Plurinational State, composed by diverse ethnic groups. Also afro-descendant rights were not included as belonging to the ethnic rights recognized by the state. Nevertheless the 2001 census undertook changes to better depict ethnicity. Alongside the question about language is added a question about identity self-recognition that now depict the afro-Ecuadorian population that was not capture before. For a second time the lower percentage of the self-declared indigenous population (6.8%) was regarded as a problem of the sub-enumeration of this group (Chisaguano M 2006).

Subsequently political instabilities lead to the drop of the 1998 constitution and the issuing of a new constitution, particularly one that recognizes the country as a Plurinational State, composed by diverse ethnical groups. Hence, in 2008 the new constitution was not just recognizing the ethnic diversity of the population and the rights of all ethnical groups but also proposing the *buen vivir*, the indigenous concept of development, as the main concept to orient the government on the development and planning of the future of the country. Legal instruments to allow the ethnic rights to be respected and secured were implemented as much as measures to better capture the ethnic diversity within the census. Thus, the 2010 census not just repeat the question about identity self-recognition but also, like in Colombia, there is an unfolding of the possible ethnic identities to which people would refer too. The question asked to which category you identify yourself: Indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorian, Afro-descendant, Black, Mulato, Montubio, Mestizo, White or other. In the case of a response for indigenous there is also the choice of which of the 14 nations or 18 groups you belong to. Finally the question about language was maintained and to those were added a question on which language spoken by the person's parents.

The effort of those changes was trying to correct depict the population and end the sub-enumeration that afflicted the previous census concerning the indigenous population. The results account for 7% of the population self-recognizes themselves as indigenous, and for the afro-Ecuadorian those figures grew from 4.9% in 2001 to 7.2% in 2010, finally and the mixed blood population that reached 77.4% in 2001 decline to 71.9% in 2010. Those figures might showed that the census is correctly depicting the indigenous and afro-Ecuadorian population, showing that the rights of ethnic groups should not be tied to the number that they represent of a country's total population, but the respect to their culture and identity by the other ethnic and main group. To end, it is important to say that the effort in correctly depict the ethnic groups in Ecuador is not only found within the Census change but also at the constitutional text that has been modified to better represent the population and its ethnic diversity and rights.

Discussion

This work has just started to disentangle the impact of the political environment on the collection of official data and the effectiveness of legal instruments. By the analysis presented here it can be seen that if ethnicity is an issue included in the new constitutions of all countries and depicted in census data, it is not directly comparable due to different representations of ethnicity. It is clear that there are essential characteristics supporting the way ethnicity is depicted in these countries, either tied to identity (language and belonging) or territory or both (Schkolnik and Del Popolo 2004; Schkolnik 2009). Moreover, although the countries studied claimed to base their census categories on previous studies of the ethnic diversity, there is room to believe that it is more related to the way traditional population relate to and are represented by the government. Census categories have changed in recent years but within the four countries the goal of the changes was to capture different kind of information.

Adding to that the category designed as race/colour or ethnicity, and the different places within the questionnaires where it is allocated denotes what kind of data is intended to be captured and how it is providing an objective depiction of the ethnic issues or just the desired depiction. It is particularly representative of this divergent goals of each country the race/colour question from Brazil when compared to the ethnic question of the other 3 countries. All four questions brings a different depiction of the population, which try to account for a detailed depiction of traditional groups and their language, ethnic identity name and territory. Knowing who they are and where they are enhance a better solid argument for civil society demands but also give more power to government once it is its responsibility to collect, to manage, and to deliver this information.

Finally, there is certainly much to be discussed about the connections between ethnicity and race/colour and how one is blurring the other and the implications of choosing one question from the other. Nevertheless those issues raised here are the results from this on-going project first year's findings. There is still more research to be done by bringing in the civil society demands and/or criticism on those data and legal instruments.

Bibliography

- Albieri, Sônia, Nilza O M Pereira, and Jose Andre M Brito. 2006. "População Auto-declarada Indígena: Uma Avaliação Da Precisão Das Estimativas Do Censo Demográfico de 1991 e 2000." In *XV Encontro Da Associação de Estudos Populacionais*. Caxambu: ABEP.
- Arruti, José Maurício. 2000. "Direitos Étnicos No Brasil e Na Colômbia: Notas Comparativas Sobre Hibridização, Segmentação e Mobilização Política de Índios e Negros." *Horizontes Antropológicos* 6 (14) (November): 93–123. doi:10.1590/S0104-71832000001400005. http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-71832000001400005&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlng=pt.
- Bercovich, Alicia. 2009. "The Harmonized Joint Pilot Tests for 2010 Population Census Round in Latin American Countries : an Integration Experience." In *XXVI IUSSP International Population Conference*. Marrakech. <http://iussp2009.princeton.edu/abstracts/93510>.
- Bodnar, Yolanda. 2004. "Pueblos Indígenas de Colombia: Apunte Sobre La Diversidad Cultural y La Información Sociodemográfica Disponible." *Notas de Población* 79: 231–262. <http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/5/23525/notas79-cap8.pdf>.
- CEPAL. 2007. *Panorama Social de América Latina - 2006*. Edited by CEPAL - UNFPA. first. Santiago de Chile: CEPAL - UNFPA. http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/0/27480/PSE_2006.pdf.

- Chisaguano M, Silverio. 2006. "La Población Indígena Del Ecuador. Análisis de Estadísticas Socio-demográficas". Quito. <http://www.acnur.org/biblioteca/pdf/7015.pdf?view=1>.
- Coleman, David. 2013. "The Twilight of the Census." *Population and Development Review* 38 (issue supplement 1) (February 19): 334–351. doi:10.1111/j.1728-4457.2013.00568.x. <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2013.00568.x>.
- DANE. 2010. "La Visibilización Estadística de Los Grupos Étnicos Colombianos". Bogotá DC. http://www.dane.gov.co/files/censo2005/etnia/sys/visibilidad_estadistica_etnicos.pdf.
- Del Popolo, Fabiana, and Magally Avila. 2006. "Pueblos Indígenas y Afrodescendientes de América Latina y El Caribe : Información Sociodemográfica Para Políticas y Programas." *Pueblos Indígenas y Afrodescendientes de América Latina y El Caribe : Información Sociodemográfica Para Políticas y Programas*. Santiago de Chile. http://www.eclac.cl/publicaciones/xml/0/25730/pueblosindigenas_final-web.pdf.
- Del Popolo, Fabiana, and Ana María Oyarce. 2004. "América Latina, Población Indígena: Perfil Sociodemográfico En El Marco de La Conferencia Internacional Sobre La Población y El Desarrollo y de Las Metas Del Milenio." *Notas de Población* 79: 13–52. <http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/5/23525/notas79-cap1.pdf>.
- Fajardo, Raquel. 2009. "Aos Vinte Anos Da Convenção 169 Da OIT: Balanço e Desafios Da Implementação Dos Direitos Dos Povos Indígenas Na América Latina." In *Povos Indígenas. Constituições e Reformas Políticas Na América Latina.*, edited by Ricardo Verdum, first, 9–62. Brasília: Instituto de Estudos Economicos.
- Ferreira, Rafael Alfonso Montero. 2006. "Los Pueblos Indígenas de Colombia e Su Inmersión En El Proceso Censal." *Revista de La Información Básica - IB*, June. http://www.dane.gov.co/revista_ib/html_r1/potadilla_r1.htm.
- Ferreira, Raúl Gustavo. 2009. "RASGOS DE LA DEMOCRACIA ARGENTINA Eficacia de Las Garantías Constitucionales 1983-2008: ¿división de Poderes y Democracia Delegativa Versus Protección de La Libertad?" *Estudios Constitucionales* 7 (2): 255–278. doi:10.4067/S0718-52002009000200010. <http://ref.scielo.org/326sxy>.
- IBGE. 2011. *Características Étnico-raciais Da População. Um Estudo Das Categorias de Classificação de Cor Ou Raça 2008*. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - IBGE.
- Lombardi, Thais Tartalha do Nascimento, Alessandra Traldi Simoni, and Carla Craice. 2012. "Etnologia de Uma População Plural: Categorias Raça/cor No Censo e a Constituição de Territorialidade." In *Território, Mobilidade Populacional e Ambiente.*, edited by Gilvan R Guedes and Ricardo Ojima, first, 113–132. Governados Valadares: Editora Univale.
- Paixão, Marcelo. 2009. "La Variable Color o Raza En Los Censos Demográficos Brasileños : Historia y Estimación Reciente de Las Asimetrías." *Notas de Población* 89: 187–224. http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/0/38300/lcg2427-P_7.pdf.
- Quijada, Mónica, Carmen Bernand, and Arnd Schneider. 2000. *Homogeneidad y Nación. Con Un Estudio de Caso: Argentina, Siglos XIX y XX*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

- Robledo, Federico Justiniano. 2002. "Tutela Constitucional de Los Derechos de Nuestros Pueblos Indígenas." *Ius et Praxis* 8 (2). doi:10.4067/S0718-00122002000200007.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-00122002000200007>.
- Schkolnik, Susana. 2009. "La Inclusión Del Enfoque Étnico En Los Censos de Población de América Latina." *Notas de Población* 89: 57–100.
http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/0/38300/lcg2427-P_3.pdf.
- Schkolnik, Susana, and Fabiana Del Popolo. 2004. "LOS CENSOS Y LOS PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS EN AMÉRICA LATINA: UNA METODOLOGÍA REGIONAL." *Notas de Población* 79: 101–132. <http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/5/23525/notas79-cap4.pdf>.
- Urquidi, Vivian Grace Fernandez Davila. 2012. "Estados Plurinacionais e a Descolonização Como Projeto Político." *Comunicação&Política* 30 (1): 25–70.
http://www.cebela.org.br/site/baCMS/files/55351ART3_Vivian_Grace.pdf.
- Urquidi, Vivian, Vanessa Teixeira, and Eliana Lana. 2008. "Questão Indígena Na América Latina: Direito Internacional, Novo Constitucionalismo e Organização Do Movimentos Indígenas." *Cadernos PROLAM/USP* 8 (1): 199–222.
http://www.researchgate.net/publication/228622343_Questo_Indgena_na_Amrica_Latina_Direito_Internacional_Novo_Constitucionalismo_e_Organizao_dos_Movimentos_Indgenas/file/32bfe512f23b4d022e.pdf.
- Wabgou, Maguemati. 2012. "Acciones Afirmativas y Reparacion Para Las Comunidades Negras de Colombia: Un Analisis Basado En Las Intersecciones Raza/etnia/genero/clase Social." In *2012 Congress of the Latin American Studies Association - May 23-26, 2012*. San Francisco.
<http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/members/congress-papers/lasa2012/files/18476.pdf>.

Appendix 1: Summary of Census ethnic/race categories and characteristics

Country	Census year last rounds	How the information is collected?	Categories	Ethnicity, race, both?	Year when this category where introduced	
					Indigenous	African-descendant
Argentina	2001 2010	Self-declared	Yes or No answer for the categories Afro-descendants or Indigenous	Ethnicity. Data on indigenous and african-descendant. There is detailed information just for the indigenous.	2001	2010
Brazil	2000 2010	Self-declared	White, Black, Pardo, Asian, Indigenous	Both. For indigenous people is ethnicity, for all the other is race/colour.	1991	1852
Colombia	1993 2005	Self-declared	Indigenous, Rom, People from the archipelago of San Andrés and Providencia, Palenquero ² , Black/Mulato/Afro-colombian/Afro-descendant	Ethnicity. Although just for the indigenous population you can say the group of origin.	1912 ³	1912 ⁴
Ecuador	2001 2010	Self-declared	Indigenous, Afro-ecuatorian or Afro-descendant, Black, Mulato, Montubio, Mestizo, White	Both. If you had answer indigenous, you can say your nationality or group, all other race only.	2001	2001

¹ The question is made separately, for self-declared and indigenous descendant and for self-declared African's descendant, so you can answer yes for both.

² Of San Basilio.

³ Except for the 1928 Census.

⁴ For Blak and Afro-descendant, it exists in 1912 and 1918, disappearing until 1993.