

APPENDIX A8

ANCESTRY, ESS9-2018 ed. 1.0

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Measuring ancestry i.e. socio-cultural origins in the ESS

1. Background

This item – which is intended to enhance the ESS’ measurement of respondents’ socio-cultural origins – was added to the ESS Core questionnaire in Round 7. It was developed in consultation with the Question Module Design Team for the ESS7 rotating module on immigration, led by Prof. Anthony Heath (University of Oxford).

Ethnic and national divisions are of great importance in contemporary Europe, as shown for example by the various movements for independence in several European countries, the conflicts that have occurred in neighbouring countries, and the public policy concerns about the integration of migrants and their descendants. Ethnic identification is a powerful predictor of a wide range of outcomes covered in the ESS including party identification attitudes to immigration and to asylum seekers, and to a wide range of other attitudes, values and practices¹. Having an appropriate measure of ethnic and cultural background is important if the ESS is to be used to study these outcomes.

Whilst the classical countries of immigration (Australia, Canada and the USA) have long-established traditions and official measures for cultural and ethnic background or heritage, most European scholars and official bodies have been reluctant to ask about this, preferring to use measures such as country of birth or nationality (if any). However, these measures are becoming increasingly inappropriate as (migration related) minority populations in Western Europe become more established and also more diverse. The growing number of third-generation people with a ‘migration background’ are invisible in surveys which rely on country of birth measures and ask about respondents and their parents but not grandparents. In addition, and particularly relevant in many Eastern European countries (and some western ones), country of birth simply cannot identify indigenous ethnic or cultural minorities such as Roma or Basques, longstanding sub-national cultural groups such as Scots, Catalans, or Swedish-speaking Finns or the official national minorities in a number of countries.

The ancestry item provides a measure which can be used to identify majority and minority national groups and indigenous populations as well as respondents with a migration background. It allows respondents to give up to two ancestries, and is fielded using a country-specific showcard with responses post-coded into the European Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (ESCEG) in order to create an ESS-harmonised measure of ancestry.

2. The concept of socio-cultural origins

The central concept which the ancestry item is intended to measure is that of ‘cultural or ethnic origins’. This concept should not be confused with nationality or citizenship, country of birth, or language. While related to the concept of ethnic identity, it is nevertheless distinct: it is possible to acknowledge a cultural or ethnic background without necessarily strongly identifying with the group currently.

¹ See, for example, A.F. Heath, S. Fisher, M. Sobolewska, G. Rosenblatt and D. Sanders (2013) *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. Oxford: OUP for recent evidence from Britain.

The standard definition of ethnic group comes from Max Weber. Weber stated that “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” (Weber [1922] 1978, p. 389²). The key component of this definition, as in most sociological approaches to ethnicity, is the central role accorded to subjective belief: whether a particular group of people can be counted as an ethnic or cultural group is a matter for the members of that group to decide, not for outside observers to stipulate on the basis of so-called ‘objective’ criteria. Ethnicity is essentially a self-defined social identity, akin to national identity, party identification, class identity or religious affiliation; and ancestry a self-defined ethnic or cultural background. As with membership of a nation, ethnicity will typically be associated with a distinctive shared culture, history and traditions, and with distinctive patterns of commensality and intermarriage. It will sometimes involve a distinct language or religion, although these are by no means universal features. As Weber makes clear, there is no one defining characteristic shared by all ethnic groups.

The sociological concept of ethnic group is very close to political scientists’ concept of a nation. The main distinction is that nations typically (although not invariably) lay claim to, or already have rights over, a particular territory. However, in a world of migration, the distinction can be contingent and contextual. Thus Kurds in the Middle East might think of themselves as a nation with a homeland to which some would make a territorial claim, whereas people of Kurdish background living in Sweden might be regarded as an ethnic minority. For practical purposes, then, it is not helpful to make a hard and fast distinction between the concepts of ethnic group and nation. Indeed, members of the dominant ethnic group within most European countries will think of themselves as members of a nation, reserving the concept of ethnic group (often referred to as a minority ethnic group) to people of a migration background or indigenous minorities, although members of the majority group may well be regarded as an ethnic minority group themselves if they migrate to another country. The aim therefore is to construct a measure that can identify both national minorities, indigenous minorities, and minorities of a migration background.

Following the emphasis in Weber’s definition on common descent, the ESS approach emphasizes ancestry or origins rather than current ethnic identity. The term ‘ethnicity’ is not used because these terms are not equally familiar in all European countries: there are many countries where the term is not in regular everyday use. In addition, even where it is used, members of national minorities may not apply the term to themselves. Also, non-majority ancestry may not coincide with non-majority ethnic identity, and we are more interested in the former than the latter, which may be an indicator of cultural assimilation rather than diversity.

² Weber, Max ([1922]1978) ‘Ethnic groups’. In G. Roth and C. Wittich (eds) *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Vol I, Part II. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp 385-98.

3. Country-specific showcards

The ancestry item was fielded using a country-specific showcard. Categories appearing on the showcard were agreed between Prof. Heath and the ESS National Coordinator in each country and were chosen to include:

- The majority national group in each country;
- Any established national groups within the country (e.g. Scots in the UK);
- Any distinctive indigenous ethnic minorities/nations, even if very small (e.g. Sami in the Nordic countries; Roma);
- Examples of the most salient sub-national or regional cultural groups within a country (e.g. Breton in France);
- The major minorities with a migration background; these will typically be groups originating in specific countries (e.g. French, German, Turkish);
- Any major divisions within country-of-origin categories (e.g. Kurds or Berbers), even if likely to be very small in number.

All showcards included an OTHER option which interviewers recorded verbatim.

Major minorities with a migration background were identified from the most recent OECD or UN DESA statistics on the stock of foreign-born populations by country of birth.

Categories were ordered so that the national majority appears at the top, followed by any sub-national, regional or recognised indigenous minority groups, followed by other categories organised according to the order they appear in the ESCEG. All translated versions of the showcard used in a country displayed categories in the same order.

4. Post-coding into the European Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (ESCEG)

The country-specific ancestry variables have been post-coded into the European Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (ESCEG) to create a harmonised measure of ancestry across ESS countries. There are two ancestry variables (ANCTRY1 and ANCTRY2) reflecting the fact that the respondent was able to select two different ancestries. There is no ranking or hierarchy implied in the two ancestry variables - they simply record the ancestries in the order they were mentioned by the respondent and/or coded by the interviewer.

The ESCEG was developed for the ESS based on the code-frame developed for the comparable measurement of socio-cultural groups used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2011)³ but adapted for the European context (see Heath et al. (2016)⁴ for more details). The hierarchical

³ Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2011). Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (ASCEG). Retrieved January 15, 2016, from <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/1249.0>

⁴ Heath, A., Schneider S. L., & Butt, S. (2016). *Developing a Measure of Socio-cultural Origins for the European Social Survey*. GESIS Papers 2016/16, Mannheim.

classification aggregates socio-cultural groups on the basis of cultural similarity. The classification has four levels:

- Broad (1-digit) groups largely corresponding to broad geographic regions (e.g. Europe).
- Narrow (2-digit) groups often but not always synonymous with geographic proximity (e.g. West European).
- Cultural or ethnic unit (4-digit) groups which represent national groups (e.g. Belgian, Polish), or ethnic or cultural groups which extend beyond national borders (e.g. Roma, Silesian) or belong to a different broad or narrow group than the national group of the country in which they are found (e.g. Chechen).
- Sub-national (5-digit) groups which distinguish between country-specific regional or minority indigenous groups (e.g. Walloon) where relevant.

The full ESCEG code-frame is provided in ESS9 Appendix A6 Classifications and Coding Standards.

Austria

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Austrian	11010	Austrian nfs
02	Vorarlbergian, Viennese or other regional ancestry	11018	Austrian city or region nec
03	German	11070	German nfs
04	Bosniak	14020	Bosniak/Bosnian
05	Croatian	14040	Croatian nfs
06	Romanian	14090	Romanian nfs
07	Sinti/Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
08	Serbian	14110	Serbian nfs
09	Czech	15020	Czech nfs
10	Hungarian	15040	Hungarian nfs
11	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
12	Slovak	15130	Slovak nfs
13	Turkish	23000	Turkish
14	Kurdish	25080	Kurdish
15	(Other-Write in)		

Belgium

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Belgian	11020	Belgian nfs
02	Brussels/Bruxellois	11023	Brussels/Bruxellois
03	Flemish	11021	Flemish
04	Walloon	11022	Walloon
05	Dutch	11040	Dutch nfs
06	French	11050	French nfs
07	German	11070	German nfs
08	Italian	13040	Italian nfs
09	Romanian	14090	Romanian nfs
10	Gypsy/Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
11	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
12	Moroccan	21130	Moroccan
13	Turkish	23000	Turkish
14	Berber	25030	Berber
15	Kurdish	25080	Kurdish
16	Congolese	31110	Congolese
17	(Other-Write in)		

Bulgaria

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Bulgarian	14030	Bulgarian nfs
02	Greek	13030	Greek nfs
03	Macedonian	14060	Macedonian
04	Gypsy/Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
05	Vlach	14130	Vlach
06	Pomak	14990	South-East European nec
07	Russian	15110	Russian nfs
08	Jewish	22000	Jewish
09	Bulgarian Turk	23007	Turkish diaspora/ethnic Turk
10	Armenian	25010	Armenian
11	Moldovan	14070	Moldovan
12	Romanian	14090	Romanian nfs
13	Ukrainian	15140	Ukrainian nfs
14	Vietnamese	42090	Vietnamese
15	Chinese	51010	Chinese nfs
16	(Other-Write in)		

Cyprus

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Greek Cypriot	13020	Greek Cypriot nfs
02	Turkish Cypriot	23001	Turkish Cypriot
03	Latin	13990	South European nec
04	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
05	Armenian	25010	Armenian
06	Maronite	25120	Maronite
07	British	11030	British nfs
08	Greek	13030	Greek nfs
09	Bulgarian	14030	Bulgarian nfs
10	Romanian	14090	Romanian nfs
11	Russian	15110	Russian nfs
12	Ukrainian	15140	Ukrainian nfs
13	Egyptian	21050	Egyptian
14	Lebanese	21100	Lebanese
15	Palestinian	21150	Palestinian
16	Syrian	21190	Syrian
17	Georgian	25060	Georgian
18	Indian	41030	Indian
19	Sri Lankan	41110	Sri Lankan nfs
20	Filipino	62040	Filipino
21	(Other-Write in)		

Czechia

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Czech	15020	Czech nfs
02	Moravian	15080	Moravian
03	Silesian	15120	Silesian
04	German	11070	German nfs
05	Bulgarian	14030	Bulgarian nfs
06	Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
07	Hungarian	15040	Hungarian nfs
08	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
09	Russian	15110	Russian nfs
10	Slovak	15130	Slovak nfs
11	Ukrainian	15140	Ukrainian nfs
12	Vietnamese	42090	Vietnamese
13	(Other-Write in)		

Estonia

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Estonian	15030	Estonian nfs
02	Russian	15110	Russian nfs
03	Estonian Russian	15111	Estonian Russian
04	German	11070	German nfs
05	Finnish	12020	Finnish nfs
06	Ingrian	12022	Ingrian
07	Gypsy/Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
08	Belarusian	15010	Belarusian
09	Latvian	15050	Latvian nfs
10	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
11	Ukrainian	15140	Ukrainian nfs
12	Jewish	22000	Jewish
13	Armenian	25010	Armenian
14	Georgian	25060	Georgian
15	(Other-Write in)		

Finland

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Finnish	12020	Finnish nfs
02	Swedish-speaking Finnish	12021	Swedish-speaking Finnish
03	Ingrian	12022	Ingrian
04	Sami	12050	Sami
05	Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
06	German	11070	German nfs
07	Swedish	12060	Swedish nfs
08	Estonian	15030	Estonian nfs
09	Russian	15110	Russian nfs
10	Iraqi	21070	Iraqi
11	Kurdish	25080	Kurdish
12	Somali	32090	Somali
13	Chinese	51010	Chinese nfs
14	(Other-Write in)		

France

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	French	11050	French nfs
02	Breton	11051	Breton
03	Corse	11052	Corse
04	Basque	13010	Basque
05	Guadeloupean, Martinican, Guianan, Reunionese or Mahoran	72010	Antillais
06	Collectivités ou territoires d'outre-mer	72010	Antillais
07	Other French regions	11058	French city or region nec
08	Belgian	11020	Belgian nfs
09	British	11030	British nfs
10	German	11070	German nfs
11	Italian	13040	Italian nfs
12	Portuguese	13060	Portuguese nfs
13	Spanish	13070	Spanish nfs
14	Roma/Gypsy	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
15	Algerian	21010	Algerian
16	Moroccan	21130	Moroccan
17	Tunisian	21200	Tunisian
18	Turkish	23000	Turkish
19	Berber	25030	Berber
20	Senegalese	31190	Senegalese
21	Malagasy	33160	Malagasy
22	Vietnamese	42090	Vietnamese
23	(Other-Write in)		

Germany

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	German	11070	German nfs
02	Bavarian, Swabian or other regional ancestry	11078	German city or region nec
03	Frisian	11060	Frisian
04	Danish	12010	Danish nfs
05	Sinti/Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
06	Sorbian	15150	Sorbian/Wendish
07	Austrian	11010	Austrian nfs
08	Dutch	11040	Dutch nfs
09	Greek	13030	Greek nfs
10	Italian	13040	Italian nfs
11	Spanish	13070	Spanish nfs
12	Croatian	14040	Croatian nfs
13	Romanian	14090	Romanian nfs
14	Serbian	14110	Serbian nfs
15	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
16	Russian	15110	Russian nfs
17	Syrian	21190	Syrian
18	Turkish	23000	Turkish
19	Kazakh	24050	Kazakh
20	Kurdish	25080	Kurdish
21	(Other-Write in)		

Hungary

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Hungarian	15040	Hungarian nfs
02	Gypsy/Roma (or any of its subgroups: Vlah, Boyash, Musician)	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
03	Danube Swabian/Saxon	11077	German diaspora/ethnic Germans
04	Ruthenian	15100	Ruthenian/Rusyn
05	German	11070	German nfs
06	Croatian	14040	Croatian nfs
07	Romanian	14090	Romanian nfs
08	Serbian	14110	Serbian nfs
09	Slovene	14120	Slovenian nfs
10	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
11	Russian	15110	Russian nfs
12	Slovak	15130	Slovak nfs
13	Ukrainian	15140	Ukrainian nfs
14	Jewish	22000	Jewish
15	Vietnamese	42090	Vietnamese
16	Chinese	51010	Chinese nfs
17	(Other-Write in)		

Ireland

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Irish	11080	Irish nfs
02	Irish Traveller	11081	Irish Traveller
03	Northern Irish	11032	Northern Irish
04	British	11030	British nfs
05	Scottish	11033	Scottish
06	German	11070	German nfs
07	Romanian	14090	Romanian nfs
08	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
09	Latvian	15050	Latvian nfs
10	Lithuanian	15060	Lithuanian nfs
11	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
12	Nigerian	31170	Nigerian
13	Indian	41030	Indian
14	Chinese	51010	Chinese nfs
15	Brazilian	61050	Brazilian
16	Filipino	62040	Filipino
17	(Other-Write in)		

Italy

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Italian	13040	Italian nfs
02	Occitan	11990	West European nec
03	Griko/Grecanic	13039	Greek nec
04	Ladin	13041	Ladin
05	Sicilian	13042	Sicilian
06	Tyrolian	13043	South Tyrolian
07	Friulian	13048	Italian city or region nec
08	Sardinian	13048	Italian city or region nec
09	Arbëreshë/Italo-Albanian	14019	Albanian nec
10	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
11	Slovene	14120	Slovene nfs
12	French	11050	French nfs
13	German	11070	German nfs
14	Swiss	11100	Swiss nfs
15	Albanian	14010	Albanian nfs
16	Romanian	14090	Romanian nfs
17	Ukrainian	15140	Ukrainian nfs
18	Moroccan	21130	Moroccan
19	Berber	25030	Berber
20	Chinese	51010	Chinese nfs
21	(Other-Write in)		

Netherlands

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Dutch	11040	Dutch nfs
02	Frisian	11060	Frisian
03	Belgian	11020	Belgian nfs
04	German	11070	German nfs
05	Italian	13040	Italian nfs
06	Gypsy/Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
07	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
08	Moroccan	21130	Moroccan
09	Turkish	23000	Turkish
10	Berber	25030	Berber
11	Kurdish	25080	Kurdish
12	Indonesian	43020	Indonesian nfs
13	Moluccan	43024	Moluccan
14	Antillais	72010	Antillais
15	Surinamese	72050	Surinamese
16	(Other-Write in)		

Norway

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Norwegian	12040	Norwegian nfs
02	Kven or other regional ancestry	12049	Norwegian nec
03	Sami	12050	Sami
04	Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
05	German	11070	German nfs
06	Danish	12010	Danish nfs
07	Swedish	12060	Swedish nfs
08	Bosniak	14020	Bosniak/Bosnian
09	Lithuanian	15060	Lithuanian nfs
10	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
11	Iraqi	21070	Iraqi
12	Somali	32090	Somali
13	Pakistani	41080	Pakistani nfs
14	Filipino	62040	Filipino
15	(Other-Write in)		

Poland

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
02	Lemko	15091	Lemko
03	Karaim	15092	Karaim
04	Kashubian	15093	Kashubian
05	Silesian	15120	Silesian
06	German	11070	German nfs
07	Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
08	Belarusian	15010	Belarusian
09	Czech	15020	Czech nfs
10	Lithuanian	15060	Lithuanian nfs
11	Russian	15110	Russian nfs
12	Slovak	15130	Slovak nfs
13	Ukrainian	15140	Ukrainian nfs
14	Jewish	22000	Jewish
15	Tatar	24090	Tatar
16	Armenian	25010	Armenian
17	British	11030	British nfs
18	Vietnamese	42090	Vietnamese
19	(Other-Write in)		

Serbia

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Serbian	14110	Serbian nfs
02	Danube Swabian	11077	German diaspora/ethnic Germans
03	Croatian	14040	Croatian nfs
04	Romanian	14090	Romanian nfs
05	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
06	Vlach	14130	Vlach
07	Ashkali	14140	Ashkali/Balkan Egyptian
08	Balkan Egyptian	14140	Ashkali/Balkan Egyptian
09	Gorani	14150	Gorani
10	Bunjevac	14170	Bunjevac
11	Hungarian	15040	Hungarian nfs
12	Rusyn/Ruthenian	15100	Ruthenian/Rusyn
13	Slovak	15130	Slovak nfs
14	Serbian Turk	23007	Turkish diaspora/ethnic Turk
15	Albanian	14010	Albanian nfs
16	Bosniak	14020	Bosniak/Bosnian
17	Bulgarian	14030	Bulgarian nfs
18	Macedonian	14060	Macedonian
19	Montenegrin	14080	Montenegrin
20	Slovene	14120	Slovene nfs
21	Yugoslav	14160	Yugoslav
22	(Other-Write in)		

Slovenia

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Slovene	14120	Slovene nfs
02	Italian	13040	Italian nfs
03	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
04	Hungarian	15040	Hungarian nfs
05	Austrian	11010	Austrian nfs
06	German	11070	German nfs
07	Albanian	14010	Albanian nfs
08	Bosniak	14020	Bosniak/Bosnian
09	Bulgarian	14030	Bulgarian nfs
10	Croatian	14040	Croatian nfs
11	Kosovar	14050	Kosovar nfs
12	Macedonian	14060	Macedonian
13	Montenegrin	14080	Montenegrin
14	Serbian	14110	Serbian nfs
15	(Other-Write in)		

Switzerland

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	Swiss	11100	Swiss nfs
02	Swiss language region (write in)	11101	Swiss language region nec
03	Swiss Canton (write in)	11102	Swiss Canton
04	Yeniche	11110	Yeniche
05	French	11050	French nfs
06	German	11070	German nfs
07	Italian	13040	Italian nfs
08	Portuguese	13060	Portuguese nfs
09	Spanish	13070	Spanish nfs
10	Kosovar	14050	Kosovar nfs
11	Serbian	14110	Serbian nfs
12	Turkish	23000	Turkish
13	Kurdish	25080	Kurdish
14	Tamil	41120	Tamil
15	(Other-Write in)		

United Kingdom

Country-specific showcard		ESCEG code (ANCTRY1 & ANCTRY2)	
Code	Category label	Code	Category label
01	British	11030	British nfs
02	English	11031	English
03	Northern Irish	11032	Northern Irish
04	Scottish	11033	Scottish
05	Welsh	11035	Welsh
06	Irish	11080	Irish nfs
07	Gypsy/Roma	14100	Roma/Gypsy/Sinti
08	Polish	15090	Polish nfs
09	Nigerian	31170	Nigerian
10	Somali	32090	Somali
11	Bangladeshi	41010	Bangladeshi
12	Indian	41030	Indian nfs
13	Pakistani	41080	Pakistani nfs
14	Chinese	51010	Chinese nfs
15	Jamaican	71080	Jamaican
16	(Other-Write in)		