



DOUBLE OR QUIT

A study on recent migration to Aruba 1993 -2003



Statistics for Progress

CENTRAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS - ARUBA

Double or Quits

A study on recent migration to Aruba 1993 - 2003

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PREFACE

Over the years, people from all over the world have found their way to Aruba. According to the Population and Housing Census held in October 2000, the population on Aruba represented 79 different nationalities from 124 different countries. Large groups of migrants have come from South America and from other islands in the Caribbean, but also from countries as far away as China, the Philippines and even from 17 different African countries. The Census indicates that one third of the total population of about 90,500 were born outside Aruba.

People migrate for any number of reasons. Economic, social, climatic and political conditions in both the sending and the receiving country influence people's decisions to move abroad. Many migrants leave their spouse, children and family behind to face an uncertain future in a country that is completely different from their own place of birth. Many of these are self-sacrificing migrants who save their pay and send remittances abroad to keep the home fires burning.

Especially for poor people international migration involves some serious risks. As many migrants enter Aruba illegally they have no protection against abuse and violations of the labor laws. Many are sent back by the authorities or have to work under very poor conditions. More than just a few have returned to their countries with serious losses caused by their migration. However, others have been able to greatly improve their living conditions. For them migration has been a way to lift themselves and their families out of poverty. As such, migration can be considered a gamble with high stakes but also serious risks. The title of this publication 'Double or Quits' reflects this nature of the migration process.

The Aruba Migration and Integration Study (AMIS-2003) has enabled the Central Bureau of Statistics to look into the characteristics and the way of life of the people who have come to live on Aruba in the last ten years. The purpose of this report is to provide users with information about the lives of migrants on Aruba.

Fieldwork for the Aruba Migration and Integration Study 2003 took place between May and August 2003. In the six weeks following the survey, data were captured, edited and tabulated. The successful outcome of the migration study was only possible because of the cooperation of the respondents and the excellent work of the AMIS team. The AMIS team consisted of Mrs. M. Plaza-Maduro (project leader), Mr. M. Balkestein, Mr. F. Eelens, Mrs. M. Vigelandzoon, Mrs. K. Peterson-Kock, Mr. J. Esser, Mrs. M. van der Biezen-Marquez and Mr. R. van der Biezen. The fieldwork was executed by a group of twenty interviewers. Fourteen students from the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano received instructions from Mr. L. Alofs and conducted a series of in-depth interviews. This report was written by Mrs. M. Plaza-Maduro, Mr. M. Balkestein and Mr. F. Eelens. We thank all collaborators for their valuable contribution.

The Director of the Central Bureau of Statistics,

R.A. Lee

Oranjestad, August 2004.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the last twenty years Aruba has experienced some significant developments in its economic and social history. Migration played an important role in the rapid economic development that took place during the 1990's. The growth rates were spectacular in the period 1989-1994: the net growth of Aruba's population was well above 5 percent annually on average. At that time, Aruba was one of the fastest growing countries in the world. Growth rates have fallen since then: growth was still about 3 percent on average between 1994 and 1997, but it has decreased more recently. In 2002 growth equaled 13.8 per thousand; in 2003 the population growth picked up again and was 22.6 per thousand.

The Aruban Migration and Integration report aims to provide useful data on the various aspects of immigration to the island. The study focuses mainly on the group of recent migrants, i.e. persons who came to live on Aruba in the ten years directly preceding the survey. The survey employed quantitative and qualitative techniques to collect data about the characteristics and the way of life of these recent migrants. During a house to house survey, a total of 679 migrant families were visited. In each family unit, one Main Migration Actor (MMA) was selected. This MMA was interviewed using a long questionnaire. To avoid excessively long interviews and duplicate information, other members of the migrant family were interviewed with a shorter questionnaire. In addition to the quantitative data obtained from the survey, 70 MMAs were selected for an in-depth interview. These interviews provided valuable background information about the life of migrants on Aruba.

Details about the organization and execution of the Aruba Migration and Integration Study (AMIS) are presented in Chapter 1 of this report, along with a discussion of the data quality and possible sources of errors. The following chapter addresses the historical background and the general characteristics of migration. The discussion of the trends of international movements shows that throughout Aruba's history, migration has always been an important safety valve to counteract fluctuations in the economic climate. In case of economic crisis, inhabitants fled the harsh economic conditions to seek employment overseas. Whenever economic growth picked up speed, migration brought additional workers to fill the gaps in the labor market.

Currently, about one third of the total population of Aruba were born outside the island. The age structure of this foreign-born population clearly reflects the island's migration history. Quite a large group of older foreign-born persons came to Aruba during the heyday of the LAGO refinery. The largest group of migrants is currently aged between 25 and 45 and consists of migrants who came to Aruba in the last ten years. More women than men have found their way to the island. According to the 2000 Population and Housing Census, for every 100 foreign-born women, there are 81.5 foreign-born men. Compared to the Population Census, some slight differences were observed in the AMIS: a somewhat smaller relative number of younger migrants and a somewhat higher relative number of migrants aged over 35 were interviewed.

People from no fewer than 124 countries of birth have found their way to Aruba, carrying a total of 79 nationalities. The largest contingent of foreigners has come from developing countries. According to the 2000 Population and Housing Census, 21,514 migrants came from developing countries, against 8,443 migrants from developed countries. The population of Colombian migrants on Aruba has increased dramatically since 1991. At the time of the 2000 Population Census, 7,191 Colombians lived on the island, an increase of 255 percent on 1991. In the last ten years, the European Dutch have lost their first position to the Colombians. Currently, 3,755 European Dutch are residing on Aruba, an increase of 63.5 percent compared to 1991. The number of migrants from other countries also increased significantly between 1991 and 2000; among others Peru (511 percent), Venezuela (132.3 percent), Haiti (188.1 percent) and the Philippines (221.1 percent).

For quite some time now, the subject of undocumented migrants has been the topic of public debate. Actions to remove illegal migrants from the island have increased significantly in recent years. In 2003, 1,401 undocumented migrants were removed from the island by the police unit 'Warda nos costa'. Our research shows that migrants on the island often move in and out of the state of illegality. Under the law a person may only live on the island from the time his/her residence permit is issued. A migrant who wants to settle on Aruba has to wait in his country of origin until the residence permit is ready. In practice, most migrants come to the island, find a job and then try to regularize their legal status. This means that, according to the letter of the law, the vast majority of migrants stay on the island illegally for at least some time. According to the results of our study, only about 40 percent of all migrants have a permit after six months of residence on the island. During the in-depth interviews, quite a number of migrants complained about the very slow and tedious process of obtaining their permits. After one year on the island, about 15 percent of migrants still had not been granted a residence permit.

Not having a work or residence permit creates a lot of stress among recent migrants. Most are constantly worried about being taken into custody and being deported. Employers and migrants often seek the help of brokers to obtain a permit. These brokers are active in the informal sector and use their contacts in the public sector. During the in-depth interviews a few migrants indicated they had been duped by intermediaries. It is a priority for migrants from developing countries, who come to the island without a job offer, to find someone 'to sign' for them. Some people go to great lengths to regularize their residence status. A few women even pointed out that an important reason for marrying their Aruban husband was to secure their residency on the island.

For future planning it is necessary to know whether migrants who come to Aruba do so with the intention of returning to their home country or settling permanently on the island. Obviously, one should keep in mind that intentions are just plans, and not a certain prediction of future actions. The effect of short-term migration on the social system is completely different from that of long-term migration. The effect on the pension system, for instance, is much more profound if migrants settle permanently on the island, than if they stay for a contract period of only a few years. According to the Aruba Migration and Integration Study, 68.7 percent of all MMAs indicated they want to settle on Aruba indefinitely. Only 22.3 percent of all MMAs plan to go back to their country of birth and only 9 percent want to leave Aruba to go and live in another country. Compared to the 1994 Labor Force Survey, the percentage of those who want to settle on the island has increased. In 1994, 48.8 percent indicated they wanted to stay indefinitely. The Labor Force Survey in 1997 already showed a significant increase in the intended length of stay: 64.4 percent of the respondents indicated that they wanted to stay on the island for ever. In the AMIS, respondents reported that reasons related to the quality of life on Aruba were the most important motives to remain on the island. For planning purposes, policy makers will have to take into account that the majority of migrants (about 70 percent) arriving on the island in the last ten years intend to stay.

This widespread intention among migrants to settle on Aruba is reflected in the large group of migrants who have taken steps to obtain the Dutch nationality. The data from AMIS show that currently one in four migrants have already applied for a Dutch passport. At the time of the survey, 12.3 percent of migrant men and 11.0 percent of migrant women had already obtained their citizenship. In the period 1995-2002, a total of 6,251 migrants applied for naturalization to the Cabinet of the Governor of Aruba. In the same period 5,087 requests were granted. The increased number of applications has lengthened the time it takes to process these applications; normally it takes about a year to process the application and to grant or reject it. In practice this is much longer.

Every migrant has his/her own specific reasons to come to Aruba. The motives are mainly economically based for migrants from developing countries, while people from developed countries attach more importance to good living conditions and family bonds. The number of asylum seekers arriving on the island is very small. Chain migration plays an important role in migration to Aruba. About two-thirds of all migrants who come to Aruba obtain their information from friends and family members who already live on the island. Interestingly, this chain migration is more dominant among migrants from developing countries than those from developed countries. More than 80 percent of all

migrants from developing countries who have relatives or friends on the island receive help from them once they arrive. For migrants from developed countries this is about 55 percent. Most help is given in the form of housing, money and finding a job. The most common group of relatives of migrants on the island is siblings. More than one in every five migrants from developing countries already have a brother or sister on the island at the time of arrival.

‘Brain drain’ is a serious problem for many countries in Latin America, as large numbers of well-educated citizens leave their country of birth to find employment abroad. Many migrants from developing countries find work as unskilled workers. Our research shows that quite a lot of foreign workers are much better educated than their employment level would suggest. This over-qualification means a loss for both the sending and the receiving country. The sending country loses a citizen who is well trained - sometimes at a high cost – and, by using over-qualified personnel for low level jobs, the receiving country does not make optimal use of its foreign labor potential.

Almost 50 percent of all migrants from developing countries said that the economic situation of their household prior to their migration to Aruba was insufficient or barely sufficient. Among migrants from developed countries this was less than 10 percent. The vast majority of migrants, both from developed and developing countries, who migrate to Aruba describe the neighborhood they came from as middle class. It is possible that people with a very poor background are unable to bear the costs of migration and are more likely to stay in their home country. This trend has also been observed in European migration studies.

The AMIS shows that about two-thirds of MMAs from developed countries and an equal proportion of female MMAs from developing countries came to Aruba together with their spouse. On the other hand, less than a third of married men from developing countries take their wife with them, although many of them (35.8 percent) send for their spouse at a later moment in time. Family reunion is an important form of child migration. In 2000, the Population Census showed that just over 4,000 foreign-born children below the age of 15 were living on Aruba. Figures from the AMIS show that 0.53 children come to live on Aruba for every male MMA (i.e. in fact for each family unit) from a developed country. For women from developed countries this number is slightly higher: 0.61. For men and women from developing countries, 0.34 and 0.43 children per MMA respectively arrived on the island. Family reunion also takes place when adult migrants join their parents on the island. Often parents look for employment for their children and send for them as soon as they have secured a position. For about 16 percent of all MMAs with a relative on the island, one or more parents or parents-in-law were already living on the island.

Arriving in a new country can be quite stressful for migrants. Many migrants (42.1 percent) arrive on Aruba without a job offer. More than half of those who did have a job offer at the time of arrival got this job through relatives or friends. Most migrants who do not have a job at the time of arrival find employment relatively quickly; after six months on the island 16.7 percent of men and 32.8 percent of women who did not have a job on arrival were still looking for work.

A number of migrants do not have to pay anything to come to Aruba. About 30 percent of migrants from developed countries and 14 percent of migrants from developing countries do not have any costs. Men from developed countries pay on average Afl. 4,329 for themselves to come to Aruba; while women from developed countries spend about Afl. 560 less. Migrants from developing countries spend much less: Afl. 1,651 for men and Afl. 1,267 for women.

Aruban society has been shaped by successive migration waves. Over the years these groups of migrants have come together and have melted into a distinctive Aruban identity. The Status Aparte of 1986 further enhanced the feeling of cohesion and solidarity of the Aruban community. Because of the influx of large groups of foreign workers, a new division has grown between the Aruban population from before 1985 and the migrant population that has settled on the island more recently. Newcomers who do not speak Papiamentu have serious problems integrating in the Aruban community. Our data show that more than 80 percent of all migrants who have been living on the island for more than five years speak Papiamentu. Spanish speaking migrants have the least problems because the languages are rather close. As we saw before, almost 70 percent of migrants who come to Aruba want to stay

indefinitely. A number of indicators show that a large number of migrants are already quite well integrated in Aruban society. In the AMIS, we checked migrants' knowledge of some important Aruban facts; the data also showed that more than 50 percent of migrants watched Aruban television on a daily basis, another 15 percent three to five times a week and 22 percent once a week. Interestingly also, more than 80 percent of all migrants think that it is not that difficult to integrate in Aruban society. On the other hand, quite a few migrants complain about the discrimination they have to endure. About 55 percent of migrants from developing countries complain that they are sometimes or often discriminated. The level of discrimination against migrants should certainly be a matter of concern and merits more attention.

With respect to integration, a special group to be considered is the group of foreigners who marry Aruban citizens. The rate of intermarriage between foreigners and Arubans is very high. The Census 2000 showed that among 646 couples who married in 1999 and were still living together on the island in October 2000, only 188 (29.2 percent) were marriages where both partners were Aruban. Another 28.5 percent were Aruban men married to foreign-born women and less than 15 percent Aruban women with foreign-born husbands. The results of the 1991 and the 2000 Population Censuses show that the group of local persons married to foreigners grew from 22.8 percent in 1991 to 27.9 percent in 2000. There is no doubt that the high rate of intermarriage between Arubans and foreigners will have an influence on Aruban society in terms of culture, the use of Papiamentu and ethnic composition. Our data showed no evidence that a marriage between a foreign-born woman and an Aruban man results in a higher degree of integration or assimilation for these women. For foreign men with Aruban wives, however, our results suggest that indeed their marriage had a positive effect on their integration.

Children of recent migrants face specific problems in education. Spanish speaking children, in particular, experience a number of difficulties. Seventeen percent of Spanish speaking children and some 14 percent of English speaking children aged 12-17 years do not attend school. For children who speak Dutch or Papiamentu (including Arubans) fewer than 5 percent do not go to school. Many children from Spanish speaking countries face an uphill battle to get along in the Aruban educational system, although a number of them are able to overcome their problems and ultimately a higher percentage of all foreign-born children can be found in secondary education (HAVO and VWO) than of all local born children. Many migrant parents are well aware that their children are at a disadvantage in the school system, and some go to great lengths to help their children overcome these problems.

In June 2002, the Minister of Justice presented a new immigration policy to the Minister Council. One of the main measures of this new policy is that foreigners will only be granted a residence permit for a period of three years. After this period they will have to leave the island and will only be allowed to return for work after another three years. The work permit is given for work for the employer who has signed the request only. The migrant is not allowed to change employers under the same work permit. Family reunion is only allowed in a few cases. Obviously, there is a great discrepancy between current government policy and the aspirations of the majority of migrants who have come to Aruba and who want to settle on the island. It is possible that this field of tension will lead to more requests for naturalization and perhaps even more marriages between foreigners and Arubans in the future. It will be interesting to see what the future brings in terms of the integration of recent migrants, and the influx of new migrants to the island.

1 PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

1.1. PURPOSE

Out of a population of 90,506 in 2000, 30,104 people were not born on Aruba, but arrived on the island at some point in their lives. The influx of such a large group of migrants has had a major impact on the demographic, social and economic structure of Aruba. In spite of its economic significance, little information has been available about the characteristics of Aruba's migrant population. Up to now, information on migrants was obtained in more general projects such as the Population and Housing Censuses of 1991 and 2000 and the Labor Force Surveys, held in 1994 and 1997. As no study had been fully dedicated to the foreign-born population on the island, the available information was therefore limited to some general characteristics. The Aruba Migration and Integration Study 2003 (AMIS) aims to fill this gap and to provide useful data on the various aspects of large scale migration to the island.

This study focuses primarily on the group of recent migrants. These are defined as persons born outside Aruba who settled on the island after April 30th 1993, i.e. in the last ten years directly preceding the survey. Only the people who lived on Aruba continuously for more than a year, or who planned to live on the island for more than a year, were included in the study. All members of a migrant family were interviewed (whether they were born outside Aruba or not). Foreign-born people who had lived on the island for more than 10 years, and who might have obtained Aruban rights, were not a focal point of the study.

The main objective of AMIS is to obtain information about the characteristics and way of life of migrants on Aruba. In its meeting of September 26th 2003, the Aruban Commission on Population and Development placed research into migration at the top of the social agenda. AMIS explored various aspects of migrants' lives on Aruba. First, general demographic and social data were gathered, with special attention for migrant household and family composition. In recent years, large numbers of migrants have married Aruban citizens, and this study also looks into this phenomenon. Secondly, information was collected on the migration history of all respondents, enabling the CBS to examine the migration background of recent migrants. Is Aruba their first country of migration? Do they consider it to be their last? What means did migrants use to make their move to Aruba?

To gain a better understanding of the economic characteristics of migrants, they were asked about their current and past economic activities, their income levels compared to Aruban workers and their social security. In an international perspective, remittances have a significant impact on the economies of sending and receiving countries. In many sending countries overseas money sent home by migrants forms an important input for economic development. For receiving countries remittances by large groups of migrants may be a drain on capital. The survey contained several questions about the transfer of money to family members overseas.

Special attention was paid to the phenomenon of 'chain migration'. Many migrants tend to originate from the same places, as the migration of one person often triggers the migration of relatives and friends to the same destination. Specific information was collected about the networks that helped migrants get to Aruba. As someone's own aspirations, attitude and motivation are key determinants for a successful migration to another country, a set of questions covered how respondents perceived their living conditions prior to moving to Aruba. Respondents were also asked about why they came to Aruba. For planning purposes it is important to know whether migrants intend to stay for a limited time, or whether they plan to settle on Aruba indefinitely. Another purpose of our study is to find out how well migrants are integrated in Aruban society. The degree to which a foreigner is integrated in a society is determined by their willingness to be incorporated in their new social environment. Equally important is the willingness of the host society to accept in its midst new members who may be ethnically and culturally different.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

Migration studies require a special methodological approach. To begin with, the place of residence of the target population of migrants is seldom known. In Aruba, the data derived from the Census 2000 provided information about the regional distribution of migrants as of October 13th, 2000. However, in the three years between the Population Census and AMIS, many migrants had moved or left, and new migrants had settled on the island. Therefore, specialized sampling techniques were required to draw a probability sample in which each respondent had a known, non-zero chance of being selected. Enumeration blocks of the 2000 Population and Housing Census were used to draw the sample for AMIS. For the Census, Aruba was divided into 1,034 enumeration blocks, each consisting of 25 to 35 addresses. More addresses were included in Census blocks in urban areas than in rural areas. During the Census week each enumerator canvassed one enumeration block¹.

Sampling for AMIS followed the methodology set out by Bilsborrow, Hugo, Oberai and Zlotnik². The number of migrant families in each enumeration block was estimated on the basis of the 2000 Census. According to the Census 2000, a total 13,034 family units on Aruba included at least one member who was a recent migrant, i.e. a person who came to Aruba in the last ten years. To achieve optimal accuracy for unemployment, which was considered to be the least frequent occurring phenomenon in the study, a sample size of 1,100 migrant family units would be needed³. It should be noted that in the case of AMIS the degree of unemployment of the migrant population was only one of a whole set of variables and relationships of interest. Because most other characteristics of migrants are far more common than unemployment, it was understood that a smaller sample size would easily suffice to obtain relatively small sampling errors for most other variables.

In order to obtain a self-weighting sample, the probability of selection of each Census enumeration block was made proportional to the number of migrant family units living within that block. This type of sampling is widely used and generally known as 'probability proportional to estimated size' (PPES). We used a systematic sample to select Census blocks⁴. First, the Census enumeration blocks were ordered according to the number of migrant family units in the Census block, and then accumulated. It was estimated that some 80 enumeration blocks would have to be selected to obtain about 1,100 migrant family units. In addition, it was decided that 20 reserve blocks should be selected to cover the risk of non-response. As the government had taken quite vigorous action with respect to undocumented migrants in the months before the survey, we anticipated that this may have led to some reluctance on the part of the foreign population to participate in a migration survey. Secondly, a sampling selection interval was calculated to make it possible to draw a systematic sample. This interval could easily be calculated by dividing the total number of migrant families (13,034) by the number of Census blocks to be selected (100). The sampling selection interval was 13. Thirdly, a starting point between 1 and 13 was chosen randomly. Selection numbers were calculated using the starting point and multiples of 13. All Census blocks in which the selection numbers fell were included in the survey. Figure 1.1 shows the selected enumeration blocks for the migration study.

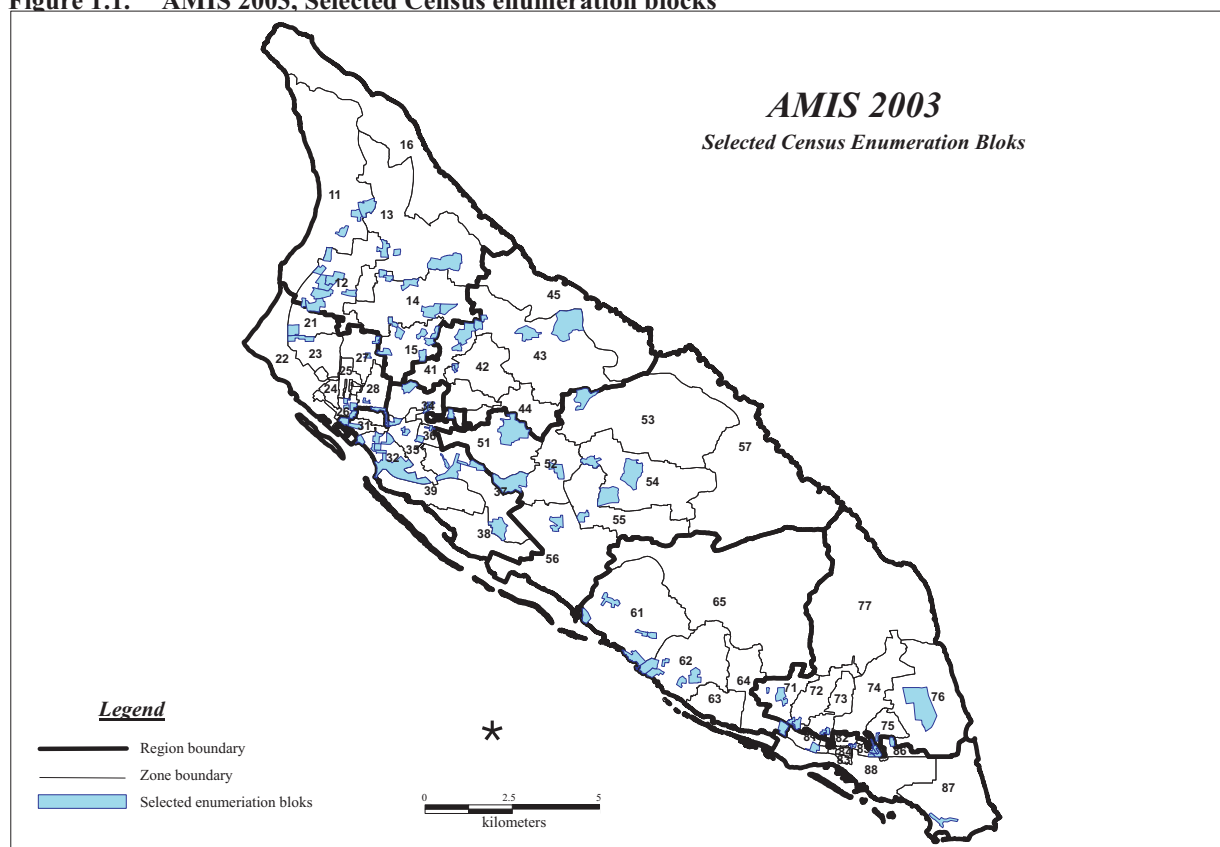
¹ A full description of the Census methodology can be found in Central Bureau of Statistics (2001), Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 14, 2000. Selected Tables, p. 3-6.

² R.E. Bilsborrow, Graeme Hugo, A.S. Oberai and Hania Zlotnik, International Migration Statistics, Guidelines for improving data collecting systems. A study published with the financial support of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). International Labour Office, Geneva. p.268-274.

³ According to the Population and Housing Census Aruba 2000, the unemployment rate stood at 6.9 percent. Compared to other countries in the region Aruba's unemployment is not very high. Central Bureau of Statistics-Aruba (2003), Current Developments of Aruba's Labor Market, p.17.

⁴ Systematic sampling instead of a true random selection is often used for proportionate sampling. Systematic sampling consists of taking every k^{th} element after a random start from 1 to k . The technique is explained in L. Kish (1965) Survey Sampling. New York, Chichester, Brisbane, Toronto.

Figure 1.1. AMIS 2003, Selected Census enumeration blocks



Source: AMIS 2003.

Each of the twenty interviewers was assigned a set of four enumeration blocks. First, they had to find out how many migrant family units were present in their block. They did this by visiting each and every house in the Census block and asking about the migration status of each member living there. Secondly, each member of a family unit where a recent migrant had been identified was interviewed following a strict set of rules. Information about all members of the household was gathered on the household roster, which contained general questions for all members of the household. This made it possible to obtain at least some general characteristics of the people belonging to the same household as the migrant, and thus determine the type of household to which the migrant belongs. The household roster consisted of questions on place of birth, age, nationality, education and activity status. Also information on the outcome of the interviews was collected on the household roster. One should keep in mind that in this report a 'family member' is not necessarily 'a member of the family unit'. A person may live with his brother ('family member') while they may both belong to different family units.

In each migrant family, one person was interviewed with a Long Form, which took about an hour to complete. To avoid excessive interviewing time, information about all other members of the family was noted on shorter questionnaires. In this way, we also avoided obtaining duplicate information from different persons within one family. The migrant interviewed with the Long Form was called the 'Main Migration Actor'⁵ (or MMA). The MMA was selected as follows:

the MMA was born outside Aruba, and had been living on the island for one year or longer. If the person had been living on the island for less than one year, he/she intended to remain on the island for at least one year; the MMA had established himself/herself on the island less than 10 years ago, i.e. had migrated to Aruba after April 30th 1993; if more persons were eligible to be the MMA, the person who had established himself/ herself on the island first was selected as the MMA. If there was still more than one candidate, the oldest was chosen.

⁵ This methodology was used in the project Push and pull factors of international migration, executed by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) in collaboration with Eurostat under auspices of the European Commission. A description of their methodology can be found in Jeannette Schoorl, Liesbeth Heering, Ingrid Esveldt, George Groenewold, Rob van der Erf, Alinda Bosch, Helga de Valk, Bart de Bruijn (s.d.), Push and pull factors of international migration A comparative report, Eurostat.

The following sections were included in the Long Form:

- Personal characteristics
- MMA's migration history
- MMA's economic activities
- Recruitment and situation around migration
- MMA's intentions, knowledge and opinions on Aruba
- Family form.

The Short Form contained the first three sections of the Long Form, i.e. personal characteristics, migration history and economic activities. A copy of the long form and the short form are included in appendix 1. Long Forms and Short Forms were available in Papiamentu, Spanish, Dutch and English.

1.3. FIELDWORK

Fieldwork for the Aruba Migration and Integration Study 2003 took place during the months of May, June and July 2003. It started on May 9th and finished on July 4th. In this period twenty interviewers personally visited a total 2,620 addresses in the selected Census blocks. Sometimes the interviewers had to make repeat visits, as it was necessary to obtain information directly from the Main Migration Actor. At the Central Bureau of Statistics six supervisors stayed in close contact with the interviewers. Every week the interviewers handed in the completed questionnaires to their supervisor. All questionnaires were first manually checked, and those that were incomplete or contained errors were returned to the interviewers. If necessary, interviewers had to return to the respondent to obtain the missing information.

In this study the unit of analysis is not the household, but the family unit⁶. In each family unit one MMA was interviewed with a Long Form. All other family members were interviewed with a Short Form. Interviewers were instructed to make all reasonable efforts to obtain interviews with the eligible members of the family in question. In cases where the other family members could not be interviewed because of repeated absence, information was obtained from a knowledgeable family member. However, the Long Form could only be filled in on the basis of information provided by the MMA.

During the interviews, each MMA was asked whether he or she would agree to participate in an in-depth interview. After the survey, 70 MMAs who had agreed to participate in such interview were selected. Fourteen students from the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA)⁷ each conducted five case studies of migrants. During these in-depth interviews they focused on some important themes:

- School problems of migrant children
- Recruitment and how the MMA came to Aruba
- MMA's migration history
- Chain migration
- Integration and discrimination
- Working conditions
- Living conditions
- Links between the migrant and his/her home country

These qualitative data are used in this report to further enrich the information gathered in the survey. For reasons of privacy all the names of persons mentioned in this report have been changed. All the facts described here are real experiences of migrants on Aruba. In some cases, part of the information is not reported as this would allow readers to identify specific migrants. Within a relatively small community, it is easy to identify someone on the basis of only a few characteristics.

Although the majority of households consist of only one family unit, some households contain two or more. One MMA was interviewed in each family unit, resulting in a total of successful interviews with 679 MMAs, and additional Short Form interviews with 700 family unit members. As soon as contact

⁶ For the definition of 'household' and 'family unit' see annex 2.

⁷ IPA (Instituto Pedagógico Arubano) is the teachers training school on Aruba .

was made and a household was identified as a migrant household, few respondents in these households refused to cooperate.

1.4. DATA QUALITY

As soon as all completed interviews for a Census block had been handed in to the supervisor, the data handling process started. First, all forms pertaining to the Census block were scanned. Optical mark reading, optical character reading and imaging were used for data entry⁸. Variables about occupation, country and education were coded using computer-aided coding techniques. After the data were entered for a Census block, they were edited using an extended computer program of about 12,000 lines. This program was written in CSPRO, a computer package developed by the US Bureau of the Census for processing Census and survey data. During the editing, supervisors removed as many inconsistencies from the data file as possible. Errors were corrected only after manually checking the questionnaires. All data entry and editing procedures were developed and tested before the onset of the fieldwork. While interviewers were in the field working in a particular Census block, data entry, coding and editing of their previous block was already underway. Each of the six supervisors contributed to the coding and the editing of the Census blocks. In this way the CBS was able to create an SPSS system file within six weeks of the conclusion of the fieldwork.

Before the actual interviewing took place, interviewers first canvassed their Census blocks to determine where migrant households could be found. They visited a total of 2,620 addresses in 99 Census blocks. Only 137 addresses could not be contacted. Migrant households were encountered at 564 addresses. It should be clear that in many instances Aruban households were present together with migrant households. Many foreign housemaids live in with their employers, often in a room in the house or a small apartment in the garden. Many Arubans have also built apartments or 'cuartos'⁹ in their yard. These living quarters are often rented by migrant workers.

Errors affecting the accuracy of a survey like AMIS can be divided into two types:

- *Coverage errors*: through errors in sampling and non-sampling procedures it is possible that the characteristics of the migrant population in the sample differ from the migrant population as a whole.
- *Content errors*: i.e. the recorded characteristics of the migrant differ from the real characteristics of the migrant. Errors can occur in each stage of gathering and handling the data: the interviewer can ask the wrong question or write down a correct answer in a wrong way, correct answers can be made incorrect during field editing, erroneous codes can be given during the coding process, and errors in computer programs can lead to more mistakes. Lastly, a simple misprint in a publication can spoil a perfectly well handled, correct piece of information.

Coverage error

Only 11 family units refused to cooperate with the survey. After initial contact, 22 family units could not be contacted for the interview. Although these figures suggest that cooperation by the foreign community was optimal, a comparison of the AMIS figures with the data from the 2000 Population and Housing Census, reveals that somehow large proportions of migrant family units were not picked up during the fieldwork.

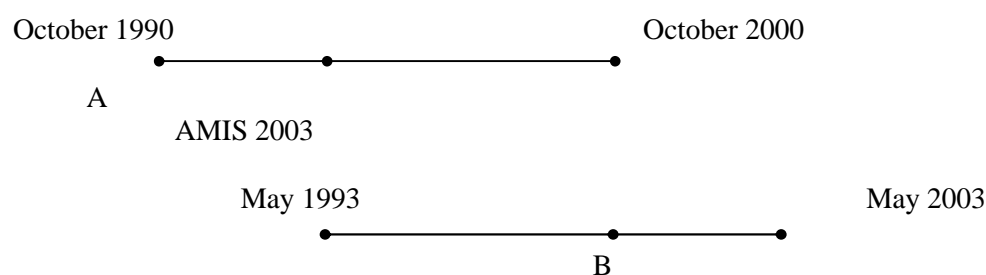
⁸ For a thorough discussion of these data entry techniques the reader is referred to: Arij Dekker (1996), *Innovative Computer Methods for Demographic Enquiries and the Dissemination of Population Information*. In: Innotec. *Proceedings of the Expert Group Meeting on Innovative Techniques for Population Censuses and Large-Scale Demographic Surveys*, The Hague, 22-26 April 1996. NIDI/UNFPA, The Hague, pp.125-149.

⁹ For the definition of a cuarto see Annex 2. Central Bureau of Statistics (2001), *Fourth Population and Housing Census, Aruba*. October 14th 2000. Selected Tables. Central Bureau of Statistics. Oranjestad, June 2001.

To understand this discrepancy, we looked at the number of family units with recent migrants in the 2000 Population and Housing Census in the 100 Census blocks selected for the migration study. In the Population Census, a recent migrant was somebody who had come to the island in the ten years directly preceding the Census. A total of 1,677 family units comprising at least one recent migrant were counted in these Census blocks in 2000. Ultimately, 679 family units were successfully interviewed during the fieldwork of AMIS in 2003. This means that only 40 percent of those identified in the Census were actually reached. It is not easy to pinpoint the exact reason for the discrepancy between the Census and the AMIS. The following factors may be important to explain the difference:

The reference period for recent migrants differs between the 2000 Census and AMIS 2003. As we saw before, a recent migrant is a migrant who settled on the island in the ten years directly preceding the interview. In the case of the Census, this was the period October 1990 - October 2000. For AMIS, this covers the period May 1993 – May 2003. The diagram below shows the difference in the reference period between a recent migrant in the Census and in AMIS.

Population and Housing Census 2000



Ideally, our sample frame¹⁰ would consist of a complete list of all migrants who came to Aruba in the period May 1993 – May 2003. Unfortunately, such a list does not exist. The Population Registry could not be used as a sample frame, as registration at the Population Registry usually takes place quite a while after the migrant enters Aruba. Migrants also often change residence on the island without notifying the Registry. Moreover, quite a few migrants never register at all, while others fail to register when they leave the island. The enumeration blocks of the Census 2000 were therefore used as an alternative to find the sampling units.

One problem we encountered is that the number of migrants who came during period 'A' in the diagram differs from the number who came during period 'B'. Table 1.1 shows the immigration and emigration figures in Aruba, according to the number of persons who registered at the Population Registry. There is no reason to assume that registration of migrants is more or less complete now than in the past. During recent years the migration pattern to Aruba has changed significantly. If we look at the net migration figures we see that in the period 1990-1999 net migration was 20,641. For the period 1993-2002 net migration equaled 14,907. Overall, net migration during the second period is only 72.2 percent of that in the first period. This means that there were many more 'recent migrants' in the Census 2000 than in AMIS 2003. The real effect of the changing pattern of migration on the number of recent migrants is probably even bigger than 28 percent. If we look at the number of immigrants in 1993, it is much higher than in the previous years (7,278 in 1993 against 4,469 in 1992). This large number of registrations was caused by a general pardon for illegal immigrants. Obviously, many of them had come to Aruba before 1993.

¹⁰ The sampling frame or list is the keystone of the sample selection. 'The sampling frame includes a physical list of all potential sampling units, but includes also procedures that can account for all the sampling units without the physical effort of actually listing them'. Kish, L. (1965), *Survey Sampling*, New York, p.53.

Table 1.1. Migration patterns in Aruba 1990-2002

Table A1: Migration patterns in Aruba 1990-2002								
	Population Aruba		Emigration		Immigration		Net migration	
Year	mid year	end of year	absolute ¹	em. rate	absolute	im. rate	absolute	n.m. rate
1990	62751	64410	1843	29.37	4436	70.69	2593	8.90
1991	65943	67382	1887	28.62	4229	64.13	2342	41.32
1992	69005	70629	2091	30.30	4469	64.76	2378	35.52
1993	73685	76742	2101	28.51	7278	98.77	5177	34.47
1994	77595	78450	2463	31.75	3287	42.36	824	70.26
1995	79804	81160	2299	28.80	4094	51.30	1795	10.62
1996	83021	84883	2211	26.63	4950	59.62	2739	22.50
1997	86300	87720	2130	24.68	4007	46.43	1877	32.99
1998	88451	89183	2762	31.23	3416	38.62	654	21.75
1999	89658	90135	3082	34.38	3344	37.30	262	7.39
2000	90734	91064	3368	37.12	3535	38.96	167	2.92
2001	91851	92637	2602	28.33	3386	36.86	784	1.84
2002	93398	93922	2526	27.05	3154	33.77	628	8.54
(a) 1990-1999			22869		43510		20641	
(b) 1993-2002			25544		40451		14907	
(b)/(a)*100			111.7		93.0		72.2	

Source: Population Register, Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000

In 2002 and 2003 the government took serious steps to reduce the number of undocumented migrants on the island. Many were taken into custody and deported from the island. This led to fear among those whose papers were not (yet) in order and a sense of nervousness in the migrant community as a whole. Before the start of the survey each address in a chosen Census block received a flyer with information about the AMIS, indicating that the study would only concentrate on migrants who had come to Aruba in the last ten years. This was probably an easy way out for migrants who wanted to avoid an interview: during the first visit, recent migrants could easily claim that they did not have to be interviewed because they had lived on the island for more than ten years.

Many local families possess apartments and cuartos that are rented to migrant workers. During the 2000 Population Census, it was clear that everybody who lived at the address had to be counted. In the migration survey this was less obvious. It may well have been that Aruban house owners, purposely or unintentionally, failed to indicate during the first field visit that one or more recent migrants were living on the premises.

Another aspect which may have played a role is the fact that many migrants have obtained the Dutch nationality. Others have married an Aruban partner with whom they live together on a permanent basis. These people may no longer consider themselves as foreigners, but as part of the Aruban community.

Although the number of migrant family units that were successfully reached was lower than the number originally planned, the AMIS research team is quite confident that the results obtained are representative of the whole population of recent migrants living on Aruba. The number of migrants interviewed in the AMIS is comparable to the number found in many other migration studies across the world. For instance, in the study Push and Pull Factors of International Migration by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute, the number of recent current migrants in Senegal, Ghana and Turkey was about the same as in the AMIS¹¹.

Content errors

No survey or Census is free of content errors. It is the responsibility of the researcher to reduce the number of errors at each stage of the study. During the fieldwork and data-handling of the AMIS 2003, the following actions were taken to reduce the number of content errors:

¹¹ Jeannette Schoorl, Liesbeth Heering, Ingrid Esveldt, George Groenewold, Rob van der Erf, Alinda Bosch, Helga de Valk, Bart de Bruijn (s.d.), Push and pull factors of international migration A comparative report, Eurostat , p.25.

Interviewers received an intensive training of two full days. This training included many practical exercises in which interviewers interrogated each other.

Each interviewer was assigned to a member of the AMIS research team. Supervisors could be contacted (almost) around the clock if the interviewer had any theoretical or practical problems in the field.

Immediately after the completed questionnaire had been returned to the AMIS team, the supervisor checked the questionnaire in the presence of the interviewer. When in doubt about any answers, the supervisor could consult the interviewer. If there were inconsistencies or if the questionnaire had not been filled in correctly, the interviewer had to return to the field.

After scanning, the data files for each enumeration block were subjected to an excessive editing program. A large number of valid value checks, structure controls and consistency checks were executed. All errors were examined by referring to the original questionnaires. If necessary, corrections were made. Many of these errors were attributed to small errors that occurred during fieldwork or data-entry.

2 TRENDS AND PATTERNS IN RECENT MIGRATION TO ARUBA

Maria was born in 1959 in Baranquilla, Colombia. At school she met Pedro and in 1974, at the tender age of fifteen, she married him. Because of her marriage she did not finish school; she completed only four years study out of six. Consequently, she received a 'Bachillerato Commercial' diploma. Together with her husband she has four sons. The whole family lived with Maria's mother. She worked hard with her husband to provide a good education for their children. The two eldest sons both have a university diploma and are now economically independent.

Her husband still lives in Baranquilla with the two youngest sons. He has a job in administration. Before moving to Aruba, Maria worked as a saleswoman in a pharmacy, earning about 60 US\$ per month. Because of the low pay it was very difficult to make ends meet, especially with four boys in school. In 2000, her niece, who was working on Aruba, informed Maria that there was a lot of work on the island and that salaries were much higher than in Colombia. Unfortunately, it was very difficult for her husband to find a job on Aruba, as his skills as a clerk were not much in demand. It would have been much easier had he been a construction worker. Therefore, in May 2000 they decided that Maria would move to Aruba. She was welcomed by her niece with whom she could stay for the first few days. Through her niece she was able to find a job as a live-in housemaid, and within a week she was living with the family of her new employer. During the week she works long hours doing housework. Her salary amounts to Afl. 750 (about US\$ 425). On Saturdays she earns a bit extra by cleaning her employer's office. For about the first eighteen months she had neither a work nor a residence permit. Although she knew she was an illegal resident, she did not worry too much: she only left the house very sporadically. After a time her employer was able to obtain all the required permits for her and currently she has all necessary documents, health insurance and a retirement plan. Through her niece, who has since married in Aruba, she has some Colombian friends. Together they hire a place where they meet as a group every Sunday to talk and enjoy themselves. Every month Maria sends most of her earnings to her family in Colombia. She doesn't have a bank account on Aruba and like many others she uses a private money transfer service to send the money. Generally, she remits her complete salary to her mother and keeps the extra money she earns on the side for her own expenses on Aruba. In Colombia her husband uses the money to pay for daily expenses for himself, her mother and the two children, and also for some medical expenses for her mother. As a live-in maid she does not have many day-to-day expenses. Maria has worked for the same family for the last three years. She complains about the hard work and the long hours, but says her employer treats her well. Two years ago her youngest son, aged 11, came and visited her for a few days. The ticket was a gift from her employer for Mother's Day. Sometimes her employer helps her out if she has financial problems. She would like to bring her husband and children to Aruba, but she knows that is almost impossible.

Every migrant who comes to Aruba has his/her own story. In a way, Maria is a typical example of a migrant that can be found all over the world; i.e. a mother or father who leaves the family behind to find employment abroad in a country where the economic opportunities are much better than at home. Migrants who have come to Aruba also have many other motives. Some have come to get married; others for adventure and others to start a new life away from a deplorable situation at home. Aruba attracts many migrants from all walks of life. In the following sections we shall describe the uniformity and diversity of the characteristics of migrants coming to Aruba. However, first we shall give a brief historical overview of migration trends on Aruba.

2.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the 19th century two serious efforts were made to develop Aruba's industrial possibilities. In the period 1868-1915, the Aruba Gold Mining Company established a gold mining industry. In its heyday the company provided work for about one hundred people. Because of a lack of local workers, 40 laborers from Bonaire and 15 Haitians were hired. At the beginning of World War I, the company was forced to close down its operations. During the same period (1881-1915), phosphate was mined on the southeastern side of the island. In the period 1881-1892, the 'Aruba Phosphate Company' provided work for about 300 workers. However, this endeavor, too, had to be abandoned because of international economic and political developments¹².

Because of the harsh economic conditions on the island, many Aruban workers left for temporary employment overseas. In the years 1890-1900, 2,500 Arubans left to work on the sugar cane and banana plantations in Venezuela, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the coffee and banana estates in Colombia became a popular destination for temporary labor migration from Aruba. A smaller group of Arubans left for Surinam to work as railroad workers, while others tried their luck in the phosphate mines and oil industry in Curaçao. The sugar cane plantations of Cuba also attracted a number of Aruban workers. In the period 1916-1930, Arubans made more than 4,000 registered trips to Cuba.

The year 1927 was of crucial importance to the history of Aruba. In this year, the LAGO oil refinery was established on Aruba. This led to an enormous expansion of the industrial and transport sector. Traditional Aruban society, which had its roots in agriculture and animal husbandry, virtually disappeared. The lack of knowledge of the English language and specialized industrial craftsmanship in an American business environment was a serious disadvantage for many Aruban workers. Moreover, according to the LAGO management many Aruban workers still had a peasant-like, laid-back work attitude. These factors led to a large influx of foreign laborers to Aruba, mostly from the surrounding English speaking countries of the Caribbean. Many Arubans had to settle for the lower paid jobs in the oil industry and had fewer opportunities for promotion than the migrants from the West Indies. This often led to feelings of frustration and bitterness among Aruban workers¹³.

During World War II, the Aruban oil refinery played a very important role for the Allied Forces. It has been estimated that 16 percent of all fuel used by the allied forces during the war was refined on Aruba. The growth of the oil industry also triggered the development of the trade and service sector, and this in turn led to very high levels of immigration from surrounding countries. Together with the existing high levels of fertility, this resulted in a serious population boom. In the period 1930-1940, the population of Aruba increased from 13,450 to 30,461¹⁴. In 1951, 6,315 people out of a total labor force of 11,214 were working for the LAGO oil refinery. Interestingly at this time the temporary labor circulation of Arubans to other islands which occurred before the arrival of the LAGO had come to a complete standstill. There was no longer an economic necessity to leave the motherland to work overseas, as Aruban workers were able to find employment in their own country.

Throughout the island's history, migration has played a crucial role in Aruba's demographic development. Table 2.1 shows the composition of Aruba's population in 1948. At that moment, only 27,312 people out of a total population of 47,265 had the Dutch nationality and had been born in the Netherlands Antilles. No data are available on how many of them had actually been born on Aruba. No fewer than 42.2 percent were either non-Dutch or were Dutch but had been born outside the Dutch Antilles. The table shows that the majority of people with a non-Dutch nationality were British (9,442), most of whom originated from the British West Indian islands. And interestingly, already quite a large group of migrants from Venezuela and Colombia were living on Aruba (3,083). Historically, close ties exist between Aruba and Venezuela. Many migrants from Venezuela came to Aruba for business

¹² Alofs, L. & Merckies, L. (1990), *Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba*. Department of Caribbean Studies, Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, University of Leiden.

¹³ Rutger van den Hurk (1998), *Vrouwelijke Migranten op Aruba. Een onderzoek naar het leven van vrouwelijke migranten tussen 1940 en 1960 in San Nicolas, Aruba*. Culturele Antropologie Universiteit Utrecht. Verslag afstudeeronderzoek, augustus 1998. Begeleider: Prof. Dr. G.J. Oostindie.

¹⁴ Hartog, J. (1980) *Aruba, zoals het was, zoals het werd*. Oranjestad, De Wit, p.32.

purposes. Also, a lot of intermarriage occurred between people from the island and Venezuela. This was also the case, although to a lesser extent, for Colombia¹⁵.

Table 2.1. Population living on Aruba by nationality in 1948

Nationality	Number of persons
<u>Dutch</u>	
Dutch-Antilles	27,312
European and Dutch from Indonesian origin	1,946
Dutch from Surinam	1,134
Subtotal	30,392
<u>Foreigners</u>	
America and Canada	2,197
Great-Britain	9,442
France	794
Portuguese (especially from Madeira)	139
Other Western Europe	135
Eastern-Europe	122
Venezuela and Colombia	3,083
Dominican Republic and Haiti	594
Other Latin America	79
China	271
Libanon and Syria	17
Subtotal	16,873
Total	47,265

Source: Alofs and Merckies, p.68.

Since the thirties, there has been a clear ethnic division of labor in the Aruban economy. Arubans from the rural areas and Afro-Caribbean foreign workers found employment in the oil industry. Migrants from the Netherlands, Curaçao and Surinam were recruited in the government sector. Because of a shortage of teaching staff, many European Dutch also found employment in the educational system. Over the years, the Chinese established an almost complete monopoly in the food sector, while Jews, Lebanese, Portuguese and the old Aruban elite dominated in other trade sectors.

By introducing automation and efficiency measures, LAGO reduced its workforce significantly in the early fifties. In the period 1950-1964, the number of employees at the LAGO refinery decreased from 8,300 to 3,026. Immediately, net migration became negative. While the number of immigrants surpassed the number of emigrants by 839 in 1949, in 1950 2,171 more people left than arrived on the island. Among the first to leave were many 'Big Islanders' from Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guyana. This was no surprise because many of them were active in the trade unions. Most of the workers made redundant in this period were foreigners; Aruban workers at LAGO were far less affected. Although many workers from the West Indies left the island after losing their jobs, many others decided to stay and found work in other branches of the economy¹⁶. Table 2.2 clearly shows the effect of the lay-offs at the oil refinery on the composition of the island's population. These figures are based on the 1960 Population Census¹⁷.

¹⁵ Alofs, L. & Merckies, L. (1990), op cit, p. 75.

¹⁶ Rutger van den Hurk (1998), op cit, p. 34.

¹⁷ Amos H. Hawley (1960), *The Population of Aruba. A report based on the Census of 1960*. August 25, 1960, Aruba. Unfortunately, no information on place of birth is available in either the 1948 or the 1960 data.

Table 2.2. Absolute and relative distribution of the population of Aruba in 1960, by nationality

Nationality	Number	Percent
Dutch - Netherlands Antilles	42,430	79.8
Dutch - Surinam	1,048	2.0
Dutch - other	2,922	5.5
British West Indies	2,633	4.9
American	1,426	2.7
Venezuelan	632	1.2
All other	2,108	4.0
Total	53,199	100.0

Source: Amos H. Hawley Population Census 1960.

The way the 1960 Census was executed clearly shows the interconnection between the LAGO Company and the state at that time. All coding, programming, card punching and tabulations were done by the refinery's Tabulating and Statistical Division. Compared with the figures from 1948, the 1960 Census clearly shows the reduction of people from the West Indies. In the space of twelve years, the number of people from the West Indies diminished from a total of 9,442 in 1948 to 2,633 in 1960. On the other hand, the number of Dutch nationals from Europe increased significantly. In 1960, 2,922 European Dutchmen were living on the island, against 1,946 in 1948. Because of the reduction of the refinery's labor force, the number of Americans decreased from 2,197 in 1948 to 1,426 in 1960. Notwithstanding the decrease in the foreign population, the overall population continued to grow during these twelve years at a steady rate of 0.9 percent per year. This growth was caused by the very high levels of fertility of the Aruban population in the 1950's. The total fertility rate was well above 5 during this period¹⁸. Coupled with low levels of mortality, this led to an impressive population growth among the local Arubans. In the twelve years between 1948 and 1960, the local Aruban population grew at an average rate of no less than 3.6 percent per year.

The number of employees at the oil refinery continued to drop in the 1960's and 1970's. In 1970, LAGO employed 1,600 workers. The Second Population and Housing Census (1981) provides a detailed picture of the various nationalities residing on Aruba at that time. Table 2.3 shows that in 1981 the proportion of persons who were not Dutch and who had not been born in the Netherlands Antilles was significantly lower than in 1960 (12.9 percent in 1981, against 20.2 percent in 1960). The number of persons with the British nationality fell further, to a total of 770. This trend could be attributed to two possibilities: a) residents from the British West Indian islands had returned home, or b) many of them had decided to take the Dutch nationality. It seems that many foreigners opted for the second possibility. In the 1981 Census, no fewer than 2,172 persons with the Dutch nationality indicated they had been born in neither the Netherlands Antilles, the Netherlands or Surinam¹⁹.

¹⁸ Frank C. Eelens (1993), *The Population of Aruba: a Demographic Profile. Third Population and Housing Census – October 6, 1991*. Central Bureau of Statistics. Oranjestad, December 1993.

¹⁹ Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (1985), *Tweede Algemene Volks- en Woningtelling. Toestand per 1 Februari 1981. Serie B. Censuseresultaten, Enige Kenmerken van de Bevolking van Aruba. Demografische kenmerken, nationaliteit en geboorteplaats, taal, handicap, religie*. Census publicatie B.5, Willemstad, Curaçao, p. 15.

Table 2.3. Absolute and relative distribution of the population of Aruba in 1981, by nationality

Nationality	Number	Percent
Dutch - Netherlands Antilles	52,526	87.1
Dutch - Surinam	511	0.8
Dutch - other	3,537	5.9
American	387	0.6
Portugal	199	0.3
Brititsch	770	1.3
Dominican Republic	401	0.7
Venezuela	448	0.7
Colombia	495	0.8
Other	1,025	1.7
No nationality	3	0.0
Unknown	9	0.0
Total	60,311	100.0

Source: Second Population and Housing Census Netherlands Antilles 1981.

The LAGO oil refinery had always been dependent on cheap oil from the nearby oil fields in Venezuela. During the first oil crisis in the 1970's, contracts to buy oil below the world market price were only given by Venezuela for one or two years. This uncertainty prevented LAGO from making the necessary investments and modernizing its production process. At the end of 1984, Venezuela refused to sell any more crude oil at a reduced rate, and in the following year the oil refinery was forced to close its doors. The closure meant the end of an important chapter in the island's demographic development. The motor which had driven incoming and outgoing migration for sixty years had come to a standstill. The downward spiral of the economy wiped out 6,000 to 8,000 jobs in a minimum of time. Unemployment soared from a level of about 5 percent to an estimated 27 percent²⁰. The closure of the oil refinery prompted many citizens, both Aruban and foreign-born, to leave the island. The population of 62,229 in mid-1983 had dropped to 59,154 by 1987. In 1985, the emigration rate was 76.59 per thousand. In the same year Aruba had lost much of its attraction as a migration destination, and immigration dropped to 21.60 per thousand²¹.

The period 1985-1995 is very important in Aruba's economic and social development. In a period lasting less than ten years, Aruba experienced both its worst economic crisis and its biggest boom of the last sixty years. Alongside these economic developments a major constitutional change took place. At the beginning of 1986 Aruba gained its *Status Aparte* within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In a bid to counteract the devastating effects of the closure of the LAGO refinery, the government took firm action. It decided to develop fully the potential of Aruba as a prime tourist destination. Plans were made to increase the hotel room capacity from 2,318 in 1985 to 7,702 by 1992. To achieve this goal a number of new hotels were constructed, and existing hotels expanded their capacity. Consequently, the construction sector on the island experienced an enormous boom. In September 1990, 4,382 laborers were working in the construction sector (*Aruba Economic Memorandum, 1991*). The shortage of construction workers led to hefty wage rises in the sector: wage levels increased by 41.9 percent from Afl. 1,655 to Afl. 2,434 between 1988 and 1990. The second largest increase in salaries was in the retail sector, where wages went up by 20 percent. In the mean time, the government found a new company to operate the abandoned oil refinery. In April 1990, Coastal Oil Corporation started its

²⁰ The effect of the shutdown of the LAGO refinery was so enormous that according to Cole et al. (1992) the economic effect could be compared to a major natural disaster. Indeed, the authors considered the closure of the LAGO a valuable scenario against which to test the performance of a specific modeling technique for assessing the economic damage caused by a natural disaster.

²¹ Migration rates are based on registered migrations. The past records of migration are not completely reliable for two reasons: first, the steady stream of illegal migrants to and from the island is not captured in the official statistics and secondly, in the past some residents preferred to leave unnoticed, to avoid unpleasant contacts with the tax office prior to departure.

operations on Aruba. For the renovation and the operation of the plant a large group of contractors and workers from within and outside Aruba were hired. In 1989, 800 Turkish workers came to work on upgrading the refinery. For most of them, their stay on the island was temporary. At the time of the 1991 Population and Housing Census, only 123 were still present on the island²².

According to figures from the Civil Registration, 15,691 foreigners settled on the island from the beginning of 1987 to mid 1992. In addition to these legal migrants, the island started to attract more and more undocumented migrants. The construction sector in particular has been plagued by large numbers of illegal workers. At the time of the 1991 Census, the largest contingent of foreign workers originated from the Dominican Republic: a total 1,638 women from this country were living on the island. They had been drawn there by the increased demand for domestic servants caused by the higher participation of Aruban women in the labor market. In 1972, the employment rate for women in Aruba was 28 percent. By 1991, this had increased to 53 percent²³. Many Aruban and foreigners' households hired women from surrounding developing countries to work as housemaids. Since 1992, important changes have taken place. As these developments fall within our reference period, they are discussed later in this report.

2.2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The demographics of Aruba's foreign-born population have been described extensively in the CBS publication *The Population of Aruba. Continuity and Change*²⁴. In this section, we shall elaborate further on the general characteristics of migrants living on Aruba.

According to figures from the Population Division of the United Nations, around 175 million people were living in a country other than where they were born in 2002. Migrants form about 3 percent of the total world population. The globalization of the world economy can also be seen in the number of persons who move abroad. Since 1975, the number of migrants in the world has more than doubled. The majority of migrants (60 percent) can be found in the developed countries, most of them in Europe (56 million), followed by Asia (50 million) and North America (41 million). North America has always been an important immigration destination. Currently, Northern America has the highest increase in terms of net migration: annually their population is increased by 1.4 million migrants²⁵.

²² Frank C. Eelens (1993), *The Population of Aruba: a Demographic Profile*. Third Population and Housing Census – October 6, 1991. Central Bureau of Statistics. Oranjestad, December 1991.

²³ M. Balkestein & F. Eelens (1996), *Labor Force Survey*. Aruba, October – November 1994. Labor Dynamics in Aruba. Central Bureau of Statistics, Oranjestad. p. 25.

²⁴ Central Bureau of Statistics (2002), *The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change*. Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 14, 2000, Oranjestad.

²⁵ United Nations. Population Division. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. *International Migration 2002*. Wall chart. UN-publication (ST/ESA/SER.A.A/219).

Table 2.4. Migrants as a percentage of total population for selected countries (2002)

Country	Percent
Aruba	33.3
The Netherlands	9.9
Venezuela	4.2
Colombia	0.3
United States of America	12.4
Netherlands Antilles	25.3
Trinidad and Tobago	3.2
Anguilla	35.6
Bahamas	9.8
Barbados	9.2
British Virgin Islands	35.5
Cayman Islands	39.2
United States Virgin Islands	28.8
United Arab Emirates	73.8
Holy See	100.0

Source: United Nations. Population Division. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. International Migration 2002. Wall chart. UN-publication (ST/ESA/SER.A.A/219).

The 2000 Population and Housing Census showed that of the 90,506 people living on Aruba, 30,104 were born elsewhere. This amounts to 33.26 percent of the total population. Table 2.4 shows the percentage of the population born outside the island for a selected number of countries. The government of the Netherlands is critical of the number of immigrants to its country²⁶. Since 1973, various governments in the Netherlands have instituted restrictive immigration policies²⁷. The percentage of migrants to Aruba is more than three times as high as in the Netherlands. In 2002, 9.9 percent of the population of the Netherlands were born outside the country. The Netherlands Antilles also has a much higher percentage of migrants than the Netherlands (25.3 percent), although still considerably lower than Aruba. The United States, which is considered to be one of the main immigration countries, has a migrant percentage of 12.4. Aruba's neighboring countries Venezuela and Colombia have migration populations of respectively 4.2 and 0.3 percent. Within the Caribbean the overall migrant population amounts to 2.8 percent of the total population. Together with Anguilla, the British Virgin Islands and the Cayman Islands, Aruba makes up a small group of islands in which more than one-third of the total population is foreign-born.

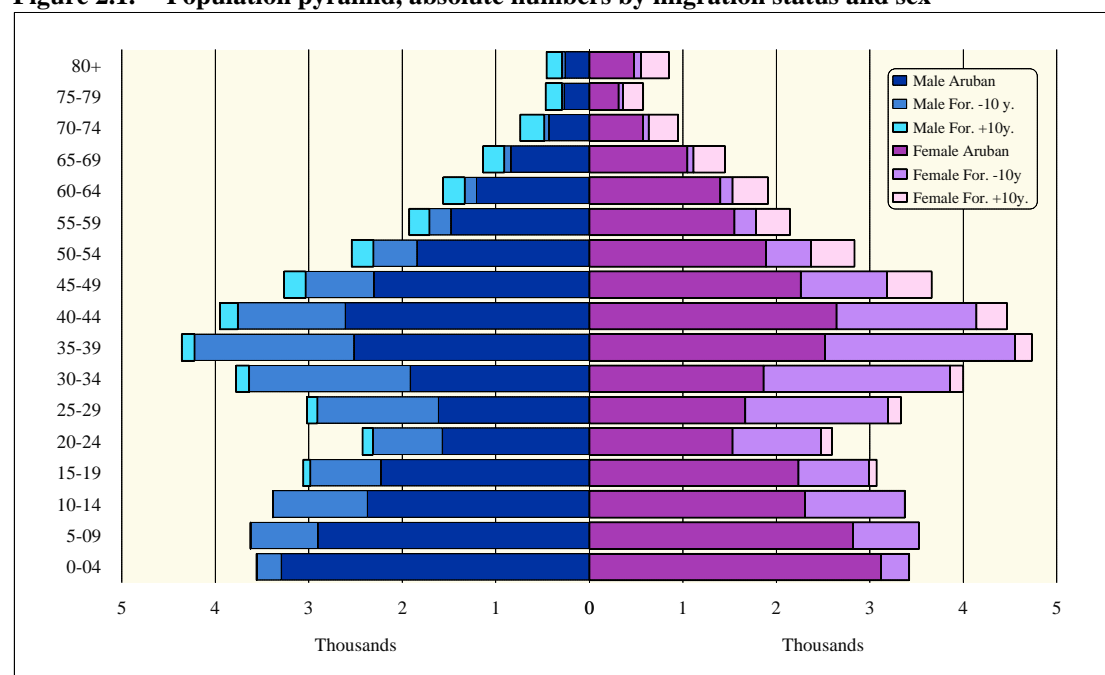
Age distribution

Figure 2.1 shows the population distribution of the population living on Aruba at the time of the 2000 Population Census by five-year age groups, sex and migration status. Three main migration categories were discerned: Aruban-born persons, foreign-born persons who had lived on the island for less than ten years and foreign-born persons who had arrived on Aruba more than ten years ago. Table 2.5 presents the statistical data on which this graph is based. The figure shows the effect of recent migration on the size and composition of the population currently living on Aruba. No fewer than 23,958 persons living on the island at the time of the 2000 Census had arrived after October 1990. More women (12,832) than men (11,126) found their way to Aruba during this period. There are many more recent than long-term migrants. Respectively, 2,670 migrant men and 3,840 migrant women had lived on the island for more than ten years.

²⁶ United Nations, *ibid*.

²⁷ Leo van Wissen & Joop de Beer (2000), *Internationale migratie in Nederland: trends, achtergronden, motieven en vooruitzichten*. In: Nico van Nimwegen & Gijs Beets: *Bevolkingsvraagstukken in Nederland anno 2000*. Werkverband Periodieke Rapportage Bevolkingsvraagstukken. Nederlands Interdisciplinair Demografisch Instituut. NIDI rapport no. 58. Den Haag. p.169.

Figure 2.1. Population pyramid, absolute numbers by migration status and sex



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 2.5. Population by age group, sex and migration status (2000)

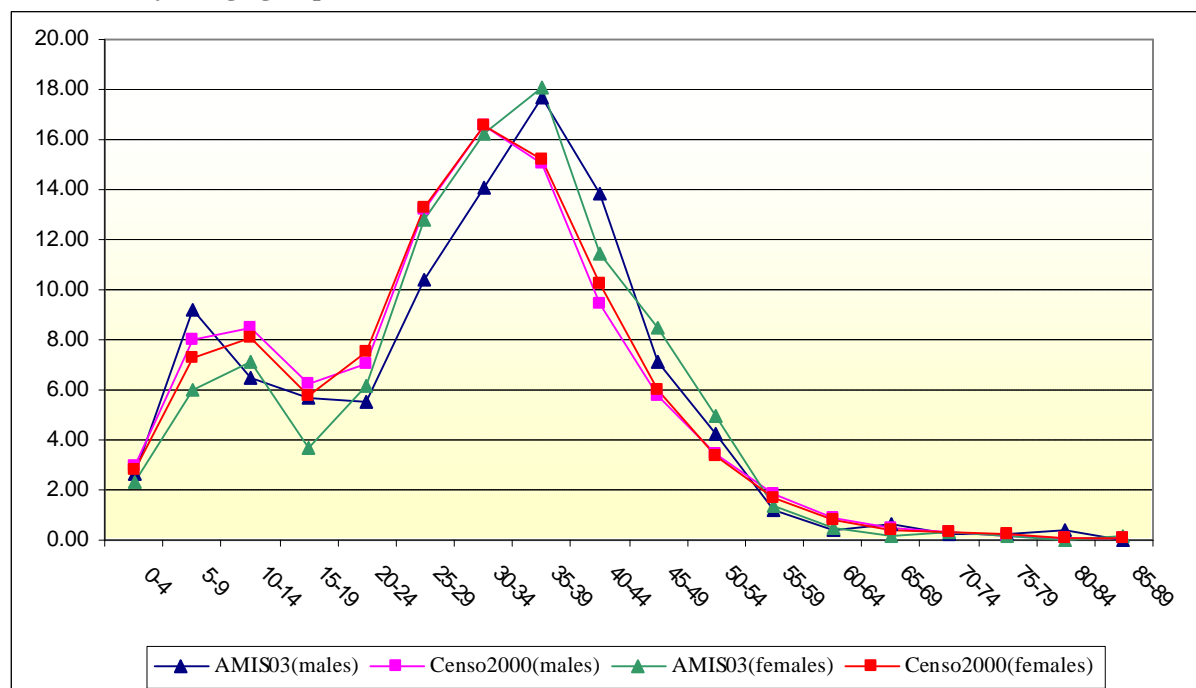
Age	Male			Female		
	Aruban	Migrant < 10 y	Migrant >= 10y	Aruban	Migrant < 10 y	Migrant >= 10y
0-4	3,291	269	0	3,122	298	0
5-9	2,902	722	0	2,819	706	0
10-14	2,373	1,012	0	2,304	1,068	1
15-19	2,227	756	75	2,238	755	79
20-24	1,571	743	113	1,531	947	119
25-29	1,613	1,295	113	1,669	1,525	139
30-34	1,911	1,724	142	1,864	1,997	137
35-39	2,516	1,704	139	2,520	2,031	183
40-44	2,609	1,153	191	2,645	1,496	326
45-49	2,303	732	227	2,259	921	480
50-54	1,840	468	234	1,888	483	465
55-59	1,478	232	216	1,551	230	363
60-64	1,205	127	230	1,402	129	380
65-69	838	70	227	1,051	64	335
70-74	431	49	258	573	63	313
75-79	266	24	176	314	46	218
80-84	256	34	166	478	74	300
Not rep.	20	11	163	162	0	3
Total	29,649	11,126	2,670	30,388	12,832	3,840

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000. Persons for whom migration status was unknown are not included in the table.

The age structure of the foreign-born population is the direct result of past migration trends to the island. There is a significant group of older foreign-born people on the island, many of whom came to Aruba in the heyday of the LAGO refinery before the 1960's. There is a large group of recent migrants between ages 25 and 45. Many of these migrants brought young children to Aruba. As we shall see later, this created a new series of problems, as many of these children entered a school system where they do not understand the language used.

In the population pyramid, the relatively large number of children to the native born population clearly stands out. One explanation for this is that the Aruba-born children of many foreign-born women are classified in this group. In figure 2.2 we compare the age distributions for men and women in the Population Census 2000 with AMIS 2003. There are some relatively small differences between the age distributions of the two studies. In general, we can observe that at the younger ages somewhat fewer recent migrants were encountered during AMIS than during the Census. At ages above 35, we find a higher percentage of recent migrants in the migration survey than in the Census. This may be caused by different factors: a) in total 1,093 recent migrants were interviewed (MMAs and non-MMAs). Although this is about 4 percent of all recent migrants, some sample variability may still occur; b) we always have to take into account that non-response may be age dependent. In chapter 1 we saw that, although direct refusal was low, a number of people may have evaded being interviewed, by giving false information about their migration status. Non-response among younger migrants would lead to an under-representation of younger migrants and an overrepresentation of older ones; c) we should not forget that AMIS was held three years after the Census. This means that migrants who did not return home are now three years older; in general, 60 percent of migrants in a five year age group can be found in the next age bracket after three years. This may also explain why there are now somewhat more older migrants than three years ago.

Figure 2.2. Relative age-distribution of foreign-born persons less than 10 years on Aruba by sex and five year age-groups (Censo 2000 and AMIS 2003)



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000 and AMIS 2003.

Table 2.6. Age-distribution of foreign-born persons by sex and five year age-group (Censo 2000 – AMIS 2003)

	AMIS03(males)	Censo2000(males)	AMIS03(females)	Censo2000(females)
0-4	2.65	2.92	2.33	2.81
5-9	9.16	7.98	5.98	7.31
10-14	6.52	8.49	7.14	8.12
15-19	5.70	6.22	3.65	5.79
20-24	5.50	7.04	6.15	7.52
25-29	10.39	13.23	12.79	13.27
30-34	14.05	16.55	16.28	16.56
35-39	17.72	15.03	18.11	15.19
40-44	13.85	9.42	11.46	10.26
45-49	7.13	5.77	8.47	6.04
50-54	4.28	3.48	4.98	3.39
55-59	1.22	1.82	1.33	1.68
60-64	0.41	0.87	0.50	0.83
65-69	0.61	0.46	0.17	0.44
70-74	0.20	0.36	0.33	0.36
75-79	0.20	0.13	0.17	0.21
80-84	0.41	0.06	0.00	0.07
85-89	0.00	0.08	0.17	0.07

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000 and AMIS 2003.

Sex ratio

Globally, in the 1970's the typical migrant was a male breadwinner who moved to another country to find better employment. In the 1980's, women started to take on a role as independent migrants. Often these women were married and better educated than men. In the proceedings of a UN-Expert Meeting (1990) on female international migration, the Population Division of the United Nations gave a rough estimate of female migrants as a percentage of the total migrant stock. According to their figures, women accounted for over 44 percent of the migrants present in most countries²⁸. Currently, according to the ILO, flows of migrants are larger for women than for men. However, women's opportunities to migrate legally have been more limited than those for men in many countries. Illegal migration is therefore more frequent among women than among men. Consequently, they are also more vulnerable to discrimination, abuse and violence²⁹.

In Aruba, sex ratios³⁰ among the foreign-born population have always been very low. Table 2.7 shows the sex ratios among Aruba's foreign-born population by broad age-groups. The data for 2003 (AMIS) refer to recent migrants. Data in the other columns refer to the foreign population, irrespective of the period they settled on Aruba. In the foreign-born population on Aruba in 1960, only 58.6 men were present per 100 women. No data were available in the Census tables of 1972. In 1981, the sex ratio was 64.5 percent. The low sex ratio among the foreign-born population in the 1981 Census is caused by the large number of women who migrated to Aruba to work as housemaids in private houses³¹. Most of these women came from other Caribbean Islands. In the period 1975-1981, 704 women from other islands migrated to Aruba. In the same period, only 81 men moved to Aruba. During this period, the number of male and female migrants from Europe and North- and Central America were almost equal.

²⁸ Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis. Population Division. (1995), *International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants*. Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants. San Miniato, Italy, 28-31 March 1990. United Nations, New York. p.78.

²⁹ Gloria Moreno Fontes Chammartin (s.d.), *The feminization of international migration. General Perspectives*. International Migration Programme, ILO.

³⁰ The sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females. A sex ratio smaller than 100 thus indicates that the number of women in a specific group is greater than the number of men.

³¹ Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (1985), *Tweede Algemene Volks- en Woningtelling. Toestand per 1 Februari 1981. Serie B. Censuseresultaten, Enige Kenmerken van de Bevolking van Aruba. Demografische kenmerken, nationaliteit en geboorteplaats, taal, handicap, religie*. Census publicatie B.5, Willemstad, Curaçao, p. 30.

Table 2.7. Sex ratios among Aruba's foreign population by broad age-groups, 1960-2003

Age-categories	1960	1981	1991	2000	2003
0-14	-	101.2	106.1	97.0	96.8
15-29	-	45.5	86.5	86.7	77.9
30-39	-	43.2	75.8	85.1	75.4
40-54	-	67.4	71.5	71.8	82.7
55-64	-	78.7	84.3	72.9	72.7
65+	-	74.0	78.8	70.8	140.0
Total	58.6	64.5	82.7	81.6	81.6

Source: Population censuses 1960, 1981, 1991, 2000 and AMIS 2003.

Between 1981 and 1991, the sex ratio among Aruba's foreign-born population increased considerably from 64.5 to 82.7. The boom in the construction sector during the late 1980's contributed to this increase. Foreign workers dominate the sector 'Craft and related trade workers' in Aruba. According to the 2000 Census, 2,497 migrants worked as craftsmen on Aruba, compared to 2,309 native men. The construction sector in particular has attracted a lot of foreign workers since the end of the 1980's. For instance, in 2000 the number of foreign-born masons was 584, compared to 331 Aruban masons. Between 1991 and 2003 the overall sex ratio among foreign-born persons has remained quite constant.

There is some reason to believe that age-specific sex ratios among migrants have changed in recent years³². Although figures for 2003 refer to recent migrants while the other figures refer to all migrants, we can see a decrease in sex ratios in the age bracket 15 to 40. This may be caused by the slowdown in some sectors of the economy. For instance, most of the large construction projects were finished by 2002. The partial economic activity index for construction, which was placed at an index value of 100 in 1998, dropped to 69.6 in 2002³³. This had a negative effect on the demand for labor in this sector. Other sectors such as hotels and restaurants which rely much more on female foreign workers did not see such a dramatic decrease. As the construction sector is largely dominated by young male foreign workers, the slowdown in this sector has probably led to some decrease in male foreign workers.

There is some evidence that at least some potential migrants are aware that it is easier for a woman than for a man to find employment on Aruba. The experience of 'Maria' at the beginning of this chapter clearly indicates that they would have preferred her husband to come to Aruba, but that they were aware that she had a much better chance of finding work. As was the case with Maria, would-be migrants often rely on information provided by family members or friends who are already living on Aruba to assess their chances of finding lucrative employment on Aruba.

Country of origin

Table 2.8 shows the foreign-born persons living on Aruba by the continent and subcontinent in which they were born³⁴. To illustrate the diversity of the population living on Aruba we have not restricted the table to recent migrants. Residents on Aruba represent 79 nationalities and no fewer than 124 countries of birth.

In the last ten years, people from all four corners of the earth have settled on Aruba. The largest contingent of foreign-born persons on Aruba originates from South America and the Caribbean, and represent respectively 14 and 24 different countries. A total of 13,171 persons on the island originated from South America. By far the largest group of foreigners comes from Colombia. Although Colombia is South America's oldest democracy, the country is currently plagued by organized crime, political

³² The very high sex ratio after age 65 can probably be attributed to small sample variability. Only 12 recent migrants above age 65 were interviewed during AMIS 2003. Most foreign-born persons above age 65 have lived on the island for more than ten years.

³³ Central Bureau of Statistics – *Aruba (2003), Statistical Yearbook. Year 2002*. Oranjestad, Aruba. p. 60.

³⁴ The table with persons living on Aruba by country of birth can be found in: Central Bureau of Statistics (2002), *The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change. Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 14, 2000.*, p.73. This table is not presented in this report.

violence, drug trafficking and a waning economy. This has prompted a growing number of Colombians to leave their country in search of a better life. According to figures from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), some 1.2 million Colombians have emigrated in the last five years. Not all these migrants flee the political situation; many go abroad to improve their dire economic conditions. Most of the migrants end up in Venezuela, but more and more are going to the United States and Europe³⁵. A sizeable group of Colombians have found their way to Aruba: in 2000, 7,191 persons born in Colombia lived on the island. This represented an increase of no less than 255 percent on the Census of 1991. In 1981, only 945 Colombians were living on Aruba.

In addition to Colombia some other South American countries also have a large representation on the island: Venezuela (2,914), Suriname (1,301) and Peru (960). The fastest growing group of migrants comes from Peru. In 1991, only 157 Peruvians were living on the island; this had increased by 511 percent in 2000.

The largest group of migrants from other Caribbean islands comes from the Dominican Republic (3,692 persons). After the Colombians and the European Dutch, they form the third largest contingent of foreign-born people on the island. In 1991, migrants from the Dominican Republic were still the second largest group (2,237 persons)³⁶. At the beginning of the nineties, the Aruban government wanted to slow down the rapid growth of the illegal migrant population from the Dominican Republic. On December 4th 1991, the government decided that citizens from the Dominican Republic would only be allowed in if they had a visa. This put a brake on the growth of the Dominican community on the island. Although the group of Dominican nationals is quite considerable for a small country like Aruba, only a very small proportion of all migrants leaving the Dominican Republic come here. The vast majority move to the United States: in 1997, nearly one out of ten people of Dominican origin were living on the U.S. mainland³⁷.

Before the *Status Aparte*, Curaçao was one of Aruba's partners within the Netherlands Antilles. In 2000, 2,271 persons living on the island were born in Curaçao. However, compared to most other countries of origin, the increase in the number of persons from Curaçao has increased far less dramatically during the last ten years (+18.2 percent). Another very important group are the Haitians (1,023). Like the group from the Dominican Republic, immigrants from Haiti consist of more than twice as many women as men. Migrants on Aruba come from 27 different European and 25 Asian countries. One would not expect to find 1,834 persons born in Asia on a small island in the Caribbean. The largest group of migrants from the Asian continent come from the Philippines (768). At the beginning of the 1990's a number Filipinos were hired in the hotel sector. Currently, they have diversified their economic activities and are also active in other industrial sectors.

³⁵ Hiram Ruiz (2002), *Colombians flee war without end. US Committee for refugees*. Migration Policy Institute. Washington, USA. Paper presented on the Website of the Migration Policy Institute. December 1, 2002.

³⁶ F.C.H.Eelens (1993), *The Population of Aruba: a demographic profile*. Third Population and Housing Census Aruba – October 6, 1991. Central Bureau of Statistics. Oranjestad, p. 50.

³⁷ Jorge Duany (2002), "Los países": Transnational Migration from the Dominican Republic to the United States Paper presented at the seminar on "Migration and Development: Focus on the Dominican Republic," sponsored by the Migration Dialogue, Santo Domingo, D.R., March 7-9, 2002.

Table 2.8. Foreign-born persons living on Aruba by continent and subcontinent in which they are born, with number of countries in each subcontinent

Continent	Subcontinent	No. of countries	No. of persons
Africa	Eastern	5	8
	Middle	1	2
	Northern	5	15
	Southern	1	18
	Western	6	11
	Subtotal	18	54
Asia	Eastern	5	696
	South-central	5	215
	South-eastern	6	847
	Western	9	76
	Subtotal	25	1,834
Europe	Eastern	6	24
	Northern	5	9
	Southern	7	233
	Western	9	4,037
	Subtotal	27	4,304
Latin America and the Caribbean	Caribbean	24	9,833
	Central America	7	132
	South America	14	13,171
	Subtotal	45	23,137
Northern America	Northern	3	756
	Subtotal	3	756
Oceania	Australia/New Zealand	2	16
	Melanesia	2	3
	Micronesia	0	0
	Polynesia	0	0
	Subtotal	4	19
Total		123	30,104

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Note: persons for whom country of birth was not reported are not presented in the table.

At present, Aruba is deciding what its position is with respect to the European Union. The island has various options to determine its degree of integration within the Union. Through its colonial history, Aruba has political, demographic and cultural ties with the Netherlands and with other European countries. Traditionally, Aruba has relied on Dutch citizens to compensate its shortage in workers in education, health and other sectors, a trend that continues up to today. The 2000 Population and Housing Census counted 3,692 European Dutch citizens, the second largest group of foreign-born persons on the island. A total of 602 citizens from 26 other European countries also reside on the island. The second largest group of European migrants originate from Portugal (195). Many of these Portuguese immigrants have come to Aruba since the 1940's. Most did not come from mainland Portugal, but from Madeira. They were driven from their island because of poverty and tried to find a better life in Venezuela and the Netherlands Antilles³⁸. In recent years, migration from Portugal and Madeira has been very limited; indeed, no Portuguese persons were interviewed in the 2003 AMIS survey of recent migrants.

From the onset of Aruba's oil industry in the late 1920's, Americans played an important role in this sector. The majority of management positions were in the hands of American expatriates. Most of them worked for the refinery on a contract basis and only stayed on the island for a limited period of time. In

³⁸ L. Alofs & L.Merkies(1990), o.c., p.75.

1948, 2,197 Americans and Canadians were living on Aruba³⁹. The automatization process within LAGO had an effect on the number of American employees. By 1960 the number of Americans on the island had decreased to 1,426 persons⁴⁰. Their number fell further to 307 in 1981⁴¹. However, with the development of the tourist industry and the reopening of the oil refinery, the number of Americans settling on the island started to grow again, and in 1991 their number had increased to 469. In the course of the 1990's their numbers grew further to 695 in 2000⁴²; these numbers are still significantly lower than during the heyday of the oil refinery, though.

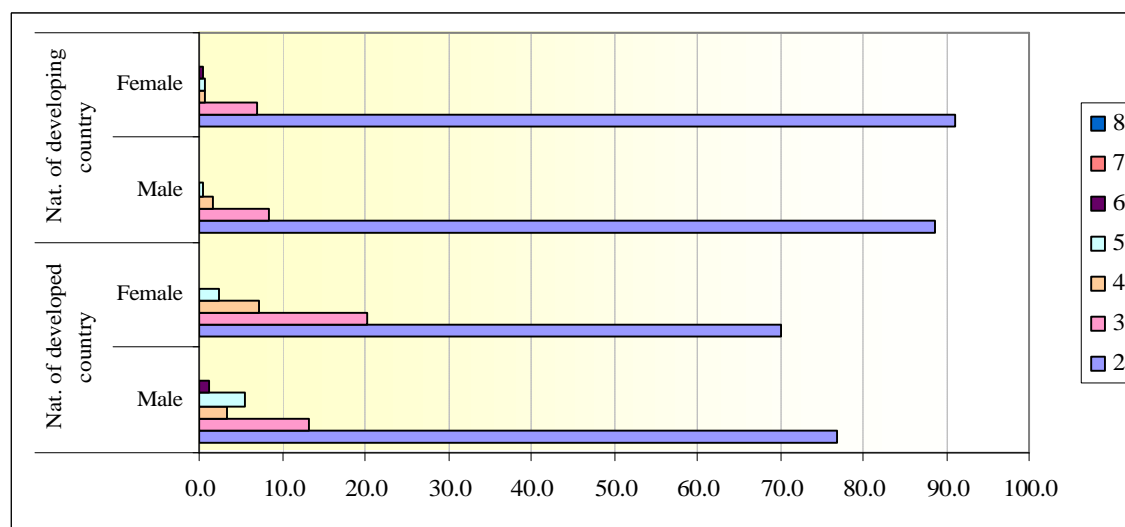
2.3. PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

According to the 2000 Population Census, 59,886 (66.1 percent) of the 90,506 people living on Aruba were born on the island. The other 30,103 (33.9 percent) were born elsewhere. The proportion of foreign-born persons was higher than that according to the Census of 1991, which counted 23.9 percent of the population as being foreign-born.

First time versus repeat migrants

In this section we shall look into the patterns of migration to Aruba, and within this context look deeper into the migration history of the people who migrated to the island in the last ten years. For planning purposes, it is important to know whether migrants who have established themselves on the island intend to stay, or want to move on after some time.

Figure 2.3. Relative number of recent migrants (MMA and non-MMA) by number of countries they have ever lived in



Source: AMIS 2003.

³⁹ L. Alofs & L. Merckies (1990), o.c., p. 68.

⁴⁰ A.H. Hawley (1960), o.c., p. 4.

⁴¹ Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (1985), Tweede Algemene Volks- en Woningtelling. Toestand per 1 Februari 1981. Serie B. Censustresultaten, Enige Kenmerken van de Bevolking van Aruba. Demografische kenmerken, nationaliteit en geboorteplaats, taal, handicap, religie. Census publicatie B.5, Willemstad, Curaçao, p. 14.

⁴² Central Bureau of Statistics (2002), The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change. Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 14, 2000, p. 73.

Are people who move to Aruba first-time migrants or have they lived in countries other than their place of birth before? Figure 2.3 shows that the vast majority of migrants came directly from their country of birth, without having lived in another country⁴³. Migrants born in a developing country have lived in fewer countries on average than those from developed countries. For men and women from a developing country, 90.1 percent had never lived in another country than their country of birth before they moved to Aruba. For migrants from developed countries this percentage is 73.7. Differences between men and women are small. Respectively 10 percent of men and 9.5 of women from developed countries have lived in four or more countries in their lifetime. For developing countries these figures are respectively only 2.4 and 1.8 percent.

The number of migrants who have lived on Aruba for more than one period is quite limited. Out of a total of 1,093 migrants who provided information, only 58 had lived on Aruba more than once (5.3 percent). People born in developed countries have a somewhat higher repeat migration rate than those from developing countries. Respectively 11.8 and 8.4 percent of men and women from developed countries have lived on Aruba before. These figures show that in general repeat migration to Aruba is quite small.

Table 2.9. Relative number of recent migrants (MMA and non-MMA) by number of times they lived on Aruba during their life, type of country of birth and sex

Type of country of birth					
Number times lived on Aruba	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1	88.2	91.8	97.2	97.3	1050
2	6.9	7.1	2.8	2.5	39
3	3.9	1.2	0.0	0.0	8
4	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5
5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1093

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 2.10. Relative number of migrants by year of arrival, type of country of birth and sex

	Type of country of birth				All migrants	
	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		N. of cases	
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
1993	2.2	4.8	5.0	4.3	4.4	44
1994	7.7	7.1	8.8	8.4	8.4	84
1995	3.3	10.7	10.0	8.2	8.6	86
1996	5.5	8.3	10.6	11.5	10.4	104
1997	16.5	6.0	9.4	10.3	10.2	102
1998	8.8	7.1	11.4	11.3	10.8	108
1999	7.7	11.9	10.3	9.7	9.9	99
2000	6.6	7.1	14.7	12.3	12.2	122
2001	16.5	9.5	8.2	10.7	10.3	103
2002	16.5	17.9	10.0	8.8	10.7	107
2003	8.8	9.5	1.8	4.3	4.3	43
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1002

Source: AMIS 2003.

⁴³ '2' indicates that the migrant has only lived in two countries during his lifetime, i.e. his country of birth and Aruba.

Year of arrival

Table 2.10 shows the relative number of migrants by year of arrival, type of country of birth and sex. The percentage of those who arrived on Aruba in 2003 is small (4.3 percent). This is because fieldwork took place in May 2003 and the year 2003 therefore only refers to a few months. Many migrants leave the island after a couple of years. Consequently, if migrations levels were constant one would expect the percentages of migrants to Aruba to be higher for more recent years. According to AMIS 2003, the percentage of migrants who came to Aruba in the period 1996-2002 is around 10 percent per year. This is because net migration has fallen in recent years.

Table 2.11. Net migration rates per year

Year	Emigration		Immigration		Net migration	
	absolute	em. rate	absolute	im. rate	absolute	n.m. rate
72	2,584	44.5	1,942	33.5	-642	-11.1
73	2,667	45.8	2,171	37.2	-496	-8.5
74	2,479	42.5	1,696	29.1	-783	-13.4
75	2,414	41.4	1,741	29.9	-673	-11.5
76	2,194	37.6	1,691	29.0	-503	-8.6
77	2,376	40.6	1,988	33.9	-388	-6.6
78	2,445	41.6	1,778	30.3	-667	-11.4
79	2,063	34.9	2,040	34.5	-23	-0.4
80	2,023	33.8	1,897	31.7	-126	-2.1
81	2,082	34.4	1,950	32.2	-132	-2.2
82	2,281	37.2	2,382	38.9	101	1.7
83	2,275	36.6	2,562	41.2	287	4.6
84	2,325	37.0	1,745	27.7	-580	-9.2
85	4,726	76.6	1,333	21.6	-3,393	-55.0
86	3,059	51.0	1,447	24.1	-1,612	-26.9
87	2,779	47.0	1,587	26.8	-1,192	-20.2
88	1,909	32.2	2,211	37.3	302	5.1
89	2,205	36.5	2,743	45.4	538	8.9
90	1,843	29.4	4,436	70.7	2,593	41.3
91	1,887	28.6	4,229	64.1	2,342	35.5
92	2,091	30.3	4,469	64.8	2,378	34.5
93	2,101	28.5	7,278	98.8	5,177	70.3
94	2,463	31.7	3,287	42.4	824	10.6
95	2,299	28.8	4,094	51.3	1,795	22.5
96	2,211	26.6	4,950	59.6	2,739	33.0
97	2,130	24.7	4,007	46.4	1,877	21.7
98	2,762	31.2	3,416	38.6	654	7.4
99	3,082	34.4	3,344	37.3	262	2.9
00	3,368	37.1	3,535	39.0	167	1.8
01	2,602	28.3	3,386	36.9	784	8.5
02	2,537	27.2	3,154	33.8	617	6.6
03	1,981	20.9	3,452	36.3	1,471	15.5

Source: AMIS 2003.

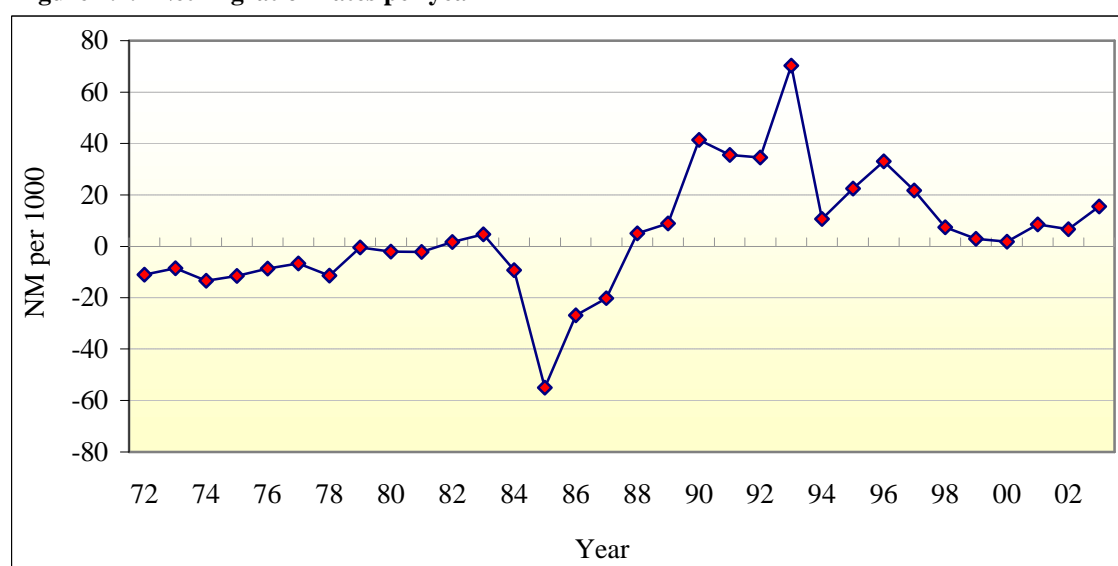
Figure 2.4 is based on data from the Population Registry. It shows clearly that net migration has fallen drastically since 1997. Note the very high net migration rate in 1993 (70.3 per thousand). This is explained by a general pardon for undocumented migrants who came to the island before 1993 but were all registered in that year. In 1997, the net migration rate was 21.7 per thousand. In the following two years net migration dropped to 7.4 and 2.9 respectively. Table 2.11 shows that in these years the number of immigrants dropped while emigration increased. In 2000, net migration reached a low point, with only 1.8 net migrants per thousand. Since then, migration to Aruba has increased slightly again to

6.6 per thousand in 2002. In that year, 3,154 immigrants were registered, while 2,537 emigrants had their name removed from the Population Registry. However, in 2003, the net migration has increased again to a level of 15.48 per thousand.

One should take into account that the data from the Population Registry do not give a complete picture of the true population movements to and from Aruba. Despite its efforts to record every migration to and from the island, the work of the Population Registry is seriously hampered by three phenomena related to migration. First, many migrants -who have lived on the island for sometime - leave without notifying the Registry. Second, migrants enter the island, but register only after they have their work and residence permits. Third, some migrants remain on the island for many years without ever registering. These phenomena are important for our study and deserve some attention.

In the Netherlands, municipal population registers only record new entrants if they have a withdrawal registration form from their former place of residence. Therefore, migrants who move from Aruba to the Netherlands must have a withdrawal form from the registry in Aruba. These people are obliged to pass via the Population Registry prior to their departure. However, this is not the case for many other countries in the Caribbean and Latin America. For residents from these countries it is very easy to leave Aruba without formalizing their departure. People who have only the slightest intention of coming back in the future often prefer to remain registered in Aruba. Others may avoid an unpleasant visit to the tax office and leave without notice. Over the years this has caused some important faults in the registry's population database.

Figure 2.4. Net migration rates per year



Source: AMIS 2003.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to calculate the exact number of persons who leave the island without registering their departure. A comparison between the number of persons enumerated in the Population Census with the number of persons registered gives us an idea of the magnitude of this problem. The number of persons enumerated in the 2000 Population and Housing Census totaled 90,506. After the Census some tests were run which indicated that the population Census gave a reliable estimate of the actual population living on Aruba. This figure incorporates an adjustment for undercount during fieldwork. At the same moment the number of persons registered at the registry equaled 96,483. This means that 5,977 more persons were registered than actually counted. In fact, the difference should be larger, because the population Census at least counted part of the unregistered migrants. Most of the discrepancies in the register can be attributed to the failure of emigrants to register and deregister.

Undocumented migrants

In the Caribbean region, undocumented migration by boat from Haiti and Cuba to the US has drawn the attention of the international press. In recent years, dramatic losses at sea and spectacular rescue operations of migrants in distress regularly made news headlines. However, these spectacular forms of undocumented migration account for only a small part of the movement of undocumented migrants throughout the Caribbean. In her paper on irregular migration in the Caribbean, Elisabeth Thomas Hope⁴⁴ discerns three general types of undocumented movement:

The illegal entry of migrants from other parts of the world. Undocumented migration from Latin American countries to Aruba falls within this category. In the whole region, many of these migrants come from China and are in a sort of transit. Most of them eventually try to enter the United States.

Migrants originating from Caribbean countries who enter the US, Canada or the European Union directly.

A third type of migrants consists of Caribbean migrants who enter other countries in the region illegally. Undocumented migrants coming to Aruba from within the region obviously fall in this category.

The position of undocumented migrants in the region is a major concern for international organizations such as the International Labour Office (ILO) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). In their ILO paper for the Hemispheric Conference on International Migration: Human Rights and the Traffic in Persons in the Americas (20-22 November 2002), Patrick Taran and Eduardo Geronimo⁴⁵ from the International Labor Office voice serious concerns about the position of undocumented migrants in many countries in the world:

“An especially frightening aspect is a surge in official and public associations of migrants and migration with criminality. These include frequent news reports that attribute both particular incidences and rising general crime rates to foreigners or immigrants, putting immigration control in the same category as crime, arms and drugs control, and the generalized use of the terminology ‘illegal migrants’ or ‘illegal alien’. Legally and semantically, the term ‘illegal migrant’ is an oxymoron – a contradiction- by any reading of human rights values. It contradicts the spirit, if not directly violates the letter, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which clearly establishes in Article Six that every person has the right to recognition before the law, and in Article 7, that every person has the right to due process.”

Many countries in the Americas deal very strictly with undocumented migrants. ‘US legislation deals with illegal immigration in such a way as effectively to treat any undocumented worker as a criminal’⁴⁶. In other countries, migrants are expelled in defiance of the proper procedures and sometimes in violation with the law. For instance, Dominican migration officials admit that they focus their efforts to catch undocumented migrants on Haitians who are wandering or panhandling in the streets, and that they summarily find Haitians not in possession of identification to be in the country illegally⁴⁷.

The position of illegal migrants is one of vulnerability to extortion and abuse. They also experience many problems in gaining access to adequate housing, medical and social services and labor protection. It is a major challenge for Aruban society to strike a balance in its policy between efficient actions against undocumented migration and respect for personal dignity and human rights.

The problem of unregistered migration to Aruba is quite complex. Without doubt a large group of migrants live on the island without the necessary documents. The CBS has evidence that some of these undocumented migrants were enumerated during the Census. The exact number of such migrants is, however, unknown because no question could be related to legal status on the island. The AMIS

⁴⁴ Elisabeth Thomas Hope (s.d.), Irregular migrants and asylum seekers in the Caribbean. *s.l.*

⁴⁵ Patrick Taran and Eduardo Geronimo (2002.) Globalization, Labor and Migration: Protection is Paramount. Conferencia Hemisférica sobre Migración Internacional: Derechos Humanos y Trata de Personas en las Américas (Santiago de Chile, 20-22 November 2002). International Migration Programme, International Labor Office, Geneva.

⁴⁶ Iván González Alvarado & Hilda Sánchez (2003), Migration in Latin America and the Caribbean: A view from the ICFTU/ORIT. ICFTU/ORIT.

⁴⁷ Human Rights Documentation Centre (2003) Special Weekly Edition for the Duration of the 59th Session of the Commission on Human Rights (Geneva, 17 March 2003 - 25 April 2003). DOMINICAN REPUBLIC . Ratify the MWC; it's a fair deal.

comprised a special question for the MMA about the time it took to obtain a residence permit. Two special response categories were included: a) Respondent does not need a residence permit; and b) Residence permit is in progress. It is obvious that 'in progress' could mean many things.

The special police unit *Warda nos costa* (Coast Guard) arrested 1,488 foreigners for suspected violations of immigration laws (*Landsverordening Toelating en Uitzetting*)⁴⁸ in 2003. Among those detained 149 were caught when they tried to enter Aruba illegally by boat. A total of 1,024 were sent back to their country of origin; 397 were released because they could prove they possessed the necessary permits and 67 were given duty to report back. Among all those arrested, 718 had the Colombian and 128 the Venezuelan nationality.

Table 2.12. Percentage of migrants by duration to obtain residence permit (MMA) and by duration of settlement

Duration to get residence permit	Duration of settlement				Total	N.of cases
	less than 1 year	1-4 y.	5-9 y.	Not rep.		
Less than 1 month	0.9	5.2	8.1	0.2	14.3	94
Less than 6 months	0.5	11.7	14.0	0.3	26.4	174
6-12 months	0.6	11.2	16.4	0.6	28.9	190
1- 2 yrs.	0.0	4.2	4.4	0.2	8.7	57
More than 2 yrs.	0.0	2.0	4.1	0.0	6.1	40
Does not need a residence permit	0.8	2.3	2.1	0.0	5.2	34
Residence permit is in progress	4.3	5.3	0.8	0.2	10.5	69
Total	7.1	41.6	49.8	1.4	100.0	658

Source: AMIS 2003.

Under Aruban law, a person may only live on the island if his/her residence permit is ready. Table 2.12 shows that only a very small proportion of migrants comply with this law. Only 14.3 percent receive their permit within one month of arriving on the island. About 60 percent live on the island for more than six months without the proper documents. This means that strictly speaking the majority of all persons who come to Aruba are 'illegal' for at least some time. About 15 percent live on the island for more than a year without a residence permit; 10.5 percent were still in the process of obtaining a permit. Table 2.13 shows that a similar pattern exists with regard to registration at the Population Registry. We shall take a closer look at these phenomena in the next chapter, where we deal with the initial stages of migration.

Table 2.13. Duration to register at the Population Registry, by duration of settlement

Duration to register	Duration of settlement				Total	N.of cases
	less than 1 year	1-4 y.	5-9 y.	Not rep.		
less than 1 month	1.5	5.5	7.5	0.2	14.7	96
less than 6 months	1.1	12.4	16.4	0.5	30.3	198
6-12 months	0.9	10.7	16.1	0.5	28.2	184
1- 2 yrs.	0.0	4.7	5.4	0.2	10.3	67
More than 2 yrs.	0.0	2.2	4.3	0.0	6.4	42
In progress	3.5	6.3	0.2	0.2	10.1	66
Total	7.2	41.7	49.8	1.4	100.0	653

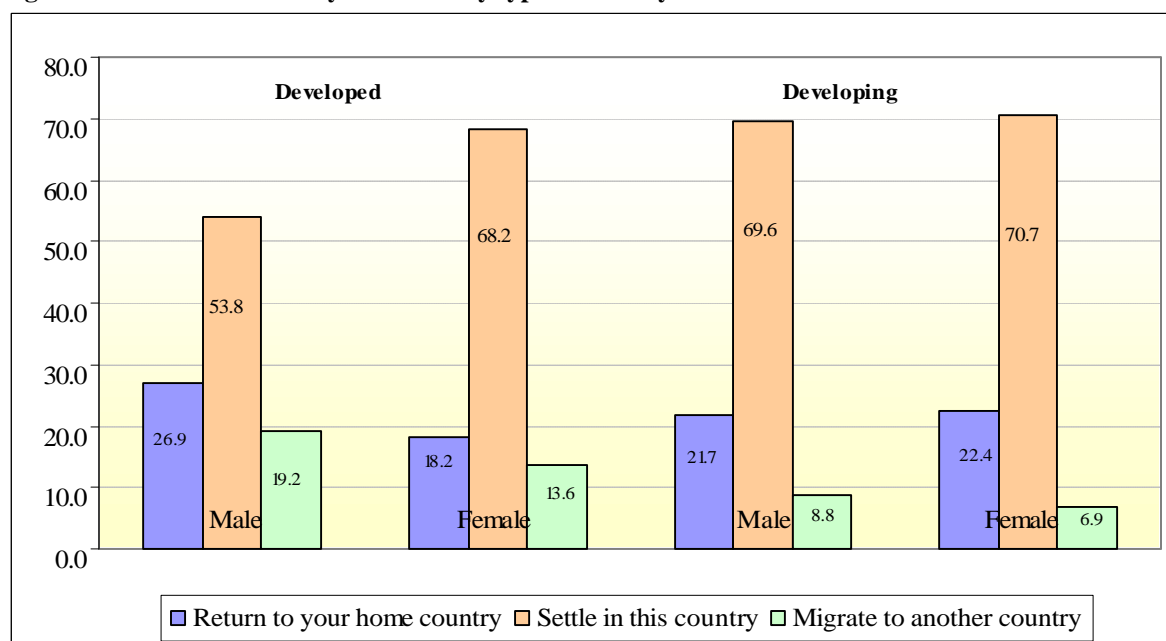
Source: AMIS 2003.

⁴⁸ Amigoe, January 17th 2004, p.5.

2.4. INTENDED LENGTH OF STAY

The report *The People of Aruba, Continuity and Change*⁴⁹ estimated that -depending on continuing favorable economic conditions- probably 50 percent of all migrants coming to Aruba are long-term migrants or perhaps even permanent residents. This estimate was based on combined information from the Population Census with the number of domiciliations from the Population Registry. For policy purposes it is important to know whether people who migrate to Aruba intend to stay for a relatively short period, or whether they plan to settle on the island.

Figure 2.5. Intention to stay on Aruba by type of country of birth and sex



Source: AMIS 2003.

The intention to stay on Aruba, to return to his country of origin or to move on to another country is influenced by the migrant's expectation of what he can achieve on Aruba in terms of economic, social and emotional welfare, compared with the other alternatives. Some people's intentions may be vague and undetermined; others' may be resolute and firm. In both cases, intentions remain intentions. They are no straightforward predictors of future migration behavior.

The 1997 Labor Force Survey included a question on how long foreigners - arriving on Aruba after October 1984 - intended to stay on the island. About two-thirds (64.4 percent) of these migrants indicated that they wanted to settle on Aruba permanently. In the 1994 Labor Force Survey, this was just under half (48.8 percent)⁵⁰. AMIS also contained a question on people's intention to stay on the island: 68.7 percent of all MMAs responded that they planned to settle on the island, 22.3 percent planned to go back to their country of birth and 9 percent wanted to leave Aruba to go and live in another country. Compared to 1997 and 1994 a growing proportion of migrants seems to want to settle on Aruba.

It seems that a higher percentage of men (26.9 percent) from developed countries want to go back to their country of birth than from any of the other groups. This group also appears to be the most adventurous, 19.2 percent want to move on and migrate from Aruba to a country other than their place of birth. More than half of all persons from each group intend to settle permanently on Aruba. Among women from developing countries, about 70 percent want to stay indefinitely.

⁴⁹ Central Bureau of Statistics (2002), *The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change. Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba*. October 14, 2000., p.70.

⁵⁰ See: Central Bureau of Statistics - Aruba: *Labor Force Survey 1997 and 1994*.

People who have come to Aruba decide to stay for many reasons. Often, these reasons are related to their place of origin and with their quality of life on Aruba. 'Lourdes' participated in the survey and was willing to tell her story in an in-depth interview. Her story gives some insight into people's motivation to settle on the island.

Lourdes was born in Santa Martha, Colombia in December 1960. In 1993 she was living as a single mother with her one-year-old daughter and worked as a geriatric helper. Through a friend, who was a dentist, she heard that Aruba was a quiet place to live and work. It was important to her that Aruba did not have political violence and that as a female migrant she would not have to be afraid of being forced into prostitution. She discussed the matter with her parents and they agreed to take care of the child while she moved to Aruba. The dentist knew people in Aruba and found her a job as a housemaid. Her ex-employer in Colombia wanted to help her and paid for her ticket and other costs. She came to Aruba in October 1993. She worked for the same family for a number of years and in 2000 she was able to bring her daughter to Aruba. In the meantime she had found a partner from Venezuela, who works as a mason.

In 2001, she gave birth to another baby girl. After the birth of the baby the couple decided that it would be better if she were to stop work in order to dedicate her full attention to raising the two children. Her partner has strong feelings about this; in his own words: 'La mayor crianza le da la mama.... Yo digo que no puede ser, que porque mientras que yo tenga mis manos buenas para trabajar, mi mujer tiene que ver de sus ninos. Porque lo mas bonito es la crianza que le da la mama a sus hijos..'

⁵¹ *They now live together in a small apartment and do not have many possessions. They prefer a quiet life with a single income and less luxury but time to take care of the children. All in all she likes her life here on the island and wants to stay here with her partner and children. Economically they are better off here; her eldest child goes to school. She also says she would be afraid to go back to Colombia because of all the crime, the poverty and the political violence. She plans to apply for the Dutch citizenship and hopes to live on Aruba for the rest of her life.*

For all MMAs who indicated they wanted to stay on Aruba, we asked why they wanted to settle on the island. The interviewers were instructed to probe for as many reasons as possible. Table 2.14 and figure 2.6 present the reasons why respondents want to settle on Aruba, by type of country of birth and sex. When looking at the figure, one should take into account that in the survey the absolute number of men and women from developed countries, who want to settle on Aruba is quite small (30 men and 34 women). The number of men and women from developing countries is much higher; respectively 167 and 234.

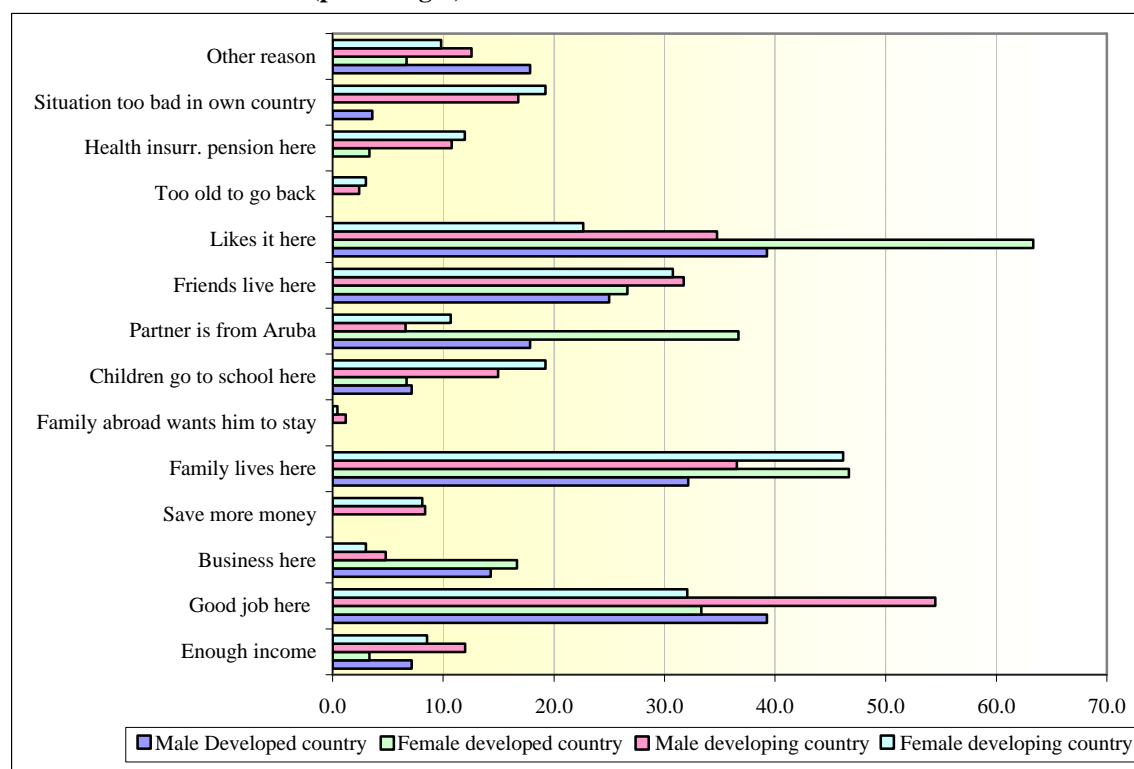
In general we can see that the reasons to settle on the island for both people from developed and from developing countries have a lot to do with the quality of life on Aruba and with the migrant's family situation. The main reason for all migrants is 'family lives here'. This includes migrants who have come here with their family, who have joined family already living here and those who have married someone on the island. Of the 30 women from developed countries who intend to stay on Aruba, 11 indicate that their partner is Aruban (36.7 percent). About 10 percent of women from developing countries give this as a reason. The simple reason 'likes it here' is mentioned by about 30 percent of all respondents who want to stay. More migrants from developed than from developing countries see this as a reason to settle on the island. This is especially important for women from developed countries. A good social environment is a very important factor for people to decide to stay; 30 percent of all respondents who want to stay say this is an important reason, with little difference between people from developed and developing countries. One would expect economic motives to be very important for migrants from developing countries. 'Having a good job' is an important reason for many migrants to stay. Men from developing countries attach much importance to having a good job; 54.5 percent mention this as a reason to stay. On the other hand, other economic reasons such as 'enough income', 'health insurance/pension here' and 'save more money' are important reasons for only about 10 percent

⁵¹ Translation: 'The best upbringing is provided by the mother... Look, I am against a mother working. As long as I am able to work and care for my family, she will stay home and look after the children. Because, it is the most beautiful thing: the upbringing given by the mother to her children'.

of migrants from developing countries who want to stay. This would appear to indicate that, in addition to pure economics, quality of life is a very important motive to settle on Aruba. Lastly, just under 20 percent of people from developing countries indicate that the situation in their own country is too bad to return.

It is interesting that such a high percentage of migrants (68.7 percent) intend to stay on the island indefinitely. Only 22.3 percent of all MMAs plan to go back to their country of birth and only 9 percent want to leave Aruba to go and live in another country. In table 2.15 we present the reasons why people who are currently living on Aruba want to return to their country of origin. Among all the possibilities, one important reason to return stands out: 'to be with family' (56.1 percent). A number of other family-related reasons score quite high: homesick (28.4 percent), other family reasons (13.5 percent), too lonely (10.1 percent) and family lives there (11.5 percent). The only non-family-related reason is 'too expensive in Aruba' (13.5 percent). Migrants from developing countries score much higher on family-related reasons than migrants from developed countries: more of them than migrants from developed countries have left their family behind to come and work alone and try to remit as much money as possible. As we have seen, the number of people who want to move on to another country is quite small (9 percent). We have not included a table with their reasons because of the small number of cases. In general, two reasons for wanting to go on to another country stand out: a) hope to find a (better) job there; and b) it is better for the education of the children to move on.

Figure 2.6. Reasons migrants (MMA) indicate why they want to settle on Aruba, by type of country of birth and sex (percentages)



Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 2.14. Reasons migrants (MMA) indicate why they want to settle on Aruba, by type of country of birth and sex (percentages)

	Developed country		Developing country		Total	N.of cases who state reason
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Enough income	7.1	3.3	12.0	8.5	9.4	43
Good job here	39.3	33.3	54.5	32.1	40.7	187
Business here	14.3	16.7	4.8	3.0	5.2	24
Save more money	0.0	0.0	8.4	8.1	7.2	33
Family lives here	32.1	46.7	36.5	46.2	41.8	192
Family abroad wants him to stay	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.4	0.7	3
Children go to school here	7.1	6.7	15.0	19.2	16.1	74
Partner is from Aruba	17.9	36.7	6.6	10.7	11.3	52
Friends live here	25.0	26.7	31.7	30.8	30.5	140
Likes it here	39.3	63.3	34.7	22.6	30.7	141
Too old to go back	0.0	0.0	2.4	3.0	2.4	11
Health insurr. pension here	0.0	3.3	10.8	12.0	10.2	47
Situation too bad in own country	3.6	0.0	16.8	19.2	16.1	74
Other reason	17.9	6.7	12.6	9.8	11.1	51
N. of cases	459					

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 2.15. Reasons migrants (MMA) indicate why they want to return to their own country, by type of country of birth and sex (percentages)

	Developed country		Developing country		Total	N.of cases who state reason
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Fired	21.4	0.0	0.0	2.7	3.4	5
Job transfer	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	2
Own business at home	0.0	0.0	1.9	4.1	2.7	4
Can not find work	7.1	12.5	0.0	4.1	3.4	5
Does not like work	7.1	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.4	2
To little income/no saving	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.4	2.7	4
Pension	14.3	25.0	1.9	2.7	4.7	7
Saved enough	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.4	1.4	2
Start own busin.	0.0	0.0	13.5	2.7	6.1	9
Heritage	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.4	1.4	2
To expensive in Aruba	7.1	0.0	17.3	13.5	13.5	20
Parents want me to return	0.0	12.5	17.3	5.4	9.5	14
Goes with family	7.1	0.0	3.8	4.1	4.1	6
Family lives there	0.0	0.0	19.2	9.5	11.5	17
To be with family	14.3	12.5	48.1	74.3	56.1	83
Too much problems education children	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Schoolproblems children	7.1	0.0	3.8	1.4	2.7	4
Other family reasons	7.1	12.5	17.3	12.2	13.5	20
To take care of family	0.0	0.0	9.6	8.1	7.4	11
Marriage in own country	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.0	2.0	3
Does not like life here	7.1	0.0	5.8	4.1	4.7	7
Bad health	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.7	1
No permit	7.1	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.4	2
Permit expired	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.7	1
Homesick	0.0	25.0	28.8	33.8	28.4	42
Studies finished	0.0	12.5	0.0	1.4	1.4	2
Discrimination here	7.1	0.0	1.9	9.5	6.1	9
Too lonely	7.1	0.0	11.5	10.8	10.1	15
Other	14.3	50.0	11.5	9.5	12.8	19
N. of cases	14	8	52	74		

Source: AMIS 2003.

3 INITIAL PHASES OF MIGRATION

Every voluntary migration has certain consecutive stages. After obtaining information a person may decide to move to another country (or may decide against it), make the necessary arrangements and make the trip. After entering the country, the migrant enters a stage of adaptation in which he/she has to make proper adjustments to make the migration a success: the migrant has to obtain the appropriate residence and work permits, find work, adapt to a new economic, social and cultural environment, and get settled. The success of the migration depends on the degree to which the migrant is able to adapt to this new situation. In this chapter, we shall look deeper into these initial phases migrants go through during their migration to Aruba.

3.1. MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION TO ARUBA

Liliana was born in Lima (Peru) in February 1950. She has a rather peculiar combination of two diplomas: she trained as a nurse and as a bookkeeper. After her study she found out how difficult it was to find a job as a nurse. Together with her partner, Luis, she started work in the accountancy department of 'Electro Peru'. The couple have three children, two boys and a girl. The boys are now 21 and 19 years old and the girl is 20. All three children are currently at university, which puts extra stress on the family's limited financial resources. Luis and Liliana had to work very hard at Electro Peru. Their normal working day started at 8 in the morning and ended at 9 in the evening. Often they had to work seven days a week, otherwise they would fall behind with their work. They were not paid for all the extra work.

When the government decided to privatize Electro Peru, it cut back its workforce to reduce operation costs and increase efficiency. Luis and Liliana knew that because of their age they did not stand much of a chance of keeping their jobs and they made use of a scheme under which they were discharged in return for three months salary. They used the money to fix the roof on their house and to start a small food business for Liliana, which, unfortunately, did not prove profitable. To support her children's education she decided to find a job abroad, as the situation in Peru did not allow her to earn enough to put her three children through university. At that time she knew hardly anything about Aruba. A local travel agency informed her about the prosperity on Aruba, and she learnt that she would be able to speak Spanish and would not need a visa. Especially the latter was very important for her to choose to come to Aruba. She admits that a sense of adventure definitely played a role in the decision to leave her country and come to Aruba. She started saving money in three 'panderos'; i.e. an informal saving scheme in which people put in money on a monthly basis and every month one of the participants receives the money collected. She did not want to save money in the bank, because banks do not give interest on small amounts of money. When Liliana finally received 1,000 US\$ she was ready to leave for Aruba. Because she was not married to her partner she did not have a problem obtaining permission to migrate abroad.

Liliana is an example of a migrant from a middle class family, with a good diploma. Because of the poor economic situation in her country, she is unable to provide a good education for her children. Therefore, she decides to take matters into her own hands and find better paid employment abroad. Table 3.1 and figure 3.1 show the main reasons why male and female MMAs decide to come to Aruba. Respondents were asked to indicate the most important reason why they decided to come to Aruba. Again, we distinguish between migrants from developed and those from developing countries. As answers only refer to MMAs, conclusions about motives to migrate should be drawn with care. Non-MMAs may have other motives to move to Aruba than MMAs.

Table 3.1. Most important reason why respondents decided to come to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex

	Developed country		Developing country		Total	N.of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Good salary and/or work	20.4	8.7	38.7	37.8	34.8	235
Strong economy	5.6	2.2	11.5	3.9	6.7	45
Posted here by employer	11.1	2.2	2.9	3.3	3.7	25
Already knew some people/relatives here	11.1	10.9	7.0	12.6	10.4	70
Family reunification	5.6	21.7	9.5	17.7	14.1	95
Marriage	0.0	17.4	2.9	7.8	6.1	41
Good living conditions	14.8	13.0	7.8	6.0	7.8	53
Better schooling for myself or for children	3.7	0.0	1.2	0.3	0.9	6
Climate	3.7	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.7	5
Stable political situation and low criminality	1.9	0.0	4.9	2.1	3.0	20
Good social system	1.9	0.0	1.6	0.6	1.0	7
Other reason	20.4	23.9	11.1	7.5	10.9	74
Total	100	100	100	100	100	676

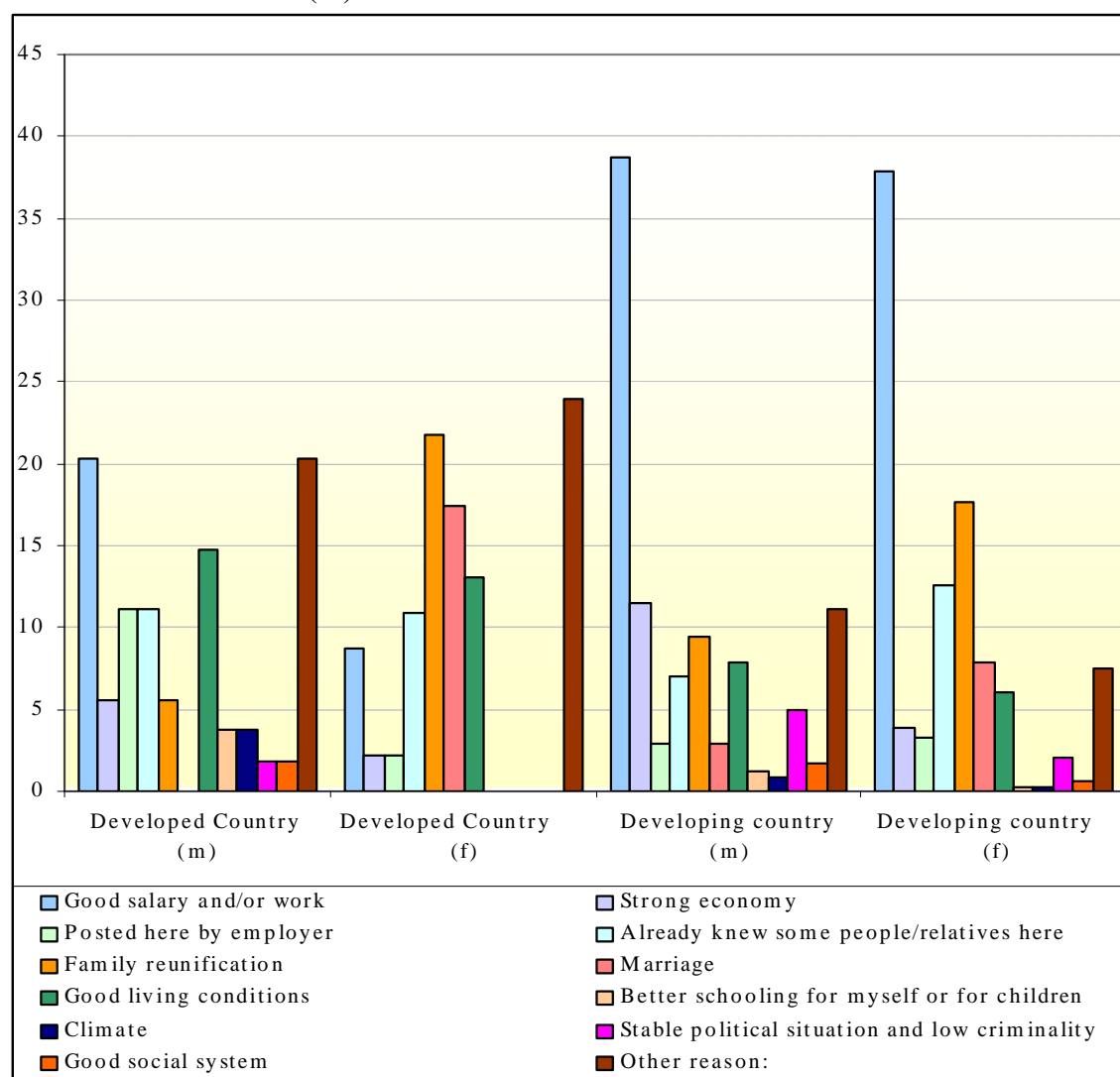
Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.2. Most important information source that influenced respondent's decision to come to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex

	Developed country		Developing country		% total	N.of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
I have been here before	16.4	17.4	4.5	7.5	7.8	53
Family/relatives/friends already living in Aruba	30.9	43.5	70.0	73.9	66.9	453
Family/relatives/friends in country other than Aruba	9.1	15.2	7.0	5.7	7.1	48
Television/radio/internet	0.0	0.0	2.1	2.7	2.1	14
Newspapers/books/magazines	3.6	2.2	0.4	1.2	1.2	8
School/college/university	5.5	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.7	5
Recruitment agent/institutes/organizations in Aruba	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	1
Recruitment agent/institutes/organizations abroad	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.6	0.7	5
Employer in Aruba	20.0	10.9	8.6	2.7	6.8	46
Employer abroad	1.8	0.0	1.6	0.3	0.9	6
Other	10.9	6.5	4.5	5.4	5.6	38
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	677	677

Source: AMIS 2003.

Figure 3.1. Most important reason why respondents decided to come to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex (%)



Source: AMIS 2003.

Among all 677 MMAs who answered this question, 54 men and 46 women came from developed countries. Many more respondents came from developing countries: 243 men and 333 women. Among both men and women from developing countries the most important reason to come to Aruba was 'Good salary and/or work'; 38.7 percent of men and 37.8 percent of women from developing countries gave this as their main motive. For persons migrating from developed countries, this percentage is much lower: 20.4 and 8.7 percent for men and women respectively. Other economic motives from which the respondents could choose were: 'Strong economy' and 'Posted here by employer'. The first category was important for men from developing countries (11.5 percent), while about the same percentage (11.1 percent) of men from developed countries were posted here by their employer. Another important motive for migrants from developed countries was 'good living conditions': many consider Aruba to be a tropical paradise. This image – which by the way is not completely untrue - attracts a fair amount of migrants from developed countries.

As table 3.1 is based on information obtained from the MMAs, information on family reunion is less valid because migrants who came to Aruba for family reunification are generally not MMAs and, thus, were not asked this question. We deal with family reunion further on in this chapter, when we discuss chain migration.

In the Netherlands, about a third of all immigrants come to work, while about a quarter arrive in the country as asylum seekers⁵². In 1998, a total of 17,300 migrants to the Netherlands were asylum seekers, mostly from Iraq (5,700) and Afghanistan (3,300). The number of asylum seekers coming to Aruba is very small. According to information from the Governor's office, the number of asylum seekers on Aruba equaled only 8 (6 Cubans and 2 Colombians) in 2003. In Aruba, asylum seekers can also request asylum in the Netherlands. Since 1998, only four asylum seekers have made use of this option.

Information is a crucial factor in people's decisions to move to another country or stay at home. Information feeds motivation. It makes people choose a particular country of destination and gives them an idea about the possible costs, benefits and risks. This does not mean that the information is necessarily objective. For instance, conspicuous consumption of a migrant on home leave may well give the impression to the rest of the local community that the migrant has found the Garden of Eden, while in fact he is only showing off.

At the beginning of this chapter, we saw that Liliana got her information about Aruba from a travel agent. At the time of her arrival on Aruba, she knew very little about the island. During the fieldwork, one of the interviewers was confronted with a migrant from Haiti who knew even less about Aruba. He told the interviewer that he got his ticket via a friend who had found a job for him on the island. When he arrived he thought that he had come to a country called 'AUA', because that was the name printed on his ticket. Most migrants have a more informed notion of where they are going to. It is important to know how migrants got their information about the island before their arrival.

Table 3.2 presents data on the sources of information migrants have before they come to Aruba. About two-thirds of all migrants who come to Aruba get their information from friends and relatives already on the island. This is a clear indication that 'chain migration' plays an important role in the arrival of new migrants on Aruba; 70.0 percent of men and 73.9 percent of women from developing countries obtain their information from relatives or friends living on Aruba. This channel of information is far less important for migrants from developed countries (30.9 percent for men and 43.5 percent of women). A number of migrants from developed countries had been on the island before, either for work or on holiday, and indicated that they did not receive any information from other persons (16.4 percent of men and 17.4 women). The proportion of migrants from developing countries who had been here before was much smaller. Twenty percent of men and 10.9 percent of women from developed countries obtained information directly from their future employers. Only a small number of migrants from developing countries had a job secured before they come to the island. Consequently, fewer of these migrants obtained information directly from employers. Return migrants are always an important source of information; 7.1 percent of all migrants hear about the working and living conditions from people in their own country who have been on Aruba.

Aruba depends on its tourism industry. Over the years the Aruban government has made serious efforts to promote the island among tourists from its surrounding countries. This information did not go unnoticed to many migrants. Aruba was presented as a tropical paradise in many countries. It is hard to measure in what way this publicity has an influence on potential migrants who create an image of the island. One migrant from Colombia remembered the publicity slogan on television: *En Aruba solo faltas tu*⁵³. He knew that the commercial was intended for holiday makers and not for him, but he definitely got the message.

⁵² Nicolaas H. & Sprangers A. (2001), *Migration motives of non-Dutch immigrants in the Netherlands*. Conference of European Statisticians. Joint ECE-EUROSTAT Work Session on Migration Statistics organized in cooperation with the UN Statistics Division. (Geneva, 21-23 May 2001). Statistics Netherlands. Working paper no. 4.

⁵³ 'In Aruba only you are missing'.

Table 3.3. Respondent's initial intention to work on Aruba by type of country of birth and sex

	Developed country		Developing country		% total	N. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Came to Aruba to work	80.0	50.0	79.4	58.9	67.4	456
Didn't come to Aruba to work & never worked	12.7	23.9	3.7	14.4	11.1	75
Didn't come to work, started working	7.3	26.1	16.9	26.7	21.6	146
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	677

Source: AMIS 2003.

A total of 67.4 percent of all migrants initially came to Aruba to work. The number of men who came intending to work is much higher than the percentage of women: four out of five men came to work. Just over 10 percent of men and women did not intend to work when they came to the island. The highest proportions of non-working migrants are women from developed countries (23.9 percent). About one in five persons did not intend to start working, but eventually did so.

3.2. Migrants' situation before migration

In this section, we shall examine in more depth the migrants' economic and social situation before their migration to Aruba. Liliana's story at the beginning of this chapter stated clearly how she and her partner had to struggle because they both lost their jobs in Peru. Let us look into the situation of three other female migrants from various countries.

Joyce (34 years) decided to leave Jamaica in 2000 because she thought the financial situation in the country was getting worse and worse. She worked as a security guard, but the pay was not much. She had finished high school in Jamaica, but could not find a good job with such diploma. She and her child's father worked very hard to make ends meet. Her partner had two jobs, to pay for their daughter's school fee, uniform and necessities among other things. Although things were difficult, their living conditions were much better than those of many of their friends. Joyce had some friends who had moved to Aruba and Curaçao. Through them she became convinced that it would be better for her to move to Aruba. Her partner did not like the idea at first, but she was able to convince him. The original idea was to work on Aruba for a few years and then send for her partner and daughter. After coming to the island, friends found her a job as a cleaner in a restaurant. Her initial plans did not materialize. At the moment Joyce is married to an Aruban man, but lives together with a Jamaican man and his two sons. In her own words: 'You make so many plans before you leave the country and it is such a disappointment when things don't turn out the way you planned. I would have never imagined myself being with someone else than my baby's father and without my daughter'.

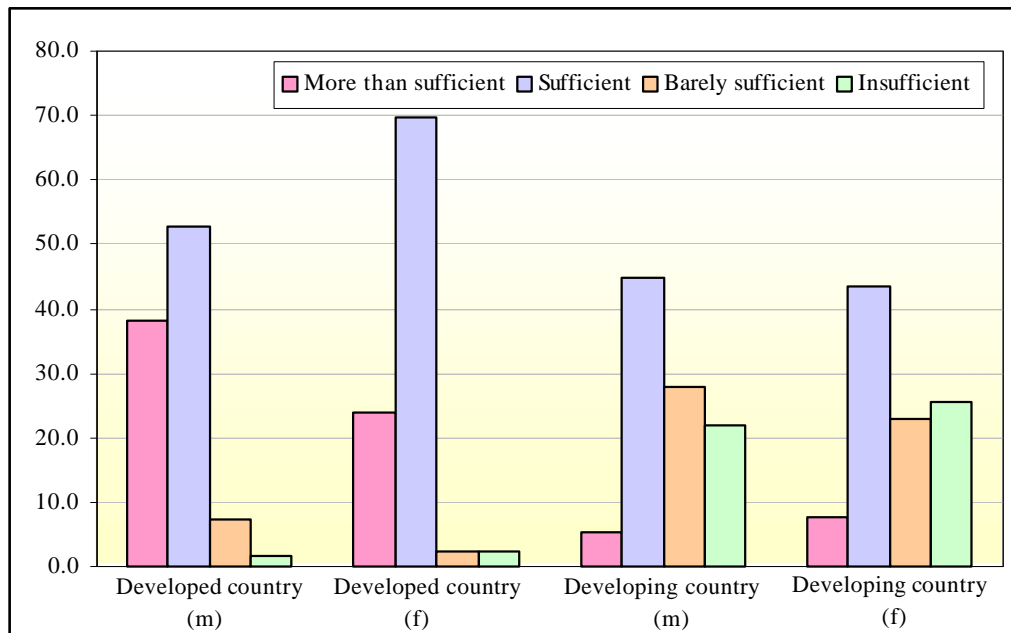
Coromoto (32 years) came to Aruba in 1996 for financial reasons. She has a master's degree in animal husbandry. She worked on a farm and went home to Maracaibo every two weeks to visit her daughter, who lived with her mother. At that time she was making good money, but the violence in the region where she worked was increasing. On her morning round she would see dead animals that had been killed cruelly. Her mother advised her to give up her job and come back to the city. With her diploma she could not find a job there and refused to settle for a job in a bakery. She was unemployed for two months. At that time she got word from her father, who was working on a construction site on Aruba. He advised her to come to Aruba, and got her a job there as a live-in maid. She left her three year-old daughter with her mother in Venezuela, as she didn't know how things would work out and thought it would be risky to take the child with her. At the moment Coromoto is married to a man from Venezuela whom she met here on Aruba. Together they have twin boys and a baby girl. Her daughter is still in Venezuela, but she hopes to bring her to Aruba in the future.

Anita (32) was born in the Netherlands. She met her Aruban partner when he was studying in the Netherlands. After his study he worked in the Netherlands for a while, but eventually told her he would like to go back to Aruba to be close to his family and friends. He asked her to come with him. At that time they had a 2 year-old baby. He was offered a good job on the island. She hesitated at first because she found it hard to leave her job, home, family and friends behind to go to a place with a different culture, and no relatives and friends. She liked very much the way they were living in the Netherlands. But, love has its own ways and after some deliberation she decided to go with him. Anita did not have

problems getting a permit and she was allowed to work. Her partner came first. Six months later she joined him with their child.

The three women in our case studies have completely different social and educational backgrounds. It is clear that Joyce and Coromoto have more or less similar stories. Both were confronted with difficult economic circumstances in their country of birth. Their options to improve their quality of life had become very limited and they decided to take fate into their own hands and move abroad. Both had to leave their small children behind. In Aruba, they both started with menial jobs. For Coromoto this was very hard because she has a university degree and in her own country she would never have accepted a job as a live-in.

Figure 3.2. Number of respondents by economic situation of their household prior to their migration to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex



Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.4. Number of respondents by economic situation of their household prior to their migration to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex

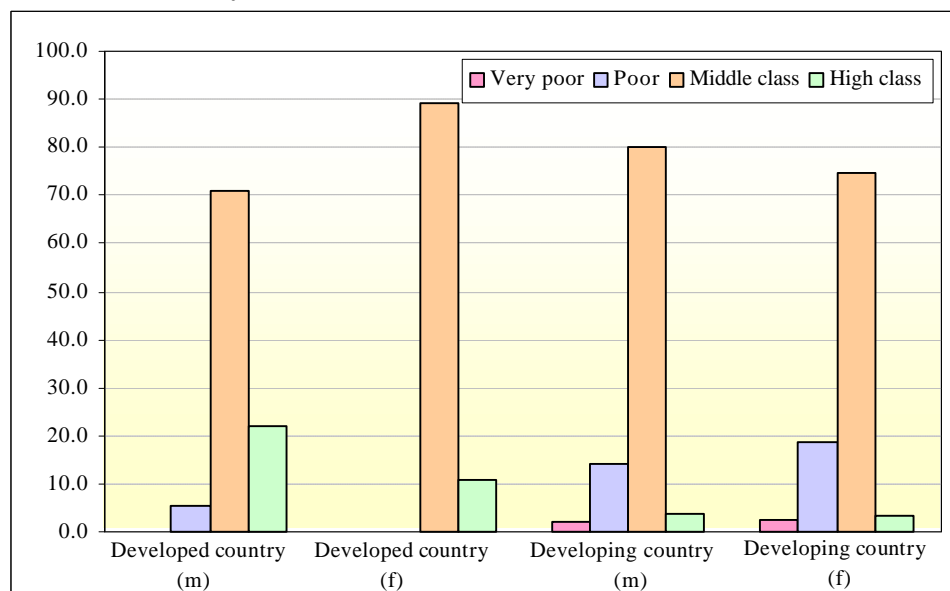
	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		% total	N. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
More than sufficient	38.2	23.9	5.3	7.5	10.3	70
Sufficient	52.7	69.6	44.9	43.4	46.5	315
Barely sufficient	7.3	2.2	28.0	23.1	22.1	150
Insufficient	1.8	2.2	21.8	25.4	20.6	140
Not reported	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.6	0.4	3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	678	678

Source: AMIS 2003.

Figure 3.2 shows the economic position of the household prior to the migrant's migration to Aruba. Clearly the situation of migrants from developed countries was much better than those from developing countries. This finding agrees with our observation in the previous section that migrants from developing countries mainly come for economic reasons, while migrants from developed countries were more interested in Aruba for other motives. About 50 percent of male and female migrants from developing countries indicated that their situation prior to migration was either barely sufficient or insufficient. The cases of Coromoto and Joyce show that in developing countries, even people with a good education can still be confronted with harsh economic conditions.

In their study on push and pull factors of international migration to Europe, Schoorl et al. found that the intention to migrate was overwhelmingly motivated by economic reasons. Actually, they also found that the intention not to migrate was also often based on economic reasons. *“In so far as intentions not to migrate are motivated by economic reasons, they fall into two opposite categories: either there is no economic need to migrate, or the respondent lacks the financial resources to go abroad”*⁵⁴.

Figure 3.3. Number of respondents by type of neighborhood prior to their migration to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex



Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.5. Number of respondents by type of neighborhood prior to their migration to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex

	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		% total	N. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Very poor	0.0	0.0	2.1	2.7	2.1	14
Poor	5.5	0.0	14.0	18.9	14.7	100
Middle class	70.9	89.1	80.2	74.9	77.4	525
High class	21.8	10.9	3.7	3.3	5.5	37
Not reported	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	678	678

Source: AMIS 2003.

During our fieldwork, each respondent was asked the following question: ‘How would you describe the neighborhood where you lived before you came to Aruba? Four answers were possible: a) Very poor, b) Poor, c) Middle class or d) High class. Almost none of the respondents from developed countries indicate that they come from a very poor neighborhood (table 3.5). Respectively 14.0 and 18.9 percent of men and women from developing countries claimed to come from a poor environment. Figure 3.3 shows clearly that the vast majority of migrants, both from developed and from developing countries originate from middle class neighborhoods. Findings from our study thereby support the findings of Schoorl et al. mentioned above. It is probably too hard for the poorest segment of society in these countries to get the money to pay for migration.

⁵⁴ Jeannette Schoorl, Liesbeth Heering, Ingrid Esveldt, George Groenewold, Rob van der Erf, Alinda Bosch, Helga de Valk, Bart de Bruijn (s.d.) *Push and Pull Factors of International Migration. A Comparative Report*. Eurostat – NIDI, p. 114.

Table 3.6. Migrants (20+ years) by educational attainment, sex and type of country of birth

	Developed country		Developing country		%	N
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	of cases
ISCED-1	6.2	3.4	14.2	15.2	13.1	95
ISCED-2	16.9	17.2	50.6	50.1	44.7	324
ISCED-3	6.2	15.5	4.3	4.6	5.5	40
ISCED-5	26.2	24.1	16.2	17.5	18.3	133
ISCED-6	27.7	36.2	10.7	9.5	13.7	99
ISCED-7	16.9	3.4	4.0	3.2	4.7	34
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	725

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.6 shows the relative distribution of migrants aged 20 years or older by educational attainment, type of country of birth and sex. The International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) was used to classify migrants by education. Annex II contains an explanation of the ISCED system. In brief, the ISCED categories stand for:

ISCED 1: primary education completed

ISCED 2: 1st level secondary education (MAVO, HAVO1-3, VWO1-3, TO, ETAO..)

ISCED 3: 2nd level secondary education (VWO4-6, HAVO4-5, MHNO1-2, MOVAA1-2, associate degree AHS1-2, ..)

ISCED 5: higher education but not university (MTO, MHNO, MAO, AHS)

ISCED 6: first university degree (BSc, BA, HBO)

ISCED 7: post-graduate univ.degree (MA, Ph.D, Drs., Dr.)

Closely related to the educational background of migrants coming to Aruba is the problem of *brain drain*. Brain drain is obviously more a matter affecting sending countries, but is such an important issue in the countries surrounding Aruba that it deserves some attention. At the beginning of the 1990's, some 300,000 professionals and technicians from South America and the Caribbean were living outside their country. Although remittances sent by these migrants may have a positive impact on economic development, generally, the disadvantages of emigration of skilled persons outweigh the advantages. In the Caribbean countries in particular, the loss of human capital has been a serious hindrance to a shift towards a high-tech economy⁵⁵.

In general, the brain drain phenomenon concerns mainly ISCED-categories 5, 6 and 7. It is clear that the proportion of migrants with a high educational attainment is higher among those from developed countries than among those from developing countries. More than 70 percent of all male migrants and about 64 percent of female migrants from developed countries fall within ISCED categories 5, 6 or 7. Educational attainment for migrants from developing countries is much lower. However, still more than 30 percent of men and about 27 percent of women from developing countries have a high educational level. Out of a total of 725 migrants above age twenty from developing and developed nations, 183 were migrants from a developing country with a high degree of education. In other words, one in every four migrants on Aruba comes from a developing country and has a high educational background.

At first sight, one would be surprised that Coromoto would come to Aruba with a university degree and settle for work as a housemaid. The fact is that salaries in Aruba for unskilled laborers are still significantly higher than salaries for much higher occupations in some of the surrounding countries. This means that people with higher levels of education may decide to come and accept an unskilled job. In her mixture of Papiamentu and Spanish Coromoto explains:

*“Pa necesidad bo tin cu lubida cu bo ta universitario. Bo tin cu haci trabou di housekeeping of cas di famia. O mueres de hambre, o ves a tu hija morir de hambre o buscas la plata.”*⁵⁶

⁵⁵ The International Migration Policy Programme (IMP) (2002), Background paper, The IMP Follow-up seminar to the International Migration Policy Seminar of the Caribbean Region. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic 28 October to 31 October 2002. UNFPA, UNITAR, IOM, ILO. p 4.

⁵⁶ “Out of necessity you have to forget that you have a university diploma. You have to do housekeeping work or work as a housemaid. You either die of hunger, or your daughter dies of hunger or you look for money (work).”

To look into this phenomenon in more detail we have restricted table 3.7 to those who have ISCED level 5, 6 or 7. Of all migrants aged 20 and older in the migration survey, 212 had an ISCED level of 5 or higher. In figure 3.4 we depict these persons by occupational category, type of country of birth and sex. We use the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), developed by the ILO. The ten major groups of the ISCO classification are:

1. Legislators, senior officials, and managers;
2. Professionals;
3. Technicians and associate professionals;
4. Clerks;
5. Service workers and shop and market sales workers;
6. Skilled agricultural and fishery workers;
7. Craft and related trades workers;
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers;
9. Elementary occupations;
0. Armed forces.

The survey included no migrants who were agricultural workers or in the armed forces. In figure 3.4, we have depicted categories of occupations that generally require somewhat higher education in shades of blue (legislators, professionals, technicians and clerks) and those that require somewhat lower education in shades of orange (service workers, craft workers, machine operators and elementary occupations). It is interesting to see that the blue bars dominate for migrants from developed countries, while the orange bars are more predominant for those from developing countries. This indicates that migrants – both men and women - from developed countries who come to work on Aruba mostly end up in higher skilled jobs. The majority of migrants from developing countries with a higher degree of education end up in lower level jobs. Sixty-seven percent of men and 64.3 percent of women from developing countries with a higher educational level have a job which is far below their educational attainment. It seems that the migration of higher educated persons to Aruba has a negative effect for both the sending and the receiving country. The sending country loses because of the loss of a well-trained person and the receiving country because of the underutilization of human capital.

Some migrants with a good education who start working in a low level job, eventually have the chance to move up the occupational ladder. In our study, ten migrants in ISCED category 5-7 started out on the island working in an elementary occupation and later moved on to other occupational categories: two to 'craft and related trades workers', four to 'service workers and shop and market sales workers' and one to 'legislators, senior officials, and managers'. In general, very few educated migrants from developing countries who start in menial jobs are able to really move up. Women who start as housemaids have to overcome an extra hurdle: they receive a permit to work as a housemaid, and to change this into a general work permit they first have to return to their country of origin.

Ricardo is an example of a migrant who was able to overcome his initial difficulties and has improved his position.

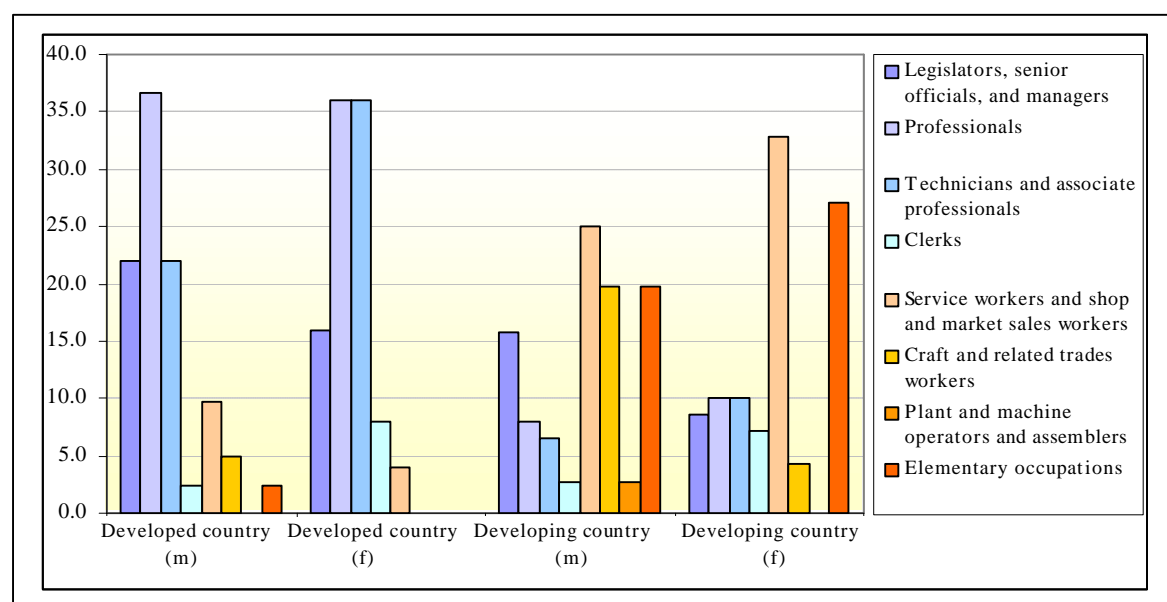
After he came to Aruba in 1996, Ricardo (51 yrs.) started working at a low level job and was able to work himself up. Ricardo is from Venezuela where he worked at the university, teaching industrial design. As a young man he wanted to become a doctor, but had given up his study, although he remained very interested in the medical profession. When the economic situation was good in Venezuela he came to Aruba twice a year on holiday. His mother was born on Aruba and they maintained close links with the island. Because of the difficult situation in Venezuela he decided to come to Aruba for work in 1996. Although he was a university teacher in Venezuela, he had to start on the island as a kitchen aid in a hotel. After seven months he became a security officer and later shift leader of the hotel security. At his own expense he took first aid courses and obtained a diploma as an emergency medical technician. The concept of giving medical assistance to hotel guests came spontaneously. The hotel was very enthusiastic about the idea and now Ricardo is running a small department, which even assists guests in other hotels as well. The team of seven receives training on a regular basis. This year Ricardo went to Philadelphia to take a course. They also have a fire fighting team that works on a voluntary basis.

leader of the hotel security. At his own expense he took first aid courses and obtained a diploma as an emergency medical technician. The concept of giving medical assistance to hotel guests came spontaneously. The hotel was very enthusiastic about the idea and now Ricardo is running a small department, which even assists guests in other hotels as well. The team of seven receives training on a regular basis. This year Ricardo went to Philadelphia to take a course. They also have a fire fighting team that works on a voluntary basis.

By taking the proper initiatives Ricardo has been able to improve his working and living conditions on Aruba. However, in this accomplishment he is much more the exception than the rule.

More than 90 percent of all men from developed countries, who are currently working, had a job before coming to Aruba (see figure 3.5. and table 3.8.). Men from developing countries also score quite high: about four out of five had a job before coming to Aruba. Women from developing countries score the lowest. More than forty percent of them did not have a job before their arrival on the island. A more detailed description of migrants' occupations will be given in the next chapter on economic aspects of migration.

Figure 3.4. Proportion of persons with ISCED-level 5, 6 or 7 by main ISCO-category, type of country of birth and sex



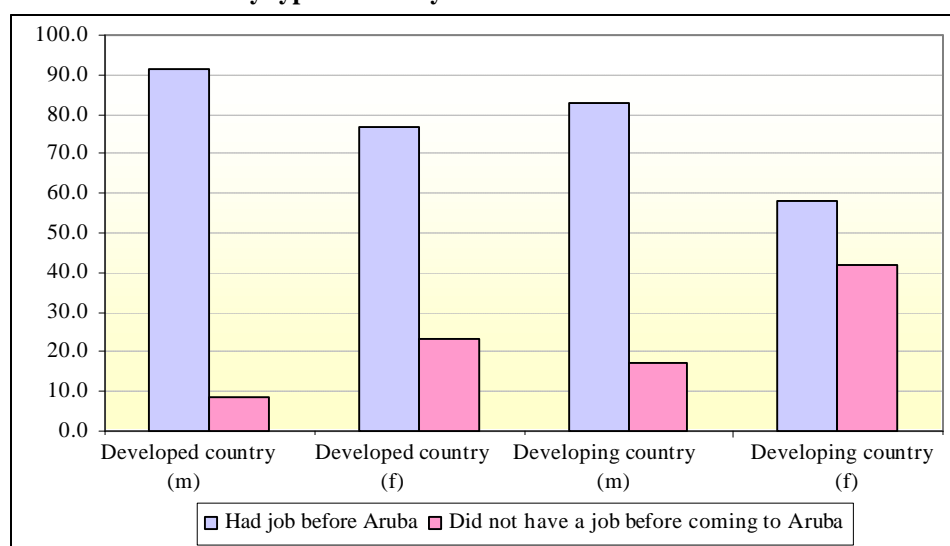
Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.7. Proportion of persons with ISCED-level 5, 6 or 7 by main ISCO-category, type of country of birth and sex

ISCO-category	Developed country		Developing country		% Total	N of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	22.0	16.0	15.8	8.6	14.6	31
Professionals	36.6	36.0	7.9	10.0	17.5	37
Technicians and associate professionals	22.0	36.0	6.6	10.0	14.2	30
Clerks	2.4	8.0	2.6	7.1	4.7	10
Service workers, shop & market sales workers	9.8	4.0	25.0	32.9	22.2	47
Craft and related trades workers	4.9	0.0	19.7	4.3	9.4	20
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.9	2
Elementary occupations	2.4	0.0	19.7	27.1	16.5	35
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	212

Source: AMIS 2003.

Figure 3.5. Percentage of respondents currently working, who had a job prior to their migration to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex



Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.8. Percentage of respondents currently working, who had a job prior to their migration to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex

	Developed country		Developing country		N.of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Had job before Aruba	91.3	76.7	82.7	57.9	391
Didn't have job before coming to Aruba	8.7	23.3	17.3	42.1	152
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	543

Source: AMIS 2003.

3.3. CHAIN MIGRATION

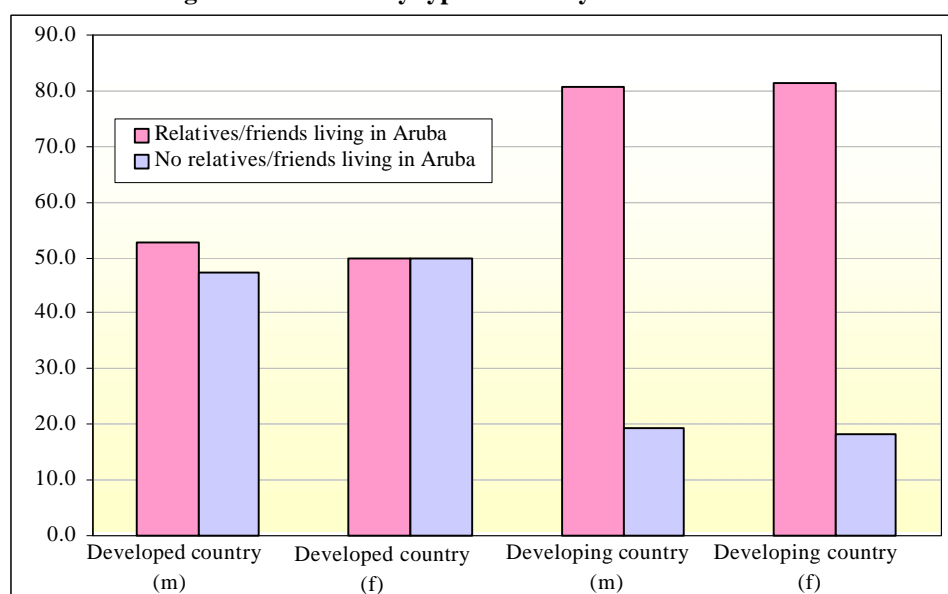
Chain migration is based on the links that exist between groups of persons between the points of origin and destination. It makes use of friends and relatives who live in the country of destination and who help prospective migrants to go abroad. Social networks facilitate the move by prospective migrants by providing possible information, emotional support, tickets and travel money, and sometimes a place to stay, a job, and a social environment. In this paragraph, we shall look into the extent of chain migration within the whole process of migration to Aruba.

Many studies have stressed the importance of social networks for a migrant's decision to move abroad. For instance, Schoorl et al. showed that migrants with a network had better access to information, and that this information covered a greater variety of topics than migrants who did not have such a network⁵⁷. The first condition to receive information or help from relatives or friends overseas is, obviously, that the migrants have a link to persons overseas. Therefore, the AMIS questionnaire included the following question: 'Before you came here, did you have any family members, relatives or friends on Aruba, whom you knew from your home country?'

Figure 3.6 shows the percentage of respondents with relatives/friends living on Aruba prior to their own migration by type of country of birth and sex. Especially within the group of migrants from developing countries, the majority of respondents had a relative or a friend on the island before they came: 80.7 percent of men and 81.4 percent of women. Migrants from developed countries had fewer contacts, although still about half of men and women had links to persons on the island before their arrival.

⁵⁷ Jeannette Schoorl, Liesbeth Heering, Ingrid Esveldt, George Groenewold, Rob van der Erf, Alinda Bosch, Helga de Valk, Bart de Bruijn (s.d.) *Push and Pull Factors of International Migration. A Comparative Report*. Eurostat – NIDI, p. 98.

Figure 3.6. Percentage of respondents with relatives/friends living on Aruba prior to their own migration to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex



Source: AMIS 2003.

The highest proportions of relatives and friends on the island were found among migrants who came from far away places such as the Philippines and China. Among all 38 Filipinos in the survey only 2 did not have a relative or friend on the island before they came, and all seven Chinese had contacts on the island. Obviously, a migrant coming from this far cannot come, look around and try to find work as some people from Colombia do. Tickets are just too expensive to take the risk. Moreover, how would you get all the information about Aruba and know that it is a good place to live? The first migrants from the Philippines came to Aruba in the late 1980's to work in one of the tourist hotels. In 1991, 239 Filipinos were counted in the Population Census⁵⁸. Since then they have been able to develop their networks further and help many countrymen come to Aruba. By 2000, the number of Filipinos had increased to 768 persons⁵⁹. According to one of our informants, Filipinos on the island have their own association 'Samapiba', a social organization that also helps Filipino migrants when they have problems. For instance, if a relative dies in the Philippines, the organization will lend the money for a plane ticket.

In 2000, 207 persons born in India were living on Aruba, 143 men and 64 women. Their migration to Aruba seems to have been much less of a chain migration process than that of most other groups from developing countries. Out of 15 respondents in the AMIS survey only six had contacts before they came. Rao's migration story may tell us more about how they come to Aruba.

After finishing his university studies Rao worked in the marketing department of a bank for two years. In the meantime he took a course in gemology. Once he finished the course he was recommended and was able to start work in a jewelry store. He registered himself with a recruitment agency that sent workers all over the world. An acquaintance told him of a job opening in a jewelry store on Aruba. He did job interviews with the recruitment agents for different jobs. The job offer for Aruba came first and he decided to take the position. The recruitment agency took care of all contacts between himself and the employer. He obtained information about Aruba from the Internet. The employer in Aruba arranged all documents and permits.

⁵⁸ Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (1992), Selected Tables. Third Population and Housing Census. Aruba – October 6, 1991. Oranjestad, October 1992, p. 70.

⁵⁹ Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (2000), Selected Tables. Fourth Population and Housing Census. Aruba – October 14, 2000. Oranjestad, June 2001, p. 69.

Table 3.9. Percentage of respondents with relatives/friends living on Aruba prior to their own migration to Aruba by type of relationship and by type of country of birth and sex

	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Spouse	3.6	6.5	5.8	15.0	69
Own child	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.7	11
One or more Parent(s)	9.1	21.7	11.5	13.5	88
One or more Brother(s)/sister(s)	10.9	15.2	23.9	20.7	140
One or more Grandparent(s)	3.6	4.3	0.4	0.6	7
Other relative(s)	14.5	21.7	16.0	16.2	111
Friend(s)	27.3	19.6	37.0	27.8	207

Source: AMIS 2003.

The type of relationship between the potential migrant and the migrant already living in the country of destination is obviously very important to determine the degree of help a migrant can expect to receive. In table 3.9 we present the percentage of respondents with relatives/friends living on Aruba prior to their own migration to Aruba. More than just a few migrants have a spouse or parents living on the island. A higher percentage of migrants from developing countries than from developed countries have family members on Aruba: 15 percent of women who are now living on Aruba joined their spouse. Far fewer husbands than wives come to Aruba later (5.8 percent). More than one in ten migrants from developing countries had one or both parents on the island. By far the most common group of family members already living on the island are brothers and sisters. Among migrants born in developing countries 23.9 percent of men and 20.7 percent of women had a sibling living on Aruba. The number of migrants from developed countries with a sibling on Aruba was much smaller (10.9 percent of men and 15.2 percent of women).

Migrants' expectations with regard to the assistance they will receive may have an effect on the decision to migrate. Table 3.10 shows clearly that among migrants from developing countries who had relatives or friends on the island considerably more expected help than among migrants from developed countries. About 85 percent of migrants from developing countries expected help, compared with 52 percent of migrants from developed countries. About the same number of migrants from developing countries who expected help from relatives or friends, received such help (see table 3.11). Interestingly, migrants from developed countries received more help from relatives and friends than they actually expected.

Table 3.10. Number of respondents with relatives/friends living on Aruba prior to their own migration to Aruba by whether they expected help from those people by type of country of birth and sex

	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		% total	No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Expected help	51.7	43.5	83.7	86.0	81.3	423
Did not expect help	48.3	56.5	16.3	14.0	18.7	97
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	520	520

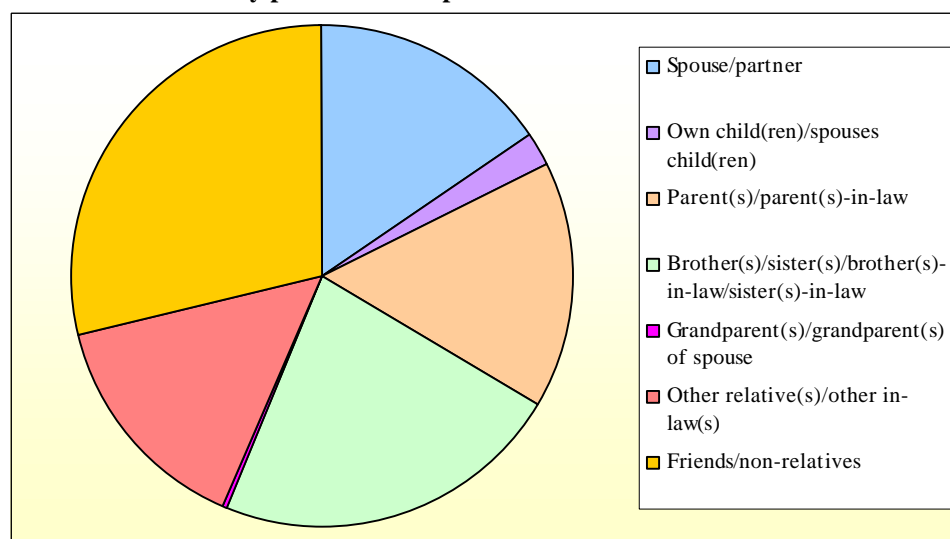
Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.11. Number of respondents with relatives/friends living on Aruba prior to their own migration to Aruba by whether they were helped by those people by type of country of birth and sex

	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		% total	No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Received help	55.2	56.5	83.7	85.3	81.7	425
Did not receive help	44.8	43.5	16.3	14.7	18.3	95
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	520	520

Source: AMIS 2003.

Figure 3.7. Number of respondents with relatives/friends living on Aruba prior to their own migration to Aruba by person who helped



Source: AMIS 2003.

The majority of people who received assistance were helped by relatives (figure 3.7). Slightly more than one quarter of all migrants (28.9 percent) received help from friends or other acquaintances. Brothers and sisters, and brothers and sisters-in-law provided most help to newly arrived migrants: 22.6 percent of all help. Spouses helped in 15.5 percent of all cases. Many migrants were not married at the time of arrival, so they could not receive any help from a spouse. As more wives follow their husbands than vice versa, more women than men were helped by their partner. Table 3.12 shows that female migrants rely much more on family for help than men. And more migrants from developing countries obtain help from friends than migrants from developed countries. In general, these figures show that chain migration to Aruba runs more via relatives than via friends and other non-relatives.

Table 3.12. Number of respondents (%) with relatives/friends living on Aruba prior to their own migration to Aruba by person who helped by type of country of birth and sex

	Developed country		Developing country		% total	No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Spouse/partner	12.5	23.1	6.1	22.0	15.5	66
Own child(ren)/spouses child(ren)	0.0	0.0	1.2	3.0	2.1	9
Parent(s)/parent(s)-in-law	18.8	38.5	14.6	15.1	15.8	67
Brothers/sisters/brothers-in-law/sisters-in-law	18.8	15.4	26.2	20.7	22.6	96
Grandparent(s)/grandparent(s) of spouse	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.2	1
Other relative(s)/other in-law(s)	18.8	7.7	15.2	14.2	14.6	62
Friends/non-relatives	31.3	7.7	36.6	24.6	28.9	123
Not reported	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	425	425

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.13. Number of respondents to Aruba by type of help they received by type of country of birth and sex

	Developed country		Developing country		% total	No. of times help received
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Financial help	25.0	46.2	34.1	48.3	41.9	178
Looked for housing	56.3	69.2	51.8	47.4	50.1	213
Looked for work	37.5	0.0	37.8	39.7	37.6	160
Could live with them	37.5	30.8	53.0	49.6	49.9	212
Could work in their business	0.0	7.7	11.6	3.4	6.6	28
Gave info	18.8	23.1	26.8	27.2	26.6	113
Took care of permits	18.8	30.8	23.2	27.2	25.4	108
Other help	12.5	0.0	2.4	6.0	4.7	20
Total help provided	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1032	1032

Source: AMIS 2003.

During the AMIS fieldwork, 425 respondents indicated they were helped by relatives or friends who were already living on Aruba. They were asked the following question ‘In what way(s) did they help you before you moved to Aruba?’ The interviewer was then instructed to read all possible answers and to mark as many categories as applicable. A total of 1,032 instances of help were marked, which means that every migrant who received help received it in roughly 2.5 different ways. Migrants receive most help with housing; about half of all migrants received help with finding a place to stay. Also half of all migrants were offered a place to stay with their relatives or friends. Financial help was provided to 41.9 percent of all migrants. Relatives and friends also helped with looking for a job (37.6 percent), providing information (26.6 percent) and taking care of the permits (25.4 percent). Some interesting differences emerge between migrants from developing and developed countries, and between men and women. Migrants from developing countries receive more financial assistance and more offers to stay with relatives or friends. Migrants from developed countries less frequently live with relatives and friends. They receive more help with looking for a job. Women receive financial help more often than men. This may be because women are economically more vulnerable and more often need assistance to make a successful migration.

Figure 3.8 illustrates how migrants were helped prior to their own migration, in absolute numbers of assistance. As could be expected, family members give more financial assistance than friends. A remarkably large group of migrants are offered a place to stay with friends. In many cases, such arrangements with friends are temporary. Newcomers start off staying with friends and once they have found a job they move to their own place. Both relatives and non-relatives are active in providing help to find proper housing.

Figure 3.8. Number of respondents with relatives/friends living on Aruba prior to their own migration to Aruba by person who helped by type of help received



Source: AMIS 2003.

At the beginning of this section, we described the experiences of Joyce and Coromoto. Both were fortunate to have a family member or friends on Aruba (Coromoto's father and Joyce's friends). This made their first days on the island easier: they were able to stay at a place in the company of people they know and trust. Those who do not have relatives or friends and do not have a job upon arrival have a much more difficult and vulnerable position. At the beginning of this chapter, we also discussed the migration experience of Liliana, who came to Aruba on her own. She explained how she coped on her first days on the island.

Liliana came to Aruba with 1,000 US\$ in her pocket. When she arrived in Aruba she did not know a single person on the island. From her 1,000 US\$ she paid for three days in a hotel. She spoke to the hotel staff and asked what the best way was to get a job. They suggested putting an announcement in the local newspapers that she was looking for a job as live-in housemaid. She opted for a job as a live-in because then she wouldn't have to worry about finding a place to stay. Her money was running out quickly in the hotel. As soon as her announcement was published she received a number of calls from people who were interested in her services. After five days on the island, she started working for a family with whom she stayed for ten months. Although these people treated her well, they were never willing to sign for her permit.

Chain migration can take place in an 'actively' and 'passively' way. The passive way is that would-be migrants contact migrants already in a country of destination and request help. Active chain migration occurs when a migrant already in a country of destination takes steps to bring family or friends to this country. In this context we speak of family reunion, if family members join the migrant after his/her arrival, and of accompanying family members if the family members come together with the migrant.

Family reunion plays a very prominent role in international migration. For instance, of the 81,600 migrants arriving in the Netherlands in 1998, 14.0 percent came for family reunion and 5,200 thousand came with their partner or spouse; 15,000 came for the purpose of work. Interestingly, in recent years, family formation has been a more important motive to come to the Netherlands than family reunion. This trend may be linked to the fact that the regulations to bring family members were tightened in 1993. The new rule indicates that family reunion is only possible in the first three years after the date of immigration. Moreover, to allow reunion, certain criteria with regard to income and housing have to be fulfilled. In 1998, 18,000 immigrants came to the Netherlands for the purpose of family formation. Many migrants and young, second generation Turks and Moroccans are joined by young female

migrants who come over to get married⁶⁰. Below we shall look briefly into dependents, family reunion and migration to Aruba.

One important decision that many married migrants face prior to departure is whether to take their spouse with them, send for them later or leave them behind. Table 3.14 shows the marital status of MMAs when they moved to Aruba. The percentage of male migrants who were married at the time of departure is higher than for women: respectively 45.3 and 33.9 percent of men from developed and developing countries, against 29.6 and 21.9 percent of women. It is interesting to see that the percentage of women from developing countries who are married at the time they come to Aruba is quite small: only one in five.

Table 3.14. Number of MMAs by marital status at the time of moving to Aruba by sex and type of country of birth

	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Married when came to Aruba	24	13	82	73	192
Not married when came to Aruba	29	31	160	260	480
% married when came to Aruba	45.28	29.55	33.88	21.92	28.57

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.15 shows that 48.7 percent of married migrants took their spouses with them to Aruba. The number of married men and women from developed countries is rather small in our sample (24 men and 13 women). The data suggest that about two-thirds of MMAs from developed countries and female MMAs from developing countries came together with their spouse. On the other hand, fewer than one third of married men from developing countries brought their wife along. However, many of them (35.8 percent) sent for their wives at a later moment in time. The percentage of MMAs who left their spouse behind should be treated with caution. For instance, all six migrants from developed countries who left their spouse behind were no longer living together with them (see table 3.17). Among MMAs from developing countries 5 out of 30 men who left their wife behind were no longer together, the same is true for 10 of the 15 women who came alone. It is much more common for men from developing countries to come to Aruba and leave their wife behind, than among all other categories. For MMAs from developing countries who left their spouse behind, nine of the men and four of the women would like their spouse to come to the island.

Table 3.15. Absolute and relative number of MMAs by whether spouse came together with migrant or later, by sex and type of country of birth

	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Spouse came with MMA	16	8	22	46	92
Spouse joined MMA later	6	1	29	10	46
Married but not living together	2	4	5	10	21
Spouse is still in home country	0	0	25	5	30
% Spouse came with MMA	66.67	61.54	27.16	64.79	48.68
% Spouse joined MMA later	25.00	7.69	35.80	14.08	24.34
% Married but not living together	8.33	30.77	6.17	14.08	11.11
% Spouse is still in home country	0.00	0.00	30.86	7.04	15.87

Source: AMIS 2003.

⁶⁰ Statistics Netherlands (2001), *Migration motives of non-Dutch immigrants in the Netherlands*. UN Statistical Commission and UN Economic Commission for Europe, EUROSTAT, Conference of European Statisticians. Joint ECE-EUROSTAT Work Session on Migration Statistics organized in cooperation with the UN Statistics Division (Geneva, 21-23 May 2001), p. 7.

For those who brought their spouse with them, we asked “What was the most important reason for bringing your spouse along?” Answers to this question are summarized in table 3.16. The most important reason was ‘Emotionally too difficult to live separately’. Economic reasons do not seem to play a major role. The well-being of children is another important motivation to come together with the whole family. A large proportion of respondents indicated other reasons why they thought it better to come together.

As we saw, a large proportion of migrants who came to Aruba did not bring their spouse because they had already separated at the time of departure (41 percent). The second most important reason to leave the spouse behind in the country of origin was for the well-being of the children (29.4 percent).

In the questionnaire, we concentrated on marital relationship and family reunion and not on consensual unions and reunion. In Aruba it is much more difficult for a partner to come for ‘family reunion’ if the partners are not married. An exception is made for European Dutch, who can bring their partner if they have an official ‘partnership contract’ signed by a notary. Some migrants come with their partner, both try to find a job and try to obtain their permits separately. Others come alone and hope to bring their partner in the future. At the beginning of section 3.2, we told Joyce’s story. She is an example of a migrant who had big plans for herself, her daughter and her partner. The reality of living alone as a migrant in a foreign place, however, sent her life along a different path.

Another important group of dependants consists of children. According to the 2000 Population Census, 4,034 foreign-born children under the age of 15 years were living on the island⁶¹. Migrants often bring young children to the island as dependants. Another group is formed by parents who bring their grown up children to the island and help them find a job here (see table 3.12).

Coromoto (see page 59) is an example of the latter group. Her father was working here on the island. He knew about the difficulties his daughter was having in Venezuela, and advised her to come to Aruba. He was able to find her a job on the island as a live-in maid. Although the job was far below her professional capabilities she accepted it, because she could make more money there as a housemaid than in Venezuela as a professional.

Even though they are unmarried, many female migrants who come to Aruba already have one or more children. Table 3.18 shows the number of MMAs by whether they were married at the time of arrival, current marital status, sex and number of children born abroad. Unmarried at the time of arrival differs from never married, as it includes all those who are not in the married state. We restrict ourselves to children born abroad, because the majority of these children are born out of relationships that were not formed on Aruba. Also, these children are prime candidates for family reunion.

⁶¹ *Central Bureau of Statistics (2002), The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change. Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 14, 2000. The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change. Oranjestad. p. 122.*

The table shows that many never-married people (who were thus unmarried at the time of arrival) who come to Aruba already have children. About 85 percent of never-married male and female MMAs have at least one child. On average a never-married male MMA has 1.7 children born abroad and a never married female MMA 1.8 children. Those who were married at the time of arrival and are still currently married have on average about 2 children. Those who were unmarried at the time of arrival, but who are currently married have fewer children born abroad (1.0 and 1.2 children for men and women respectively). The group of currently divorced, separated and widowed persons is quite small. On average they have the largest number of children born outside Aruba.

Table 3.16. Reason why MMAs decided to bring spouse, by sex and type of country of birth

	Developed country		Developing country		Total	No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
It was too expensive to maintain two households	0.00	0.00	5.88	1.75	2.88	4
Spouse also got a job in Aruba	9.09	11.11	1.96	5.26	5.04	7
Spouse could look for a job here in Aruba	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.51	1.44	2
Emotionally too difficult to live separately	45.45	11.11	45.10	22.81	33.81	47
It was better for the children to have the family together	27.27	22.22	17.65	3.51	13.67	19
It was more practical to run the household together	9.09	0.00	7.84	1.75	5.04	7
Other	9.09	55.56	21.57	61.40	38.13	53
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	139

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.17. Reason why MMAs decided not to bring their spouse by sex and by type of country of birth

	Developed country		Developing country		Total	No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
It was too expensive to bring spouse (and children) along	0.00	0.00	13.33	0.00	7.84	4
Spouse did not have a permit	0.00	0.00	6.67	0.00	3.92	2
Can save more money by living alone	0.00	0.00	13.33	0.00	7.84	4
Better for children to grow up with parent in home country	0.00	0.00	36.67	26.67	29.41	15
Couple already living apart at the time of the migration	100.00	100.00	16.67	66.67	41.18	21
Other	0.00	0.00	13.33	6.67	9.80	5
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	51

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.18. Number of MMAs by whether or not married at time of arrival, current marital status, sex and number of children born abroad

Current marital status		Married when came to Aruba			
		Married		Unmarried	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Never married					
	% with children	-	-	84.4	85.7
	Mean number of children	-	-	1.7	1.8
	No. of cases	0	0	45	112
Married					
	% with children	88.0	80.9	59.1	64.5
	Mean number of children	2.1	2.0	1.0	1.2
	No. of cases	92	68	44	76
Legally divorced					
	% with children	100.0	50.0	100.0	94.4
	Mean number of children	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.2
	No. of cases	4	4	8	18
Legally separated from bed and board					
	% with children	100.0	100.0	-	100.0
	Mean number of children	5.0	3.3	-	2.0
	No. of cases	1	3	0	1
Widowed					
	% with children	-	100.0	-	88.9
	Mean number of children	-	2.0	-	2.7
	No. of cases	0	1	0	9

Source: AMIS 2003.

Having established the ‘stock’ of children of migrants, we look into the ‘flows’ of those that actually came to join their parents, or who may come in the future. The AMIS questionnaire contained questions pertaining to the children of the MMAs. First, a question was asked on the number of children a migrant had. This question was put to migrants of both sexes, irrespective of their age. If they answered that they had one or more children, we asked how many of these children were born abroad, then how many had come to live on Aruba, and lastly how many were living with him/her. Results for these questions are presented in table 3.19. The number of children is presented per migrant.

On average, male and female MMAs from developing countries have a higher mean number of children than MMAs from developed countries. Overall, the mean number of children per MMA is 1.57. A higher percentage of children of MMAs from developed countries than from developing countries were born on the island. Table 3.19 shows that per male MMA (i.e. in fact per family unit) from a developed country 0.53 children come to live on Aruba. For women from developed countries this number is slightly higher at 0.61. For developing countries 0.34 children per male MMA and 0.43 per female MMA had come to live on the island.

Respectively, 22.03 and 25.00 percent of all children of male and female MMAs from developed countries were born on the island. Among MMAs from developing countries these percentages are correspondingly 17.27 and 19.55 percent. There is also a difference between MMAs from developed and developing countries in the percentage of children who were born abroad and who have come to live on Aruba: the percentage is more than twice as high for migrants from developed countries than for those from developing countries. The overall percentage of 33.02 of all children born to MMAs who came to live on Aruba indicates that for every three MMAs one child is brought to the island. More than sixty percent of children of MMAs from developed countries live with their mother/father, against less than forty percent for children from developing countries.

Table 3.19. Children per MMA coming to Aruba as dependants

	Developed country		Developing country		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
No. of children migrant has	1.11	1.18	1.48	1.75	1.57
No. of children born abroad	0.87	0.89	1.23	1.41	1.27
No. of children come to live in Aruba	0.53	0.61	0.34	0.43	0.42
No. children live with you here	0.72	0.73	0.48	0.65	0.60
% of children born on Aruba	22.03	25.00	17.27	19.55	19.18
% of children born abroad who come to live on Aruba	60.87	69.23	27.61	30.70	33.02
% of children who live with MMA	64.41	61.54	32.03	37.39	38.27

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.20. Number of children MMAs want to bring to Aruba from abroad by sex and type of country of birth

	Developed country		Developing country		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
% who want to bring one or more children	0.0	2.2	8.2	14.1	10.0
No. of children 100 migrants want to bring	0.0	2.2	12.3	23.7	16.2

Source: AMIS 2003.

It is important to know about migrants' intentions with regard to bringing their children to Aruba in the future. Table 3.20 shows these numbers for male and female migrants. Ten percent of all MMAs intend to bring children to Aruba who are currently living abroad. Overall, the number of children they want to bring is 16 per 100 migrants. Migrants from developed countries have little or no intention of bringing dependant children to the island in the future. Female MMAs from developing countries want to bring the highest number of children; 14.1 percent of these women intend to bring one or more children, compared with 8.2 children for men. On average, 100 women would like to bring 23.7 children. Given the fact that less than forty percent of migrants born in developing countries live with their parents on Aruba, the average number of children these parents want to bring is certainly not very high. It indicates that more than a few parents prefer to keep their children in their place of birth. Unsurprisingly, relatively more migrants who want to stay on the island indefinitely want their children to come to Aruba.

Table 3.21 shows the number of other relatives and friends who come to the island because of the MMA. All figures are given per 100 migrants. In general, per 100 MMAs who come to the island, 10.6 other relative and friends come in the company of the MMA; 12.1 came at a later stage because of the migrant and 10.6 intend to come in the future. Compared with table 3.9, which gave information about the number of relatives and friends who were already on the island before the MMA settled, the figures in table 3.21 are quite low. The data in table 3.21 are quite clearly an example of 'active chain migration', i.e. the migrant takes active steps to bring other relatives or friends to the island, either directly with him/her, or at a later stage. The data show that passive chain migration on Aruba is more prevalent than active chain migration.

Table 3.21. Number of relatives and friends who have come, and who are intended to come to the island because of the MMA, by sex and type of country of birth

	Developed country		Developing country		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
No. of cases	56	46	243	333	679
Parents/parents in law					
came with migrant (per 100 MMAs)	1.8	8.7	1.6	0.9	1.8
came because of you (per 100 MMAs)	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.6
no. migrants intend to bring (per 100 MMAs)	3.6	2.2	4.1	3.0	3.4
Brothers/sisters					
came with migrant (per 100 MMAs)	1.8	0.0	2.5	3.0	2.5
came because of you (per 100 MMAs)	0.0	0.0	6.6	6.6	5.6
no. migrants intend to bring (per 100 MMAs)	1.8	0.0	3.7	3.3	3.1
Other relatives					
came with migrant (per 100 MMAs)	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.9	1.2
came because of you (per 100 MMAs)	3.6	0.0	2.5	3.3	2.8
no. migrants intend to bring (per 100 MMAs)	12.5	0.0	3.3	1.5	2.9
Friends					
came with migrant (per 100 MMAs)	7.1	13.0	5.3	4.5	5.6
came because of you (per 100 MMAs)	5.4	8.7	1.6	3.0	3.1
no. migrants intend to bring (per 100 MMAs)	5.4	2.2	0.8	0.6	1.2
All friends/relatives					
came with migrant (per 100 MMAs)	10.7	21.7	11.5	8.4	10.6
came because of you (per 100 MMAs)	10.7	8.7	10.7	13.8	12.1
no. migrants intend to bring (per 100 MMAs)	23.2	4.3	11.9	8.4	10.6

Source: AMIS 2003.

3.4. THE INITIAL PERIOD ON THE ISLAND

Leaving one's country of birth behind can be a stressful experience, especially for those who cannot fall back on a solid financial and social safety net when things go wrong. Migration is always a serious risk: it may be a dream come true, but it may also turn out to be a nightmare. This section looks at the initial period after the migrant arrives on the island. Some migrants need only a short time to get settled, others need a longer time. Some never really get used to their new life and ultimately return home.

As an introduction to the discussion of the migrants' settling period we bring the story of Martha. Hers is a rather sad story. It is certainly not typical for all migrants who come to Aruba. We use the story as an illustration that migration is a gamble, where people fight to improve their life, get their fingers burnt, but continue to fight.

Martha was born in 1969, and moved with her family to Bogotá when she was two. When she was young, her mother went to work in Venezuela for nine years. Martha studied well and obtained a masters' diploma in education⁶². The government did not hire her as a school teacher, and so she was obliged to do temporary work. She was constantly moving from one place to another trying to get work. The situation was very unstable. She was often unemployed and did not have social benefits. Because she was a single mother with three children, her mother and older sister often had to help her out. This was very difficult, especially for her sister who was married and had children of her own. Her sister had a friend in Aruba who had told her: "Aruba era bueno, mucho trabajo, puedes ganar bien dinero". Her mother and her sister decided that she should go to Aruba to make a living. She didn't like the idea of leaving her children behind to go to an unknown place. Martha thought it was easy for

⁶² 'Martha' in fact has a different diploma. As the type of diploma is not important for the story she tells, we have changed it to make her less recognizable.

her mother to suggest this, because she had been abroad for nine years without her three children. Her mother did not understand that going from Colombia to Venezuela is easy, while going from Colombia to Aruba is something else entirely.

One day in October 1998, Martha's mother gave her the choice: either go to Aruba and leave the children with her, or leave her house with the children. Martha knew her mother was a very strict woman and that she was serious. She did not want to leave her children behind, but she knew she had run out of options. Overnight she made the decision to move to Aruba. Her sister's friend would take care of her when she arrived. Her sister lent her the money to pay for the ticket and other travel costs.

Martha had never been on an airplane. For her this was a frightening experience. She did not know what was going to happen to her, or how long she would be away from her children. She knew she was going to be on the island illegally, and that thought frightened her even more. When she arrived on Aruba, her sister's friend who had told them she could stay with her had changed her mind. At that moment Martha felt as if all the doors in her life had closed. The first days on the island she stayed at the Bushiri hotel, afraid to leave her room because she was afraid to face reality. She spoke no English and could not understand Papiamentu.

Her sister's friend eventually got her a job as a live-in maid with a family from Venezuela. She didn't like the idea of living with strangers, but had no other choice. It was a nice house. She had her own bedroom and bathroom, and the family treated her very well. After four months she asked them to arrange her permit, because she did not want to remain illegally. They refused. She got angry and left. She was afraid to look for a job at a hotel or restaurant, because she thought she would have a bigger chance of getting caught by the immigration authorities. She did all sorts of jobs. She would go to strangers' houses and ask them if they needed someone to clean, iron clothes, 'chapi', just anything. She worked as a gardener, a construction worker, a maid, anything. These jobs lasted for a week, a day, a weekend or a month. 'Si es un trabajo decente, no me importa que trabajo es. Si me dicen que hay un chapi para hacer y yo digo con gusto'⁶³.

When she left the Venezuelan family, a friend told her about a cheap place where she could live. It was in a trailer. She moved there because she could not afford anything else. The rent was only two hundred guilders per month (about US\$ 115). The place had two big trailers each divided into ten rooms. There were two bathrooms for women and two for men. They all shared one kitchen. It was terrible. Tenants came from all over the place: Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Colombia. The bathrooms were in a terrible condition. This was the worst place she had ever stayed in her entire life. She had to stay there out of pure necessity. In vain she tried to explain to her mother that the cost of living was very high and that her life was not as easy as she thought. She used the money she received to pay for the trailer and food; the rest she sent to her children. Her plan was to save some money so she could fix her papers and try to get a permit. She didn't like being on the island illegally never knowing when she could be expelled. As she was not making enough money to save, she decided to take a chance and took up a job at a restaurant. She was happy with this job, because it paid eight hundred guilders per month (about US\$ 450). Besides working in the restaurant in the evening, she worked as a housemaid in the morning. Martha felt she was treated unfairly. She was never paid overtime and they refused to help her get her permit fixed. She never complained, because she knew she had no options.

A gentleman she met in the restaurant gave her an address of an Aruban broker who could help her with her permit. She paid the broker seven hundred florins to get her permit in order. The broker never did anything and kept her money.

At the house where she worked in the mornings she was treated well by the woman, but the husband never spoke to her. He would look at her in a scornful way. He was the only one who really discriminated her. She worked at the house when some Colombian criminals robbed the Aruba bank in Noord and killed one of the bank employees. She came to work that same day and the woman told her she was fired, as her husband didn't want her to work for them anymore. She was paid and when she was leaving through the backdoor the husband approached her and told her he never wanted to see her again because he did not want an 'accomplice' in his house. This was the worst thing anybody had ever said to Martha. She went home and cried for days.

⁶³ If it is decent work, I don't care what work it is. If they tell me to rake, I tell them 'with pleasure'.

She met her current husband in 2001, while working in the restaurant. At that time she had been living on the island as an illegal migrant for three years. She admits that at the beginning it wasn't love at first sight, not even attraction. He liked her and she saw an opportunity to get her permit. Things got better after her marriage. They moved to a decent apartment and she was able to bring her youngest child to the island. The child wasn't doing well in school and was giving her mother in Colombia a hard time. The first year the child came to Aruba it didn't do very well in school. The Dutch language was the main problem. The two other children stayed with her mother. Martha does not want to bring them to Aruba, because they are doing very well in school. If she brought them they would certainly be placed in a lower grade and lose some years.

Martha's big dream is to reunite with her children and own a nice house.

Martha's story tells us how she struggled to make a living on Aruba. In the end, after being hurt several times and after making some major compromises, she was able to obtain her legal status and to settle. To counterbalance her story, we will relate the case study of another migrant, Isabel. Her story is much more positive and without the negative experiences Martha had to go through. It is therefore also much shorter.

Isabel was born in Venezuela in 1971. She stopped school after sixth grade, because the financial situation of her mother did not allow her to continue. Her parents had divorced and her father did not pay any alimony. Her mother worked very hard, but could not earn enough to support herself and her two children. Therefore, Isabel decided to find work and help her mother. She worked as a housemaid with a rich family. At that time she was 13 years old. She gave all the money she earned to her mother. When her brother started working they would earn somewhat more and would be able to have a better life.

In 1997, she came to Aruba 'on holiday'. She had a friend from Venezuela who lived on Aruba. To pay for her living expenses on the island, she cleaned the house where she was staying. She saw how much better living conditions were on Aruba, compared to the situation in Venezuela. Salaries were good and life was much easier. She decided to come and live on Aruba. To avoid problems with immigration she went back after 3 months, and came back in January 1998. Again she stayed with her friend from Venezuela, and found a job as a live-in maid about a month later. She started working for a Dutch family. After three to four months she got her work and residence permit. The family were nice to her, she was always paid on time and she even got some extras during the season's holidays, when she went to visit her mother in Venezuela.

After one and a half years she left her job and started working in a fast-food restaurant, where she could earn more money. In the meantime, she had fallen in love with an Aruban and in 1999 they got married. Shortly after that she changed jobs again and started in another restaurant as a cashier. Her husband would like her to obtain the Dutch nationality. She doesn't care much about this, but wouldn't mind. She keeps close ties with her mother and her brothers. She sends money to her mother three or four times a year. Every year her mother comes to Aruba to visit her. Around New Year she visits her family in Venezuela. Right from the beginning she enjoyed living on Aruba and her life here. Her husband enjoys going to Venezuela. If the situation improves in Venezuela, they may decide to live there for some time.

Martha and Isabel are clearly at the opposite sides of the spectrum. Both have come from a difficult situation in their home country. One was almost forced into migration; the other liked the economic and living conditions on the island after a holiday. The fact that Martha found a job far below her educational capacities may have had an influence on her level of satisfaction. In her own words: 'Ellos te dicen que trabajo es mas suave aqui que en Colombia. Uno tiene que trabajar duro alla para conseguir dinero para mantenerse. Pero para mi era diferente. Yo tenia educacion. Yo no estaba acostumbrada de luchar asi.'⁶⁴ Even now she wishes she could work with children.

⁶⁴ 'They tell you work is more easy here than in Colombia. One has to work hard there to make enough money to live. For me it was different. I had an education. I was not used to struggle this way.'

Isabel did not have much education and was more than happy with her job in the fast food restaurant. Martha almost had to move heaven and earth to get a permit, while Isabel got her permit very easily. They both found a husband on Aruba, under quite different circumstances.

In the next pages we shall look at how migrants in the Aruba Migration and Integration Study coped during the initial period after arrival. In this way we can try to put Martha's and Isabel's stories in perspective.

The media pays a lot of attention to the arrival of illegal migrants by sea. Undoubtedly, indeed a number of migrants come in this way. However, our figures indicate that the vast majority come by plane: of the 679 MMAs who were interviewed, only three admitted that they came to the island by boat. All others flew in by airplane.

Finding a job

Migrants who come to Aruba to work try to start working as soon as possible. Table 3.22 shows that the majority of men (86.4 percent) from developed countries already had a job offer at the time of arrival in Aruba; 65.2 percent of women from developed countries knew where they could start work. The percentages of migrants who have a job offer are smaller for people from developing countries: 50.8 and 57.7 percent of migrant men and women respectively have a job offer at the time they arrive in Aruba.

Table 3.22. Percentage of MMAs who came to Aruba to work by whether they had a job offer when they came to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex

	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		Total	No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Had a job offer	86.4	65.2	50.8	57.7	57.9	264
Did not have a job offer	13.6	34.8	49.2	42.3	42.1	192

Source: AMIS 2003.

Overall, 57.9 percent of migrants had a job offer when they arrived on the island. This means that 42.1 percent of all migrants simply enter the island as tourists and start their search for a job after arrival.

More than half of all migrants who had a job offer when they arrived on Aruba obtained this offer through relatives or friends already on the island. The figures in table 3.23 again show the large difference between migrants from developed and developing countries. Both for men and women from developed countries getting a job via relatives or friends is only the third most important way. Among women from developed countries only 6.7 percent got a job via relatives or friends. By comparison, 68.1 percent of women from developing countries relied on relatives and friends to find work. Migrants from developed countries rely much more on direct contact with the employer. They either contact the employer directly for work (34.2 percent of men; 60.0 percent of women) or are contacted by the employer (26.3 percent of men; 26.7 percent of women). In many countries job recruitment agencies play a major role on the job market for migrants. On page 63 we discussed Rao's migration to Aruba. He found a job on Aruba through a recruitment agency in India. Table 3.23 shows clearly that his way of finding a job was more of an exception, certainly not the rule. Fewer than 3 percent of migrants find a job via a recruitment agency. Our data show that migrants who got higher level jobs mostly had direct contact with the employer. Migrants who found jobs as unskilled laborers relied primarily on informal contacts such as friends and relatives. In some parts of the world (i.e. the Middle East) current migrants often charge prospective migrants considerable amounts of money to find a job for them. This is not the case in Aruba: only three of the 264 migrants who came to Aruba with a job offer had had to pay some money.

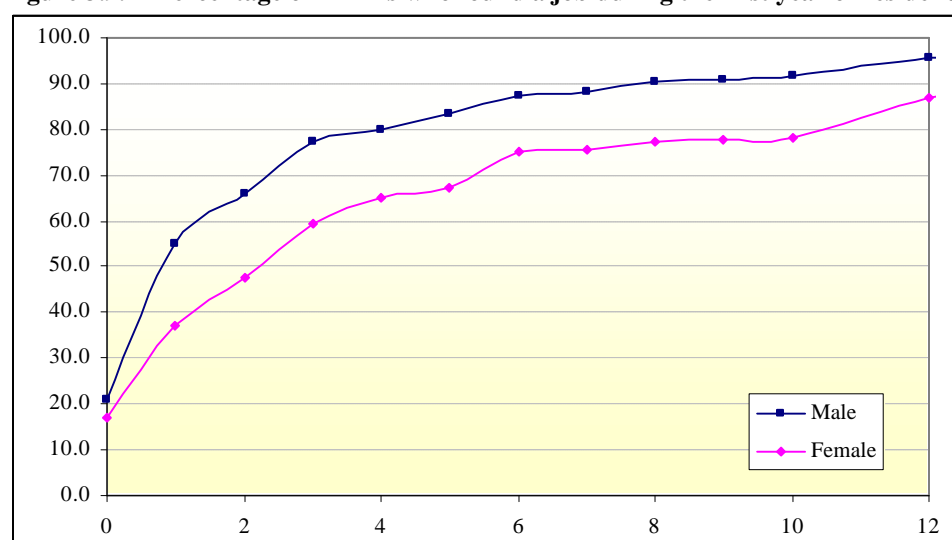
Table 3.23. Percentage of MMAs who had a job offer before they came to Aruba by way they got job offer, sex and type of country of birth

	Developed country		Developing country			No.
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	of cases
Through friends/relatives in Aruba	18.4	6.7	56.1	68.1	53.0	140
Through recruitment agency	5.3	0.0	2.0	1.8	2.3	6
Applied directly to employer	34.2	60.0	9.2	12.4	17.0	45
Was contacted by employer	26.3	26.7	26.5	15.9	22.0	58
Other, specify:	15.8	6.7	6.1	1.8	5.7	15
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	264

Source: AMIS 2003.

People who came to Aruba to work - or did not come to work but eventually started working - without having a job offer have a much more vulnerable position. Figure 3.9 illustrates the distribution of time it takes for male and female migrants to find a job. No distinction was made between migrants from developed and developing countries because too few migrants from developed countries came without a job. To give a more detailed picture we restricted the figure to the first year after arrival on the island. For those who came to Aruba without a job offer, 4.2 percent of men and 13.2 percent of women had not found a steady job after one year.

Figure 3.9. Percentage of MMAs who found a job during the first year of residence on Aruba, by sex



Source: AMIS 2003.

Most migrants found a job fairly quickly after arriving on the island. In their first month on the island, 20.8 percent of men and 16.9 percent of women had found a job. After two months, these percentages are respectively 54.9 and 37.0. Figure 3.9 shows clearly that women seem to have more problems finding work than men. After six months on the island, 16.7 percent of men and 32.8 of women who came to work without a job offer were still looking. By that time they had long exceeded the maximum duration of three months a tourist may stay on the island.

Table 3.24 shows how migrants who came to Aruba without a job offer found their first employment. The group of migrants who did not have a job offer when they came to the island consists primarily of persons from developing countries. Out of the 331 MMAs in our survey who did not have a job offer when they came, only 23 came from a developed country. Therefore no distinction was made according to type of country of birth. Those who came without a job offer also rely mostly on contacts with employers through relatives and friends; 61.6 percent of men and women find their first employment through this channel. Practically all other job seekers find employment through direct contact with the employer.

Table 3.24. Percentage of MMAs who did not have a job offer before they came to Aruba by way they got a job offer, sex and type of country of birth

	Male	Female	Total	No. of cases
Through friends/relatives in Aruba	56.6	65.6	61.6	204
Through recruitment agency	1.4	1.6	1.5	5
Applied directly to employer	35.9	26.9	30.8	102
Was contacted by employer	2.8	2.7	2.7	9
Other, specify:	3.4	3.2	3.3	11
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	331

Source: AMIS 2003.

Many migrants are not picky when it comes to their first job, as they see it only as a way to settle on the island. They hope that afterwards they will have the opportunity to improve their position. Among all MMAs only 11.5 percent reported that they were still doing the same job they did when they came to the island. All others had moved on to other positions. The next chapter, on economic characteristics of migration to Aruba, looks more deeply into job mobility of migrants.

Residence permits

As soon as a migrant is on the island the race for permits begins. To be able to work, a migrant has to have a valid work permit; to stay on the island he needs a residence permit and he has to register with the Population Registry. To look into how long it takes to obtain a residence permit we did a life table analysis; the results are shown in table 3.25.

The columns in the life table are the following:

Got permit: the number of persons who got a permit after x number of months on the island.

In progress: number of migrants who have been on the island for x number of months who indicated their application for a residence permit was still 'in progress'.

Pop(x) the number of migrants in the study after exact x months who did not yet have a residence permit.

q(x) the probability of obtaining a permit in month x

l(x) the number of persons in the life table who -given the month specific probability of obtaining a permit- have not got a permit at exact age x. We start with an initial life table population of 1000 at exact month 0.

L(x) the total number of months on the island of the migrant population in the study between month x and x+1, without residence permit.

T(x) the total 'after lifetime'. T(x) is the total number of person months lived on the island without a residence permit.

e(x) the expectation of number of months without residence permit after month x.

We limited the life table analysis to 36 months after arrival on the island. Thirty-three migrants who had lived on the island for longer than three years had not obtained a permit at that moment. Out of this group, 14 indicated they had obtained a permit after three years and the applications of 19 others were still 'in progress'. We did not distinguish between the sexes or between types of country of birth because our number of cases was rather limited. Migrants who indicated they did not need a residence permit (38) were not included in the analysis.

Figure 3.10 shows the l(x) function of the life table. The figure indicates for each month how many migrants out of 1,000 still do not have a residence permit after x months and shows some interesting features. Normally, migrants have to secure a job from abroad and wait until their permits are ready before entering the country. When they arrive on the island they can pick up their papers. Therefore, one would expect that the majority of migrants obtain their permit during the first month on the island. Our life table analysis shows that –among all migrants who need a permit- only about 15 percent got their residence permit in their first month on Aruba. After two months on the island one in four migrants had obtained a permit. Between the sixth and seventh month of residence on the island, 50

percent have the necessary papers. After twelve months, some 36 percent of migrants have yet to receive their permits, after 24 months 16 percent and after 36 months, 8 percent still have no permits. Migrants who come to Aruba, and obtain their permits during the first three years have to wait on average 10.2 months. The $e(x)$ values in the life table indicate how many months a migrant has to wait for a permit, if he/she is still without a permit at the beginning of the month. It is interesting to see that the value of $e(x)$ does not decrease over time as one would expect. Migrants who have been without a permit for 20 months still have to wait on average 10.5 months before obtaining their papers. This indicates that it is not easy for an undocumented migrant who was been on the island for an extended period of time to regularize his position.

Table 3.25. Life table analysis: number of months to obtain a residence permit

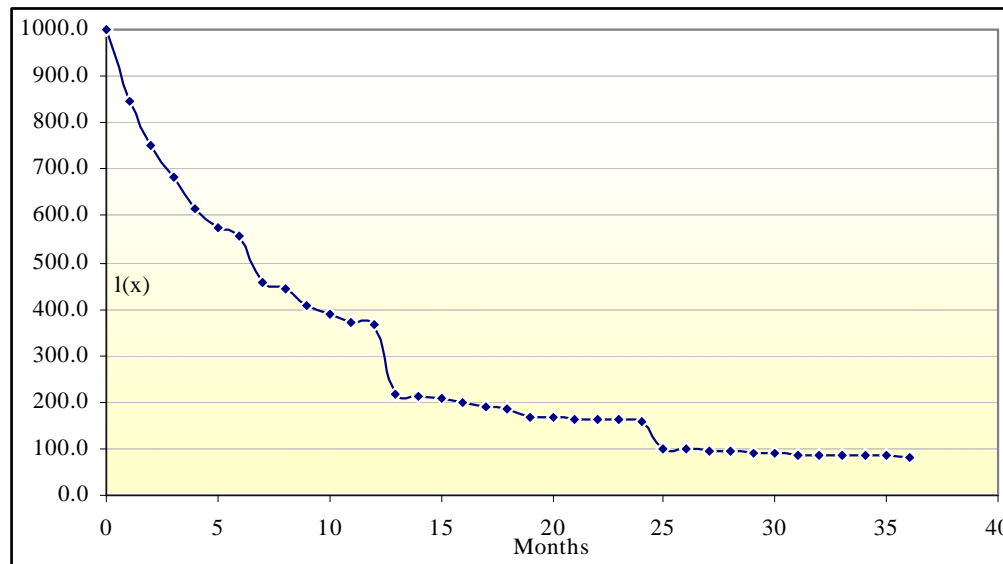
Months	Got permit	In progress	Pop(x)	q(x)	l(x)	L(x)	T(x)	e(x)
0	94	1	614	0.153	1000.0	923.3	10184.2	10.2
1	59	3	519	0.114	846.7	798.4	9260.9	10.9
2	42	3	457	0.092	750.2	715.7	8462.4	11.3
3	41	2	412	0.100	681.1	647.1	7746.7	11.4
4	23	5	369	0.063	613.2	594.0	7099.6	11.6
5	12	1	341	0.035	574.9	564.7	6505.6	11.3
6	57	5	328	0.174	554.6	506.2	5940.9	10.7
7	9	0	266	0.034	457.9	450.1	5434.6	11.9
8	21	2	257	0.082	442.3	424.2	4984.5	11.3
9	11	4	234	0.047	406.1	396.5	4560.3	11.2
10	8	2	219	0.037	386.9	379.8	4163.8	10.8
11	4	0	209	0.019	372.7	369.1	3784.1	10.2
12	83	0	205	0.407	365.5	291.2	3414.9	9.3
13	3	0	122	0.025	216.8	214.1	3123.8	14.4
14	3	5	119	0.025	211.4	208.7	2909.7	13.8
15	4	2	111	0.036	206.1	202.3	2700.9	13.1
16	5	1	105	0.048	198.6	193.8	2498.6	12.6
17	2	2	99	0.020	189.0	187.1	2304.8	12.2
18	8	0	95	0.085	185.2	177.3	2117.7	11.4
19	0	1	87	0.000	169.4	169.4	1940.5	11.5
20	3	1	86	0.035	169.4	166.4	1771.1	10.5
21	1	3	82	0.012	163.4	162.4	1604.6	9.8
22	0	4	78	0.000	161.4	161.4	1442.2	8.9
23	1	1	74	0.014	161.4	160.3	1280.8	7.9
24	27	0	72	0.380	159.2	128.9	1120.5	7.0
25	0	0	45	0.000	98.7	98.7	991.6	10.1
26	1	0	45	0.023	98.7	97.5	893.0	9.1
27	0	0	44	0.000	96.4	96.4	795.4	8.3
28	2	1	44	0.047	96.4	94.2	699.0	7.3
29	1	1	41	0.025	91.9	90.8	604.8	6.6
30	1	0	39	0.026	89.6	88.5	514.1	5.7
31	0	0	38	0.000	87.3	87.3	425.6	4.9
32	1	2	38	0.027	87.3	86.1	338.3	3.9
33	0	0	35	0.000	84.9	84.9	252.2	3.0
34	0	0	35	0.000	84.9	84.9	167.3	2.0
35	2	1	35	0.059	84.9	82.4	82.4	1.0
36	18	0	32	0.581	79.9	0.0	0	0.0
36+	14	19						

Source: AMIS 2003.

Migrants will go to almost any lengths to obtain a residence permit. In our case study we even saw that obtaining a residence permit was a serious reason for Martha to marry her husband. The topic of ‘marriages of convenience’ is a regular news item. There is no doubt that such marriages indeed occasionally take place on Aruba. These may be actual fake marriages in which the partners marry and

go their separate ways immediately, or they can be marriages de raison in which the partners stay together because of the mutual practicality. Martha is a clear example of the latter (see page 69). On page 53 we discussed the migration story of Joyce, who is living with a man from Jamaica, but married to an Aruban. During the interview Joyce indicated that she married her Aruban husband because it was very hard to find someone who would ‘sign for her’, because she says, she has a child and this person would have to be responsible for the medical bills for her and her child. She dated her husband for a year, but left him because of his drug addiction.

Figure 3.10. Number of migrants in the life table analysis who did not obtain a residence permit at month x



Source: AMIS 2003.

Not having a permit causes stress and anxiety for many migrants. *Joyce* was on the island illegally for about five years. She said she was very afraid of being caught by the immigration department. ‘There were many times I hid from them under the bed, in the closet etc..’ She said it was a sacrifice she had to make for her children.

One female migrant from Peru put it this way:

*‘Ora mi no tin papel, mi tin miedo di cana den caya pasobra bo sa tin hopi hende cu ta haci razzia. Mi no ta cana tranquil den caya, ningun caminda’*⁶⁵

For many migrants, obtaining a permit depends on the willingness of the employer to take action. However, not all employers are enthusiastic about formalizing the migrant’s legal status. Having an illegal worker has some advantages, such as not having to pay social contributions, health insurance and tax; also these workers can never complain to the Labor Department or to other organizations about unfair treatment or underpayment. When they are ill or cause other ‘problems’ they can easily be fired as there is no work contract. Moreover, one phone call to the immigration office can lead to the removal of a bothersome worker.

Obtaining a work and residence permit for oneself or for an employee is a time-consuming and tedious operation. A number of migrants voiced their frustration about their difficulties obtaining a permit. The main complaint is that they have to wait such a long time and that their papers sometimes get lost. Once the papers are lost, the process has to start all over again. Below are a few quotations from some of our respondents about their problems obtaining a permit:

‘Yo tengo una problema. A mí me tienen el permiso trancado en el DOOV⁶⁶ mucho tiempo y no sé por que motivo y siempre voy me dicen que esta en proceso y no sale. ... Voy cada ocho días y me dicen

⁶⁵ If I don’t have my papers I am afraid to go out in the street because there are many people who do round-ups. I am not at ease in the street, or anywhere.

que el permiso esta en proceso, que esta en proceso y nunca sale.’ (Male migrant, Dominican Republic, works as a body man in a garage).⁶⁷

‘Yo tengo un papel donde dicen que el permiso ya esta pagado. Bueno, primero es el rollo del permiso, no... El hacer los tramites del permiso. Estamos hablando de meses, meses. Voy a ajustar el ano. Yo tengo en este momento un papel donde dice que me permiso ya fue pagado, no mas.’ (Female migrant, Colombia, 50 years, housewife).⁶⁸

‘Si a mí me preguntan que es lo único que a ti e parece que debe mejorar en Aruba, yo te diría que ESO (inmigración). Porque se quejan de que hay mucho ilegales, pero el que viene a trabajar y quiere hacer las cosas bien, te ponen las mil y una trabas. Es impresionante’.⁶⁹ (Male migrant, 38 years, Venezuela, works in restaurant). This migrant says he has problems with his wife’s papers. Papers are with the immigration office for about a year. Now they do not want to give his wife her permit because one of the papers (certificate of good conduct) is no longer valid. She has to get a new certificate from Venezuela. When they were submitted the documents were up to date; but because it took so long, they became outdated.

Other migrants have better experiences:

‘Nos bai na DOOV, dia 22 di juli mi ta kere. Nos tabatin afspraak. Nos a bai. Despues ora nos a yega ayanan ah E hendenan, e persona encarga a papia cu mi hefenan. Nan a bisa falta esaki, falta esaki. E papelnan no tabata aya ainda. Despues nan a pone otro sita pa nos y a lleva tur e papelnan, drecha nan. Despues den seis siman e permiso tabata cla.’ (Female migrant, Dominican Republic, 39 years, domestic servant).⁷⁰

To facilitate the process of obtaining permits, migrants and their employers often rely on brokers to provide assistance. These are private persons who have - or claim to have - the experience and contacts to handle the paperwork without delay. We have no information about how many employers make use of brokers to handle the paperwork, but we do have some information about their use by individual migrants. In our survey, 14.6 percent of migrants said they paid a broker to help arrange their permits. Amounts varied from Afl. 25 (US\$ 15) to Afl. 5,000 (US\$ 2,825). Migrants who made use of brokers paid on average Afl. 1,120. Migrants from developing countries rely more on help from intermediates than those from developed countries; 16.3 percent and 5 percent respectively. Slightly more men than women seek help (16.3 against 13.3 percent).

Dealing with an intermediate to arrange a permit may involve some risk. *Martha* lost seven hundred florins to a broker, who did not help her. In our case studies, two other migrants indicated they were duped by brokers. The lady from Peru from the previous page mentioned:

‘Nos a bay cerca un hende pa traha permiso, pero ya e hende a keda cu nos placa, di mi y mi casa’⁷¹. She had paid an Aruban broker Afl. 1,300 to get a permit. After a while the broker told them not to bother him again, otherwise he would call the immigration department.

⁶⁶ Some migrants use the term DOOV (*Directie Openbare Orde en Veiligheid*), others use the new name of the office responsible for issuing permits, DINA (*Directie Immigratie en Naturalisatie Aruba*).

⁶⁷ I have a problem. My permit is stuck at DOOV for a long time and I don’t know why, and always when I go they tell me it is being processed but it is never ready.... I go every eight days and they tell me that it is being processed but is never ready.

⁶⁸ I have a paper in which they say that my permit is already paid. OK, first there is the crap about the permit. Going through all the red tape to get the permit. We are talking about months and months. I am going to adjust the year. At this moment I have a paper which says that I have paid for the permit, nothing more.

⁶⁹ If they asked me what is the one thing that has to be improved on Aruba, this is it (immigration office). They complain that there are many illegal migrants, but for the ones who come and who want to work and want to do things right, they put a thousand and one obstacles in their way.

⁷⁰ We went to DOOV the on 22f July, I believe. We had an appointment. We went. When we got there, ah ... so many people. They told us, you don’t have this, you don’t have that. The papers were not there yet. Then they made another appointment. They took all the papers and put things right. In six weeks the permit was ready.

⁷¹ We went to see a person to have our permit made, but the person has kept our money, mine and my husband’s.

A Haitian migrant who came in 1996 and who is currently working as a cook had the following experience.

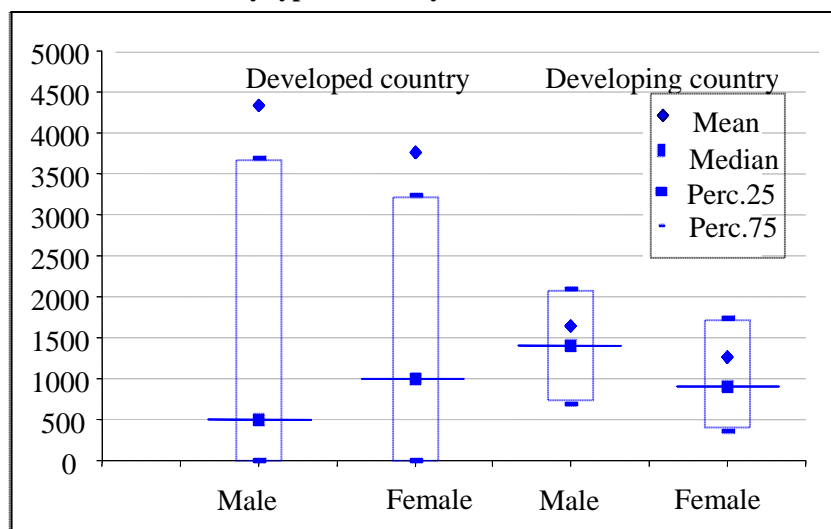
It was very hard to get permits. He paid several people to take care of his permits, among others a person from Colombia and a man from Guyana. They both cheated him. Until today he has not got his money back. He leaves the thing alone now, as he knows it is pointless. He said that in his position as an illegal migrant, a foreigner and a 'Haitiano' one has to be patient and wait until you are being helped. In the end, the owner of the machine shop where he was working at that time took steps to get his permit.

Financial aspects of moving

Many migrants pay considerable amounts of money to come to Aruba. During the interviews the MMAs were asked how much money they had paid to get themselves to Aruba. This amount included tickets, preparation costs, paperwork, fees, departure tax and medical tests. Table 3.25 shows some measures of central tendency and dispersion of money spent. Some interesting differences emerge between migrants from developed and developing countries in terms of the amount of money spent to come to Aruba. A much higher percentage of migrants from developed countries do not make any expenses (30.6 percent). Among migrants from developing countries 14.2 percent did not spend any money. Many migrants from developed countries come for high-skilled, well-paid jobs in education, health care, public administration or the tourist business. For many of these jobs all costs for travel and installation are provided by the employer. Migrants who come on their own to find a job as a menial worker have to cover their own costs.

On average, men spend more money than women to come to Aruba. The large difference between the median and the mean amount spent indicates that the small group of migrants who pay a lot to come to Aruba increases the overall mean. Men from developed countries pay on average Afl. 4,329 for themselves to come to Aruba; women from developed countries spend about Afl. 560 less. It is interesting to see that the 75 percentile is smaller than the mean for both groups. This small group raises the overall mean costs. A median of Afl. 500, for men from developed countries, means that 50 percent of all migrant men from developed countries who come to Aruba spend less than Afl. 500. The corresponding figure for women from developed countries is Afl. 1,000. The mean amount spent by migrants from developing nations is much less; Afl. 1,651 for men and Afl. 1,267 for women. Figure 3.11 shows clearly that the dispersion within the group of migrants from developing countries is much smaller than for the group of migrants from developed countries. As we saw, more than just a few migrants from developed countries do not have to pay anything to come to Aruba, while some others spend large amounts of money.

Figure 3.11. Measures of central tendency and dispersion for costs made by MMAs (in Afl.) to come to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex



Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 3.26. Measures of central tendency and dispersion for costs made by MMAs to come to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex

		Mean	Median	Perc.25	Perc. 75
Nat. of developed country	Male	4328.9	500	0	3687.5
	Female	3768.2	1000	0	3250.0
Nat. of developing country	Male	1650.6	1400	700	2100.0
	Female	1266.8	900	350	1750.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

4 ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF MIGRATION

Economic, demographic and political developments, combined with the mounting concern about future labor supply have renewed the attention of Aruban policy makers for labor migration issues. A good economic climate and years of economic growth have led to high levels of employment, high female labor participation and low unemployment.

Aruba's economy grew rapidly in the nineties: between 1991 and 2000, it grew at real rates of 8.0 to 8.2 percent⁷². Despite an unemployment rate of 6.2 percent in 1991, signs of labor shortages were soon noted in the various sectors. Demand was highest in the construction and the hotel and restaurant sectors, with numerous vacancies for low-skilled personnel. The local labor market was unable to provide a sufficient number of workers to fill all existing vacancies, and as they found it harder to recruit, employers started to become seriously concerned about the availability of domestic labor. The ensuing call for immigrant labor was also heard by policy makers. The messages of a labor shortage led them to ease the very restrictive admission policy for foreign laborers, introduced at the beginning of the nineties.

4.1. LABOR SHORTAGES AND THE NEED FOR IMMIGRANTS

The tension on the labor market was reduced by the admission of several thousands of foreign workers. The total number of employed persons rose by an impressive 43 percent in a timelapse of 9 years. In 1991, the number of employed persons totaled 29,220. The last Census (2000) revealed that almost 42,000 persons had a job.

Table 4.1. Key employment indicators by type of country of birth, 1991 and 2000

	Type of country of birth							
	Aruba		Developed		Developing		Total	
	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000
Activity rate (% population aged 15-65)	45.0	43.9	40.5	45.6	55.1	66.3	46.0	49.2
Employment rate (% population aged 15-64)	62.1	62.3	59.6	65.5	68.0	72.8	62.8	65.5
Unemployment rate (% population aged 15-64)	6.3	7.0	5.0	4.7	5.8	7.6	6.1	7.0
Youth unemployment rate (% labor force 15-24)	12.5	16.1	10.9	11.9	10.1	17.7	12.0	16.3
Average number of hours worked per week	42.6	41.9	44.1	43.2	45.3	44.5	43.2	43.1
Self employed (% total employment)	6.4	9.5	13.6	15.7	6.9	7.6	7.1	9.5
Average monthly gross salary	1,719	2,597	2,528	3,693	1,160	1,556	1,677	2,346
Average age of the employed persons	36.4	40.6	41.0	40.3	37.6	38.5	37.0	40.0
Total employed (absolute)	21,397	24,469	2,449	3,694	4,952	13,230	28,799	41,395
Total unemployed (absolute)	1,431	1,839	130	183	306	1,087	1,867	3,102
Total inactive (absolute)	11,620	12,951	1,533	1,759	2,020	1,759	15,173	18,736
Total population aged 15-64	34,448	39,258	4,112	5,635	7,278	18,163	45,838	63,233
Total population	50,777	59,886	6,361	8,503	9,549	21,601	66,687	90,506

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

The new jobs created by Aruba's growing economy were increasingly filled by foreign workers. In the last nine years, approximately 12,700 jobs were added to the labor force. Natives represented only a small share of this labor market growth: 10.8 percent. The rest of the growth (32.6 percent) can be attributed to new immigrants.

⁷² Jorge R. Ridderstaat (2002), Aruba: Causes and effects of excessive immigration, *Centrale Bank van Aruba*.

Between 1991 and 2000 the number of employed immigrants increased by 124.5 percent, compared with a mere 14.7 percent for natives. Immigrants increased their share of the labor force from 26 percent in 1991 to 41 percent in 2000. Moreover, despite the fact that the economy failed to grow during the latest recession, immigrants continued to seek employment on Aruba. Immigrants are still Aruba's primary source of new labor.

Demographic developments on Aruba have resulted in an aging workforce and ultimately will lead to a declining local working age population. The possibility that these developments will also result in labor shortages adds an extra dimension to current discussions on the need for immigrants. In some occupations the increasing number of retiring persons will lead to a demand that may be hard to fill with domestic workers. In addition to the aging of the labor force, demographic irregularities will cause an impressive decline in the number of active persons in the age category 30-49 as early as 2015⁷³. For some occupations this will eventually lead to a shortage of local labor.

Policy makers and politicians have various instruments at their disposal to react to potential labor shortages: increasing participation rates, postponing retirement ages, stimulating the labor market participation of women. Facilitating selective employment-related immigration policies is another means to relieve tension on the labor market.

Considering the political sensitivity of raising the present retirement age of 60 years and the marginal gain that can be booked by increasing the already very high participation rates, one may conclude that no single instrument in itself can encompass the complete solution. However, faced with the unavoidable need to meet the changing demand for workers with specific skills in certain sectors and certain occupations, policy makers may eventually be forced to evaluate the possibility of increasing labor market access for immigrant workers with certain skills. The advantages and limits of selective labor immigration will have to be taken into consideration.

The small-scale of the Aruban economy, its dependency on global economic trends and the uncertainty of future investments in the country all make it almost impossible to come up with reliable estimates of future labor demands and potential labor shortages. However, analyzing changes and growth rates of important characteristics of the economy will give us more than just a glimpse of the role immigrants have played in recent economic developments. This is probably the best way to assess the role of migration in addressing future labor market needs.

Immigrants' disproportionate contribution to the growth of the labor force

One of the most fundamental characteristics of Aruba's economy is the type of industrial activity. This is defined in terms of the economic activity executed by establishments⁷⁴. The foreign-born population makes an important contribution to economic activity on Aruba. At the moment of the most recent Census, no fewer than 17,009 (41 percent) out of a total 41,600 employed persons were foreign-born. Roughly three-quarters of this foreign labor force were born in developing countries, one quarter in developed countries.

Table 4.2 presents more details about the economic activities of the employed labor force. This table shows the differences in economic activity of employed persons between 1991 and 2000 and the growing importance of certain economic sectors. It also provides information about the number of Aruban and foreign-born employees in each sector. The dynamism of these sectors can be traced at a more disaggregated level by incorporating a new variable: type of country of birth. For analytical purposes, we again divide the employed population into persons born on Aruba, those born in developed countries and those born in developing countries. This enables us to highlight developments for the local population.

⁷³ Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (2003), Current Developments of Aruba's Labor Market. Oranjestad, May 2003, p. 136.

⁷⁴ The responses in the Censuses were numerically coded using the International Standard Industrial Classification of Economic Activities, revision -3 (ILO, ISIC-88).

Table 4.2. Employed population by major branch of industry and type of country of birth, 1991 and 2000

Major branch of Industry	Type of country of birth							
	Aruba		Developed		Developing		Total	
	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000
Agriculture, hunting and forestry, fishing	106	91	14	12	34	109	154	212
Mining and quarrying	19	20	0	4	0	14	19	39
Manufacturing	1,173	1,467	145	233	331	739	1,649	2,439
Electricity, gas and water supply	420	467	16	19	9	15	445	501
Construction	2,321	1,714	268	264	619	1,916	3,208	3,893
Wholesale and retail trade, repair	3,813	4,471	418	562	645	2,079	4,876	7,112
Hotels and restaurants	3,541	3,215	477	574	1,625	3,862	5,643	7,651
Transport, storage and communications	1,962	2,428	182	225	131	252	2,275	2,905
Financial intermediation	983	1,256	97	137	55	92	1,135	1,485
Real estate, renting and business activities	839	2,156	130	413	124	1,155	1,093	3,723
Public administration;defence;social security	2,130	3,028	139	407	51	92	2,320	3,528
Education	843	927	170	331	88	173	1,101	1,431
Health and social work	1,161	1,478	136	246	88	263	1,385	1,987
Other community, social and personal services	1,188	1,801	145	300	186	675	1,519	2,776
Private households with employed persons	76	58	9	8	888	1,801	973	1,872
Extra territorial organizations and bodies	126	7	83	25	38	13	247	45
Not reported	43		5		6		54	
Total	20,744	24,584	2,434	3,759	4,918	13,250	28,096	41,600

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

The sector 'hotels and restaurants' is still the most sizeable of Aruba's economy: its workforce increased by more than 2,000 between 1991 and 2000. Its share in total employment fell from 20.1 to 18.4 percent. The share of the construction sector in total employment also dropped (by 2.1 percent points). This is a clear indication that the driving force behind construction, namely the construction of hotels, is weakening. The more than 3,180 new hotel and timeshare rooms that were constructed between 1991 and 2000 caused a shift within the major industrial branches. The huge influx of immigrants propelled the demand for housing. As a result, the sector 'real estate, renting and business activities' (including among other things buying, selling, renting and operating of self-owned or leased real estate such as apartment buildings and dwellings, but also renting of transport equipment) increased enormously. Its share in total employment grew by 5.1 percent points, from 3.9 percent to 9.0 percent.

In 2000, about 60 percent of all persons born in developing countries were either working in the sector 'hotels and restaurants' (3,862), 'wholesale and retail trade, repair' (2,079) or the sector 'construction' (1,916). The distribution of foreigners from developing countries over the industrial branches displays only slight changes between 1991 and 2000.

The branches 'wholesale and retail trade, repair' and 'hotels and restaurants' are also the main providers of work for those born in developed countries. One in three persons from developed countries is economically active in these sectors. The sector 'real estate, renting and business activities' doubled its share, from 5.3 to 11.0 percent, functioning as one of the upcoming driving forces behind economic growth for persons from developed countries.

Table 4.3 shows the sectors performing best in terms of employment in the decade concerned. This table presents net employment creation between 1991 and 2000 for the various branches of industry. To identify the best performing sectors, the table also shows the share in net employment creation.

Once again the service sector⁷⁵ proved to be the most dynamic sector for employment. Excluding the 'extra territorial organizations and bodies' the service sector grew by 12,150 jobs. Within the sector, the highest average growth rate was in the branch 'real estate, renting and business activities'. This branch demonstrated an unprecedented growth of 2,630 jobs, (241 percent), and on its own accounted for one fifth of net employment creation. The next best performing branch 'wholesale and retail trade, repair' strengthened its position by creating 2,236 new jobs. The traditionally most sizable and important branch 'hotels and restaurants' employed 2,008 more employees in 2000 than in 1991.

These three service branches together have been responsible for a net employment gain of 6,874 jobs, about 51 percent of the total net increase.

Table 4.3. Net employment creation between 1991 and 2000 by major branch of industry (absolute and relative figures)

Major branch of Industry	Net employment creation	Growth rate change)	(% Share in net employment creation (%))
Agriculture, hunting and forestry, fishing	58	37.7	0.4
Mining and quarrying	20	104.5	0.1
Manufacturing	790	47.9	5.9
Electricity, gas and water supply	56	12.6	0.4
Construction	685	21.4	5.1
Wholesale and retail trade, repair	2,236	45.9	16.6
Hotels and restaurants	2,008	35.6	14.9
Transport, storage and communications	630	27.7	4.7
Financial intermediation	350	30.8	2.6
Real estate, renting and business activities	2,630	240.6	19.5
Public administration and defence; social security	1,208	52.1	8.9
Education	330	30.0	2.4
Health and social work	602	43.4	4.5
Other community, social and personal services	1,257	82.8	9.3
Private households with employed persons	899	92.4	6.7
Extra territorial organizations and bodies	-202	-81.7	-1.5
Not reported	-54	-100.0	-0.4
Total	13,504	48.1	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

There was also an increase in the number of people employed in industry⁷⁶ (1,551 jobs), most significantly in the manufacturing sector. With a net creation of 790 jobs, this sector is responsible for 5.9 percent of total employment growth. The growth of employment in industry more than compensated for the loss of 202 jobs in extra territorial organizations and bodies.

⁷⁵ The service sector consists of the following branches: Wholesale and retail trade, repair; Hotels and restaurants; Transport, storage and communications; Financial intermediation; Real estate, renting and business activities; Public administration and defense; social security; Education; Health and social work; Other community, social and personal services; Private households with employed persons.

⁷⁶ Mining and quarrying, Manufacturing, Electricity, gas and water supply, Construction.

Although almost all branches of industry employed more people in 2000 than they did in 1991, an entirely different picture emerges when we divide the employees into the country-of-birth groups: Aruba, developing countries or developed countries.

For persons born in Aruba, there was a sizeable reduction in employment in 'construction' and 'hotels and restaurants'. The number of Arubans in construction diminished from 2,321 to 1,714, a reduction of 26 percent. More remarkably, the number of people born in Aruba working in the main pillar of the economy, the 'hotels and restaurants' sector also fell. Although the number of hotel rooms increased from 5,581 in 1991 to 6,546 in 2000, the number of local employees in this sector decreased from 3,541 to 3,215 in the same period, a fall of 9 percent. This means that the percentage of the Aruban labor force working in the tourist sector dropped from 17 to 13 percent.

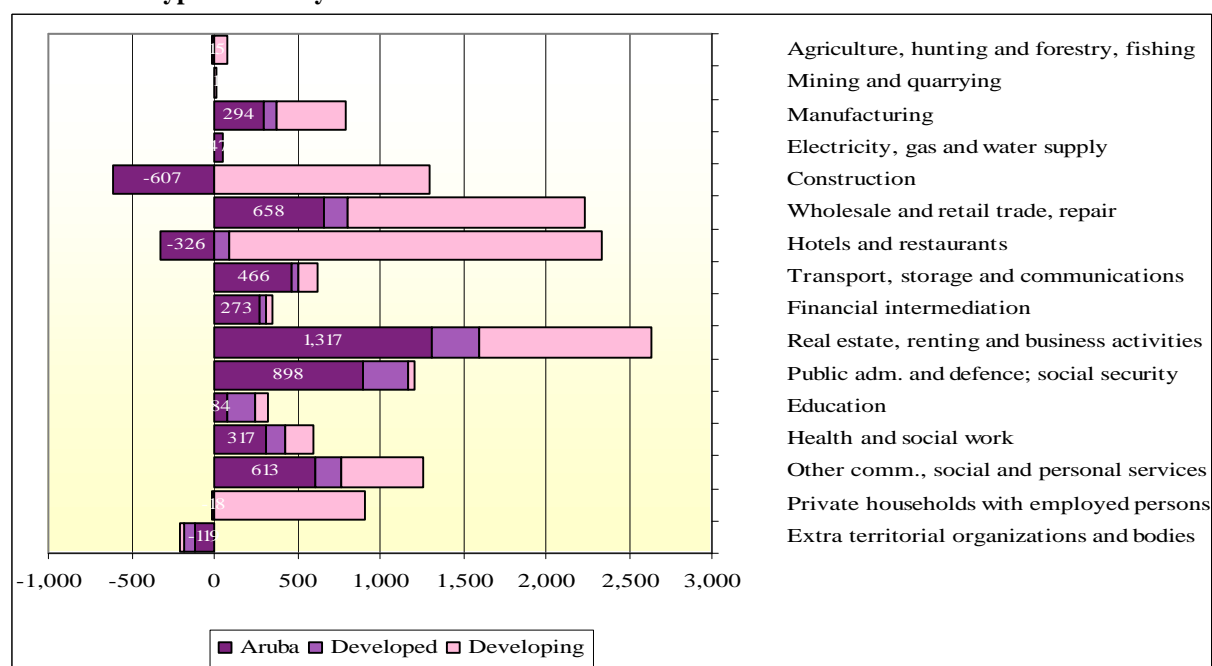
This reduction, however, is more than compensated by the increase in employees from developing countries who have filled the vacancies in these sectors. However, in spite of the fact that the number of employees from developing countries in hotels and restaurants increased by 2,237 between 1991 and 2000, the share of the hotel and restaurant sector in the overall labor market dropped from 33 to 29.1 percent. In 2000, 15.7 percent of all immigrants from developing countries were active in 'wholesale and retail trade', 14.5 percent in 'construction' and 13.6 percent in 'private households with employed persons'.

On the other hand, the increase in employment for immigrants from developed countries was predominantly in the sectors 'real estate, renting and business activities' and 'public administration and defense; social security'. The growth rates were respectively 217 percent and 193 percent, increasing their overall share from 11.1 percent to 21.8 percent of the total labor market.

Table 4.4. Growth of the employed population between 1991 and 2000 by major branch of industry and type of country of birth, 1991 (absolute and relative figures)

Major branch of Industry	Type of country of birth							
	Aruba		Developed		Developing		Total	
	Absolute	%	Absolute	%	Absolute	%	Absolute	%
Agriculture, hunting and forestry, fishing	-15	-13.8	-2	-17.5	75	221.2	58	38.0
Mining and quarrying	1	5.0	4		14		20	104.5
Manufacturing	294	25.1	88	60.8	408	123.3	790	47.9
Electricity, gas and water supply	47	11.3	3	18.1	6	63.3	56	12.6
Construction	-607	-26.2	-4	-1.7	1,297	209.6	685	21.4
Wholesale and retail trade, repair	658	17.3	144	34.4	1,434	222.3	2,236	45.9
Hotels and restaurants	-326	-9.2	97	20.4	2,237	137.7	2,008	35.6
Transport, storage and communications	466	23.7	43	23.5	121	92.4	630	27.7
Financial intermediation	273	27.8	40	40.7	37	68.0	350	30.8
Real estate, renting and business activities	1,317	156.9	283	217.4	1,031	831.5	2,630	240.6
Public adm. and defence; social security	898	42.2	268	193.1	41	81.2	1,208	52.1
Education	84	10.0	161	94.6	85	96.9	330	30.0
Health and social work	317	27.3	110	80.7	175	198.3	602	43.4
Other comm., social and personal services	613	51.6	155	107.1	489	263.0	1,257	82.8
Private households with employed persons	-18	-24.0	-1	-6.7	913	102.8	899	92.4
Extra territorial organizations and bodies	-119	-94.2	-58	-69.6	-25	-66.8	-202	-81.7
Not reported	-43	-100.0	-5	-100.0	-6	-100.0	-54	-100.0
Total	3,840	18.5	1,325	54.4	8,332	169.4	13,504	48.1

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Figure 4.1. Growth of the employed population between 1991 and 2000 by major branch of industry and type of country of birth

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Table 4.5 gives an overview of the changes that took place in the hotel sector in the period 1991-2000. In this table, absolute growth figures have been converted to relative figures. According to the figures, of every 100 jobs created in the hotel sector, 11.3 were for legislators, senior officials and managers; 4.5 of these 11.3 new jobs were taken by Arubans. With regard to the group of professionals, 0.5 of the total of 1.8 created jobs were filled by Arubans; 3.8 of a total of 9.8 positions for technicians and associate professionals were filled by Arubans.

In the group clerks 1.4 of 12.9 of net new employed persons were born in Aruba. For lower occupations, starting with the group 'service workers and shop and market sales workers', there is a negative growth in the number of Arubans working in the hotel sector, whereas 60 of the 100 jobs created in the sector were within these lower profession groups.

Table 4.5. Employment growth (1991-2000) within the industrial branch 'Hotels and Restaurants', by major occupational group and type of country of birth (relative figures)

Major occupational group	Type of country of birth			Total
	Developing	Aruba	Developed	
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	5.2	4.5	1.6	11.3
Professionals	1.4	0.5	-0.1	1.8
Technicians and associate professionals	4.7	3.8	1.3	9.8
Clerks	9.7	1.4	1.9	12.9
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	62.1	-16.0	1.3	47.4
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.3	-0.2	0.1	0.2
Craft and related trades workers	2.7	-2.3	0.0	0.4
Plant and machines operators and assemblers	0.4	-0.2	-0.3	-0.2
Elementary occupations	35.0	-18.1	-1.4	15.5
Unknown	0.5	0.4	0.1	1.0
Total	121.8	-26.2	4.4	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

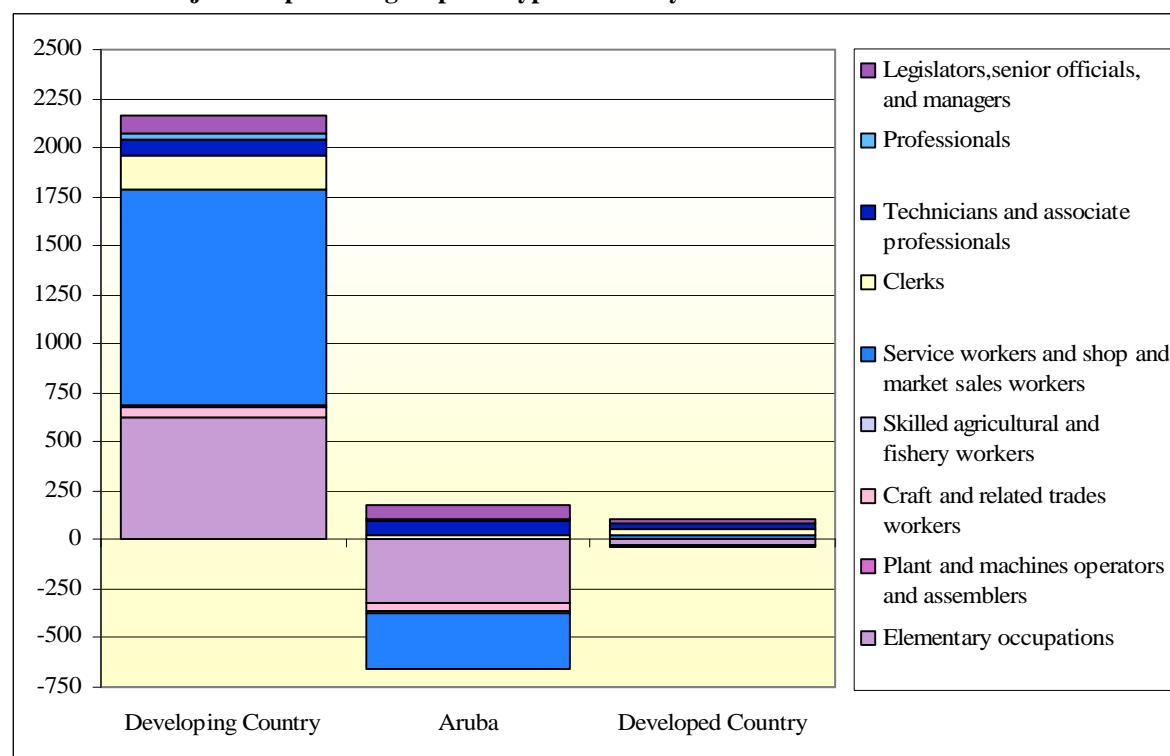
Table 4.6. Employment (1991-2000) within the industrial branch 'Hotels and Restaurants', by major occupational group and type of country of birth

Major occupational group	Type of country of birth							
	Developing		Aruba		Developed		Total	
	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000
Armed forces								
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	84	177	283	362	112	141	479	680
Professionals	6	30	46	55	12	12	64	97
Technicians and associate professionals	29	112	127	195	22	45	178	353
Clerks	123	295	760	784	62	96	945	1,175
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	671	1,778	1,387	1,101	175	198	2,233	3,078
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	32	37	28	25	0	1	60	63
Craft and related trades workers	49	97	162	122	17	16	228	234
Plant and machines operators and assemblers	8	15	25	22	7	1	41	38
Elementary occupations	687	1,311	864	541	88	64	1,640	1,916
Unknown	0	9	0	7	0	1	0	18
Total	1,690	3,862	3,683	3,215	496	574	5,869	7,651

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Table 4.6 shows that the professional jobs which require a fair amount of education are more frequently done by Arubans and less frequently by foreigners. Thus, Arubans will play a more important role in the hotel sector. As a consequence, this will have a positive effect on the average income earned by Arubans in the hotel sector.

Figure 4.2. Employment growth ('91-'00) within the industrial branch 'Hotels and Restaurants', by major occupational group and type of country of birth



Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Occupational shifts, the content of growth

To get an idea of future occupational demand, we need to analyze the developments of labor supply and labor demand. Labor demand is influenced by the number of people who retire, die or leave the labor force for other reasons. In Aruba, emigration, functional mobility and temporary lay-off in the hotel sector also play an important role. If employment growth is low or nil, labor demand will mostly consist of replacement demand. With the present employment growth rate and high job mobility (see section 4.2), labor demand is high.

As we have already argued above, the demand for labor to support business expansion is among other things a function of economic developments, macro economic short term fluctuations, economic policy and public and private investment. But these factors do not influence the demand for different occupations on the labor market to the same extent. The previous section stipulated that economic growth between 1991 and 2000 stimulated labor demand in some sectors more than in others, for example 'real estate, renting and business activities' and 'wholesale and retail trade, repair' underwent the fastest growth.

The changing structure of economic growth, in favor of service oriented sectors mainly filled by workers born in developing countries, adds an extra dimension and complexity to the forecasting of labor demand.

Study and analysis of changes in the past, however, enable us to get more insight into specific characteristics of the occupational structure, and may be helpful to determine whether there is a need for future labor imports. Analysis of employed persons by occupation and type of country of birth can indicate where employment growth (and labor demand) will most probably be concentrated in the near future.

Table 4.7. Growth of the employed population between 1991 and 2000, by major occupational group and type of country of birth

Major occupational group	Type of country of birth							
	Developing		Aruba		Developed		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	401	116.2	832	56.7	218	43.7	1,451	62.8
Professionals	188	129.3	720	81.5	309	104.0	1,218	91.8
Technicians and associate professionals	359	159.2	1,257	57.9	301	90.6	1,917	70.3
Clerks	577	196.8	1,029	19.5	212	70.2	1,818	30.9
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	2,119	211.4	256	6.1	172	40.8	2,548	45.5
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	103	135.1	-25	-15.5	0	1.0	78	31.8
Craft and related trades workers	1,502	169.7	-398	-14.0	32	12.1	1,136	28.5
Plant and machines operators and assemblers	246	190.7	307	23.5	21	21.8	574	37.6
Elementary occupations	2,721	135.6	-870	-26.8	-47	-20.0	1,808	32.9
Armed forces	-4	-66.3	-13	-31.1	28	37.4	11	8.6
Unknown	68		130		26		690	
Total	8,280	161.9	3,226	15.0	1,273	50.3	13,250	45.3

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Most people taking up new jobs between 1991 and 2000 were employed in the occupational group 'service workers and shop and market sales workers' and 'technicians and associate professionals', both major sources of overall job growth (2,548 and 1,917 jobs respectively). However, a significant proportion were also in 'elementary occupations' (1,808), one of the main occupational groups for women from developing countries.

The percentages in table 4.7 on the other hand, emphasize the growing relative importance of each occupational group. In the period 1991-2000, net employment creation for managers, professionals and

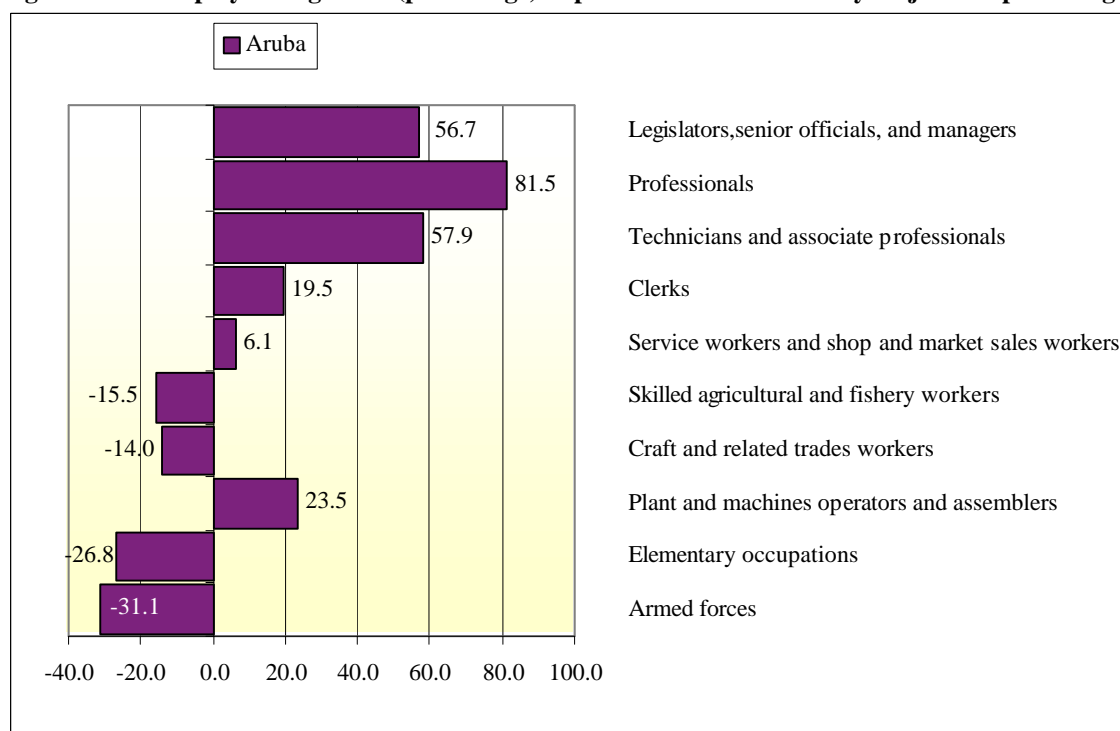
technicians was impressive (62.8 percent). These are jobs which have a high prestige and better career prospects. The fastest growing occupational group is that of professionals, which increased by almost 92 percent, followed by ‘technicians and associate professionals’ (70.3 percent). Including the group of managers, in these categories alone, 4,587 new jobs were created, almost 35 percent of total net employment growth.

Dividing the group into three subcategories - persons born in Aruba, developing countries or developed countries - highlights the differences in the concentration of jobs per type of country of birth. It also shows the growing importance of each occupational group.

Traditionally, persons born in developed countries were mainly employed in the three highest occupational groups: managers, professionals and technicians. Together, these sectors employ more than 51 percent of all persons born in developed countries. Most of the newly created jobs taken by persons from developed countries are in the groups ‘professionals’ or ‘technicians’. Not only the absolute numbers, but also the relative figures are a clear indication of the growing importance of these sectors.

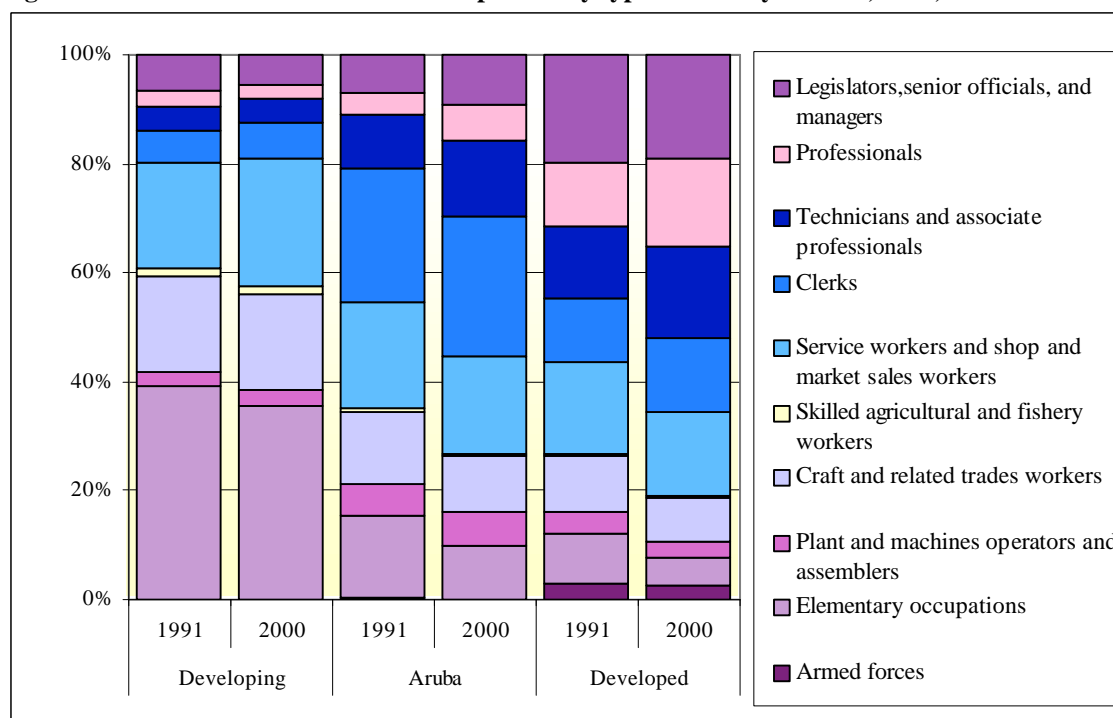
The opposite is true for people born in developing countries. Together the three highest level occupational groups account for only 11.5 percent of net job creation. Exactly one in three new jobs filled by someone from a developing country is classified as an ‘elementary job’; these include doorkeepers, freight handlers, room maids and domestic helpers. Another important occupational group for workers from developing countries is ‘service workers and shop and market sales workers’. This sector employs 2,119 additional workers from developing countries, accounting for exactly one quarter of the overall total of new created jobs.

Figure 4.3. Employment growth (percentage) of persons born in Aruba by major occupational group



Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

The position of people born on Aruba is somewhere between those from developed and those from developing countries. Figure 4.3 illustrates clearly the success of local born persons in filling jobs at higher occupational levels. Although the relative numbers are less impressive than those for the foreign-born population, the shares in newly created upper level jobs are quite significant. Out of the 3,226 new jobs taken by Arubans, 2,809 belonged to the highest occupational levels. And perhaps even more important is the decreasing number of Aruba-born persons employed in elementary occupations and other low skilled jobs. The increased employment of Arubans as managers, professionals and technicians accounted for most of the overall job growth, while the number employed in unskilled and low skilled jobs dropped.

Figure 4.4. Relative distribution of occupations by type of country of birth, 1991, 2000

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Immigrants replacing natives as the primary source of low-skilled labor

Although economic development is currently slow, an important demographic phenomenon will affect labor supply. At present, fertility rates are very low, well below the replacement level of 2.1 children per woman. Also, it has been shown that population aging will increase rapidly in the coming years. Consequently, the composition of the labor force will change as the share of older workers grows. Indeed the total labor force may shrink with the retirement of so many workers on the one hand, and a potentially insufficient local labor market influx on the other hand. Many older local workers retire. The younger native adults who enter the labor force have completed more years of education than the older generation. Consequently, immigrants are increasingly filling jobs that require less schooling.

The economic success of migrants can be judged by their employment experience. The key indicators of this experience are participation in the labor force, employment, unemployment, earnings and other private income, use of qualifications and competence in Papiamentu. The AMIS enables us for the first time to trace in detail the settlement experience of migrants from different countries.

From table 4.2 we can calculate the proportion of jobs filled by foreigners. In 1991, immigrants held 26 percent of the total number of jobs. By 2000, they accounted for 40.5 percent of all jobs. Arubans filled only one in four new jobs created in this period. This means that foreign-born workers were recruited for exactly three out of every four new jobs (3,172 Arubans versus 9,523 migrants).

Although all occupations now depend more on immigrant labor than they did in 1991, this dependence is most noticeable at the lower end of the skills spectrum. For example, while the share of employees born in developing countries in all executive, professional, and technical positions almost doubled, their share in elementary jobs, and service jobs such as service workers and trade workers tripled.

Immigrants are less likely than natives to work in occupations requiring proficiency in Dutch or English, such as teaching, sales in the hotel sector and clerical positions. In the professional and technical fields, immigrants from developed countries are more likely than natives to hold jobs in the technical areas (e.g., engineering, health, and computers).

Table 4.8. Employed population by occupational skill level and type of country of birth, 1991 and 2000

Skill-level	Developing Country		Aruba		Developed Country		Total	
	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000
Armed forces ¹	6	2	43	29	75	103	124	134
Legislators, officials, managers ²	345	747	1,466	2,298	499	717	2,311	3,762
Skill level 4 (High)	146	334	884	1,604	297	607	1,327	2,545
Skill level 3 (Medium)	226	585	2,169	3,426	333	634	2,728	4,645
Skill level 2 (Low)	2,386	6,932	13,761	14,931	1,092	1,529	17,239	23,392
Skill level 1 (Very low)	2,006	4,727	3,250	2,380	235	188	5,491	7,295
Unknown	0	68	0	130	0	26	0	225
Total	5,115	13,395	21,574	24,800	2,531	3,804	29,220	41,999

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

1 and 2: Not defined by any Skill level

Table 4.9. Absolute and relative growth of the employed population between 1991 and 2000, by occupational skill level and type of country of birth

Skill-level	Growth (absolute)				Growth (relative)			
	Developed country	Aruba	Developing country	Total	Developed country	Aruba	Developing country	Total
Armed forces ¹	28	-13	-4	11	37.4	-31.1	-66	25.0
Legislators, officials, managers ²	218	832	401	1,451	43.7	56.7	116	99.0
Skill level 4 (High)	309	720	188	1,218	104.0	81.5	129	137.8
Skill level 3 (Medium)	301	1,257	359	1,917	90.6	57.9	159	88.4
Skill level 2 (Low)	437	1,170	4,546	6,153	40.0	8.5	191	44.7
Skill level 1 (Very low)	-47	-870	2,721	1,804	-20.0	-26.8	136	55.5
Unknown	26	130	68	225				
Total	1,273	3,226	8,280	12,779	50.3	15.0	162	59.2

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

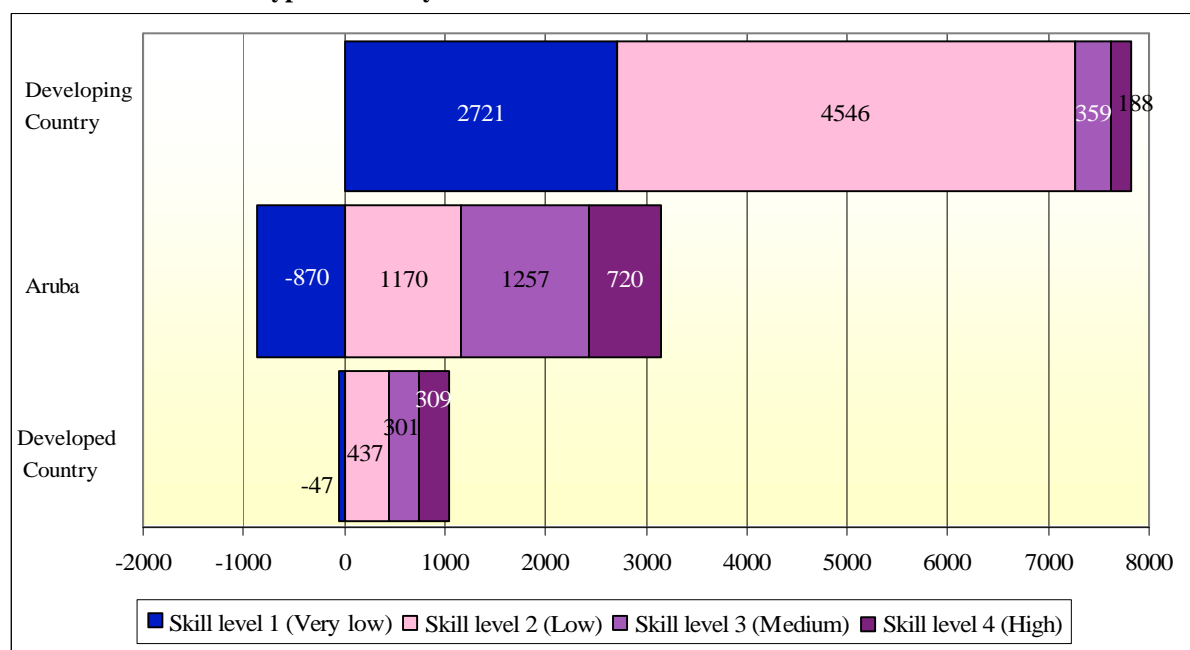
1 and 2: Not defined by any Skill level

Another way to look at the development on the labor market is by looking at skill level⁷⁷. Table 4.9 reveals changes over time in the distribution of locals and foreigners over four skill levels distinguished by the ILO. The relative growth figures show that these skill levels are positively correlated for persons born in Aruba or developed countries. Jobs demanding relatively high skills grew at a faster pace than the lower skilled jobs. The absolute and relative number of employees from Aruba and developed countries in unskilled manual jobs fell.

Although the growth figures are a clear indication of the growing need for employees with high qualifications, still one in two new jobs is categorized as low-skilled (level 2). The pattern of change varies considerably according to the new worker's country of birth. For persons born in Aruba, for example, net employment creation was roughly 2,000 jobs at the highest levels (3 and 4) and only 300 at the lowest levels (1 and 2). For migrants from developing countries it is exactly the other way around: only 547 jobs were created at the highest two levels, and almost 7,300 at the lowest two levels.

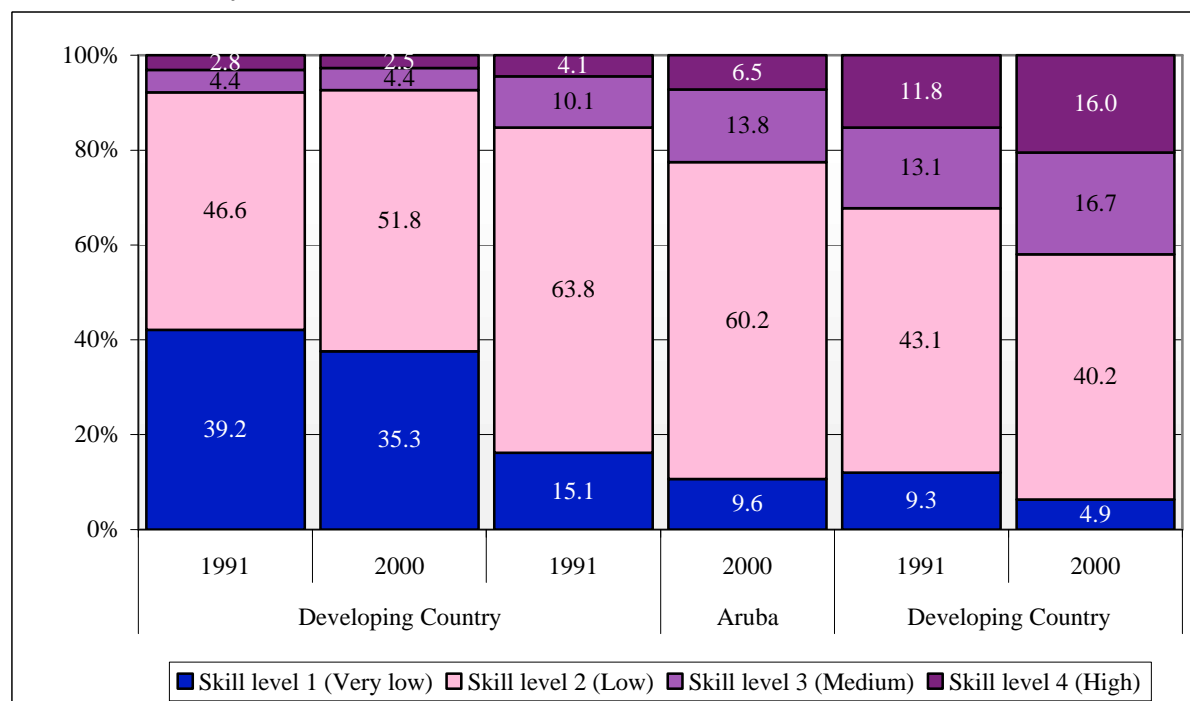
⁷⁷ An explanation of the skill-levels distinguished by the ILO is given in Annex II

Figure 4.5. Absolute growth of the employed population between 1991 and 2000, by occupational skill level and type of country of birth



Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Figure 4.6. Relative distribution of the employed population by occupational skill level and type of country of birth, 1991 and 2000



Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

4.2. JOB TURNOVER BY MIGRANTS

A major implication of the continuous changes in the structure of the world economy is that the notion of lifelong job stability is no longer valid. For many workers, it is increasingly common to change from one job to another during the course of their career. The success of a national economy becomes more and more linked to the flexibility of its labor market. As such, the willingness and ability of workers to adapt to new tasks largely determines a country's competitiveness on the international market. As Aruba's economy is rapidly changing, it is essential to take a closer look at labor mobility and turnover.

Turnover involves job change — workers changing firms, and firms discharging and hiring workers. Turnover is sometimes seen as an indicator of the dynamism of an economy. Without turnover, labor cannot be reallocated from less productive to more productive uses⁷⁸. Indeed, voluntary job change usually results in gains for the worker. Likewise, involuntary job loss imposes costs on workers; particularly on low wage workers who are least likely to be able to bear the costs of being without work.

The subsequent sections discuss job turnover among migrants in more detail. We start by describing job turnover in more detail and examining why it occurs, and then discuss its frequency. We then explain the consequences of turnover, particularly in the lower sections of the labor market.

Job turnover is the result of both resignations and lay-offs. As there is a worker and an employer side to turnover, there are also two ways of measuring it. The first is to ask workers how many jobs they had in a given period. The second is to ask employers or consult administrative records to determine how many workers left or were recruited in a given period. The latter methodology can be used when all data obtained from the latest Economic Census 2003 are processed and ready for analysis. In this study we used the former approach. It should be noted that only migrants who are still living on Aruba are included in the analysis. Based on the AMIS data we calculated that the average turnover rate is about 0.49 jobs per migrant worker per year.

Thus, some turnovers are the result of jobs being lost in one firm and created in another. A majority of job changes, however, occur because workers are reshuffled across the same set of jobs. There are enormous numbers of both job and worker reallocations on Aruba. Table 4.10 shows the proportion of migrants performing their first main job on Aruba by duration of settlement. One quarter of MMAs left their first job within a relatively short period - two years or less. After eight years only a minority of the migrants (four out of ten) were still in the same job. Given the fact that work permits specifically indicate for whom and for how long the migrant may perform a job, this level of turnover can be considered to be high.

Table 4.10. Percentage of migrants still performing their first main job, by duration of settlement

	Duration of settlement			Total
	0-2 years	3 -5 years	6-8 years	
Still performing first main job	%	%	%	%
Yes	71.1	61.5	39.1	53.4
No	28.9	38.5	60.9	46.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

The turnover ratio and the duration of the first job, as presented in table 4.11, are clear indications of the relation between turnover and income. The average tenure for a job was about 4.05 years. The duration of a job for low income migrants is shorter than tenure for their higher income counterparts

⁷⁸ The low-wage labor Market: Challenges and Opportunities for Economic Self-Sufficiency; *Julia Lane*.

(respectively 3.78 and 4.22 years). The turnover ratio gives the same message: the ratio for migrants in the lowest income category is 36 percent higher than that for those in the highest income category.

Table 4.11. Turnover ratio and mean duration of the first main job by income-categories

Gross income from main job	Turnover ratio (average number of jobs per year)	Duration of the first job (in years) ¹
Afl. 0 - 950	0.63	3.78
Afl. 951 - 4500	0.48	4.13
Afl. 4501 and over	0.46	4.22
Total	0.51	4.05

Source: AMIS 2003.

Low wage workers have shorter job tenures and more job changes than other workers. The impact of this on well-being is clear — the difference between poor and non-poor low wage workers is that poor workers are employed for roughly the same number of hours per week, but are more frequently unemployed. Thus, low wages combined with frequent spells of joblessness may suffice to push migrant workers into poverty.

Turnover also varies by industry, skills, sex and age. The averages reported in table 4.11 conceal a large range of variation. Low skilled and young workers experience more turnover than older, higher educated workers. Workers in complex jobs, such as in utility companies, are likely to experience lower turnover and higher wages than, for instance, workers in retail sales, more of whom are in lower wage categories.

Turnover also varies between specific economic sectors. Some companies, in construction for example, have explicit high turnover policies. Firms make different management decisions with regard to the duration of employment contracts, because different costs are related to hiring and firing workers. Recruitment costs may include advertising, screening, and training, while the costs of discharging workers may include work disruption, loss of the worker's firm specific experience, and severance compensation. These costs vary greatly with the type of worker and the nature of the company. Consequently, one would expect to see quite different levels of turnover across industries, occupations and types of workers. Adjustment costs are high if production processes are complex or special skills are required. Table 4.12 demonstrates that turnover varies dramatically by industry. Apart from the sector 'mining and quarrying', which is not representative because of the small number of observations, turnover is highest in the sector 'transport, storage and communications'. Job mobility is lowest in 'education' and 'electricity, gas and water supply'. The high level of specialization in these two sectors makes it less attractive for both employers and employees to change jobs frequently. The differences between economic sectors have important implications for the employment of low wage workers. Clearly, high turnover sectors are more likely to have job openings than low turnover sectors, but, just as clearly, employment within these sectors is less likely to last and to offer opportunities for wage increases. The high turnover industries are also those where the production tasks are less complex, so on average the skills acquired in 'transport, storage and communications', for example, are more easily replaceable than those acquired in 'education' or the 'utility companies'.

Table 4.12. Turnover ratios of migrants by major branch of industry

Major branch of industry	Turnover ratio (average number of jobs per year)
Agriculture, hunting and forestry, fishing	0.39
Mining and quarrying	2.00
Manufacturing	0.55
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.29
Construction	0.58
Wholesale and retail trade, repair	0.55
Hotels and restaurants	0.46
Transport, storage and communications	0.67
Financial intermediation	0.54
Real estate, renting and business activities	0.48
Public administration and defence; social security	.
Education	0.29
Health and social work	0.58
Other community, social and personal services	0.45
Private households with employed persons	0.55
Extra territorial organizations and bodies	0.33
Total	0.51

Source: AMIS 2003.

Similarly, if the task is complex and difficult to monitor, it may make economic sense to pay a higher wage to stimulate the worker to work harder- which has the additional effect of reducing turnover. This seems to be the case for ‘plant and machine operators and assemblers’, where turnover is low (0.32 jobs per year) and pay is relatively high (see next section on migrants’ level of income).

Table 4.13. Turnover ratios of migrants by major occupational group

Major occupational group	Turnover ratio (average number of jobs per year)
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	0.70
Professionals	0.51
Technicians and associate professionals	0.43
Clerks	0.47
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	0.49
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.37
Craft and related trades workers	0.60
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.32
Elementary occupations	0.48
Total	0.50

Source: AMIS 2003.

On the other hand, when tasks are highly specialized, as in ‘skilled agricultural and fishery workers’, a small economy like Aruba offers very limited possibilities to move to another job.

Firms may also offer implicit contracts to workers who are averse to wage variability in order to guard against economic downturn. Wages may be set high and turnover low for ‘insider’ workers who possess valuable amounts of firm-specific expertise (e.g. ITC personnel). These factors all have consequences for workers. Turnover should be higher for those workers performing simple, easily monitored tasks, junior workers who have little firm-specific knowledge, and younger workers who are less averse to wage variation.

Different types of workers may also have different levels of job attachment, and hence different resignation rates. The following table shows the relation between the turnover ratio and age, education and disability. Young workers are more likely to search for new jobs than older employees. Turnover is highest among the youngest age category (0.74 for those of age 20-24) and lowest for persons between 45 and 49 years of age (0.40). The relation between job mobility and level of education is much stronger. One may conclude that the higher the level of education, the less likely migrants are to try to change their job. Handicapped persons are less mobile on the labor market than healthy persons.

Table 4.14. Turnover ratio by age-categories, educational level and disability

Turnover ratio (average number of jobs per year)					
Age-categories		Education		Disability	
20-24	0.74	ISCED 1	0.50	Yes	0.30
25-29	0.52	ISCED 2	0.52	No	0.50
30-34	0.50	ISCED 3	0.45	Total	0.49
35-39	0.42	ISCED 5	0.48		
40-44	0.51	ISCED 6	0.46		
45-49	0.40	ISCED 7	0.24		
50-54	0.60	Total	0.49		

Source: AMIS 2003.

The causes and consequences of turnover are complex. Clearly, turnover can be seen as a joint employer/worker decision: if the action is initiated by the employer, it is called a lay-off; if it is initiated by the worker, it is called resignation. Thus, to understand the causes, we have to be aware of the decision making process of both the employer and the employee. Describing the consequences is equally tricky, as turnover initiated by the worker is often likely to result in him getting a better job, while that initiated by the firm may have adverse consequences.

The sections above have explained briefly the relatively high turnover ratios of Aruba’s migrant population. The high proportion of foreigners in the labor force (41 percent), combined with their economic and social characteristics contribute a great deal to job mobility in Aruba’s labor market. As we mentioned earlier, without turnover, labor reallocation from less productive to more productive positions would not be possible. It is interesting to look at the structure of turnover by comparing migrants’ first occupation in Aruba with the work they did before they came to the island. This comparison will give us an idea of the level of under-utilization of migrant skills. The comparison between migrants’ first jobs and their present jobs enables us to show how successfully migrants move from lower occupational skill levels to higher occupational skill levels.

Table 4.15. MMAs who changed jobs by ISCO-category of previous occupation in country of birth and first occupation in Aruba

Skill level	First occupation on Aruba	Occupation in home country									Total
		Legislators, senior officials, and managers	Professionals	Technicians and associate professionals	Clerks	Service workers and shop and market sales workers	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	Craft and related trades workers	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Elementary occupations	
--	Legislators, senior officials, and managers	44.4						2.6			2.6
4	Professionals		38.5	6.7							3.1
3	Technicians and associate professionals			26.7				2.6			2.6
2	Clerks			6.7	24.0	1.8					4.1
1	Service workers and shop and market sales work		30.8	20.0	40.0	31.6	14.3	5.1		9.5	21.2
1	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	11.1		13.3		3.5					2.6
1	Craft and related trades workers	11.1		13.3		8.8	14.3	46.2	16.7	4.8	15.0
1	Plant and machine operators and assemblers					1.8					0.5
1	Elementary occupations	33.3	30.8	13.3	36.0	52.6	71.4	43.6	83.3	85.7	48.2
	Total relative	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Total no. of cases	9	13	15	25	57	7	39	6	21	193

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 4.16. MMAs who changed jobs by ISCO-category of previous (first) and current work

Skill level	Current occupation on Aruba	First occupation on Aruba									Total
		Legislators, senior officials, and managers	Professionals	Technicians and associate professionals	Clerks	Service workers and shop and market sales workers	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	Craft and related trades workers	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Elementary occupations	
--	Legislators, senior officials, and managers	75.0	50.0	14.3		3.8			50.0	0.9	4.9
4	Professionals		33.3	14.3	25.0	3.8					3.1
3	Technicians and associate professionals			42.9	12.5	3.8	25.0	3.2		0.9	4.0
2	Clerks				25.0	1.9		3.2		4.5	4.0
1	Service workers and shop and market sales work	25.0	16.7		12.5	59.6	25.0	12.9		25.5	29.9
1	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers						25.0			2.7	1.8
1	Craft and related trades workers			14.3				45.2		13.6	13.4
1	Plant and machine operators and assemblers					1.9		12.9		2.7	3.6
1	Elementary occupations			14.3	25.0	25.0	25.0	22.6	50.0	49.1	35.3
	Total relative	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Total no. of cases	4	6	7	8	52	4	31	2	110	224

Source: AMIS 2003.

Job turnover between occupational sectors

We shall restrict our analysis to job mobility between occupational sectors. Table 4.15 shows how people move between these sectors.

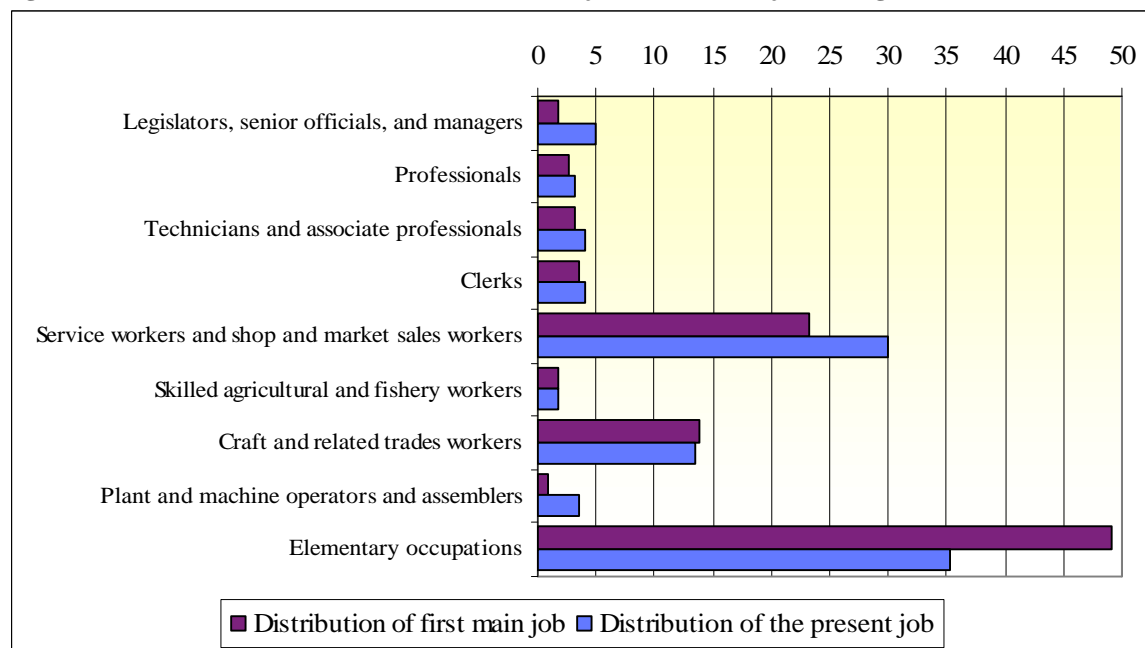
Of all 193 MMAs who were economically active in their home country, and successful in finding a new job in Aruba, 73 were previously employed in the same occupational sector. This implies that no less than 62 percent moved out of the occupational sector in which they were previously employed. In order to get a better picture of the level of under-utilization of migrant skills, we compared their previous skill level with that of their first main job in Aruba. The numbers on the diagonal in the table indicate the number of migrants per major occupational group who successfully found a job in the same sector in which they were previously employed. In total, only 37.8 percent stayed within the same occupation. Only 2 percent of all migrants were able to find a job at a higher skill level. The majority, 76 percent, are economically active at the same occupational level and almost 22 percent had to accept a job at a level below the job they performed at home.

Table 4.16 provides another view of turnover within Aruba's labor market. It should be noted that only migrants who previously held a job and currently perform another job are included in the table. It presents migrants' entries into their current jobs and exits from their first main jobs on Aruba. Among the 535 currently employed MMAs, 311 persons are still doing their first job. This implies that 224 migrants (41.8 percent) had changed jobs in the last ten years. Of these persons, 114 were previously employed in a different occupational sector. This means that for all persons who changed jobs in the last ten years, no less than 50.8 percent moved out of the occupational sector in which they were previously employed. People who change jobs, seem to find new employment outside their original occupational sector without much difficulty.

We see that the three highest ISCO categories ('legislators, senior officials, and managers', 'professionals' and 'technicians and associate professionals'), attract the highest proportion of migrants from other categories. For example, the distribution of migrants' first jobs reveals that only 1.8 percent of migrants are categorized as 'legislators, senior officials, and managers'. The distribution of current jobs among migrants displays a more positive picture. Almost one in twenty people are classified in this category. The number of migrants who hold a current job as a professional is 16.7 percent higher than the number whose first job on the island was in this category. The groups 'technicians and associate professionals' and 'clerks' show a similar trend, with the number of migrants holding a current job in these sectors respectively 28.6 and 12.5 percent higher than their first jobs. The proportion of migrants working in these (higher) skill-levels rose from 11.2 to 16.1 percent. These figures are evidence of upward job mobility.

Another important observation is that job mobility out of the category 'elementary occupations' is relatively high. Of the 56 migrants (51 percent) who moved out of an elementary occupation, 50 percent found their way into the category 'service workers and shop and market sales workers' and 12.5 percent were able to enter higher skill levels. As such, the data illustrate that after an initial settling period, a significant number of migrants who started off in an elementary occupation are able to take some advantage of their capabilities and educational level.

Figure 4.7. Relative distribution of the first main job and current job of migrants



Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Intention to change jobs

Besides looking at the actual changes in the labor market, it is also interesting to examine how many migrants are currently employed, but are looking for other employment. Therefore, in the migration study we asked the following question: 'Are you currently looking for a new job (or second job) on Aruba?' The distribution of the answers to this question is given in table 4.17.

Table 4.17. Employed migrants looking for another job

Major occupational group	% persons looking for a new job	% persons looking for a (new) second job	% persons not seeking yet or anymore	% persons already found a new job, not started yet	Total % persons looking for a new job or second job
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	0.0	1.5	98.5	-	1.5
Professionals	2.1	0.0	97.9	-	2.1
Technicians and associate professionals	7.5	3.8	84.9	3.8	11.3
Clerks	7.9	7.9	84.2	-	15.8
Service workers & shop/market sales workers	6.9	5.2	87.9	-	12.1
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.0	11.1	88.9	-	11.1
Craft and related trades workers	4.2	6.7	89.2	-	10.8
Plant and machines operators and assemblers	14.3	0.0	85.7	-	14.3
Elementary occupations	12.0	5.8	80.9	1.2	17.8
Total	7.4	4.9	87.0	0.7	12.4

Source: AMIS 2003.

About 12 percent of all employed migrants were on the lookout for another or a second job: 7.4 percent were looking for another job, while 4.9 percent wanted a (new) second job. Differences between men and women are minimal. 'Earning more income' was the main motive for 66.3 percent of workers born in developing countries, and 44.4 percent of persons born in developed countries. The second most important reason concerned working conditions. Some 18 percent of workers from developing countries wanted better working conditions. This was less of an issue for people from developed countries (11.1 percent).

If we disregard the economic branches in which only very few migrants work (see table 4.2), we see that the proportion of people looking for a new or second job is highest in the sector 'private households with employed persons' (18.0 percent), which includes domestic servants. It is also very high in the sectors 'construction' (15.6 percent), 'financial intermediation' (15.4 percent), 'manufacturing' (14.9 percent), and to a lesser extent 'hotels and restaurants' (13.6 percent) and 'real estate, renting and business activities' (13.3 percent). A comparison between table 4.12 on turnover within economic branches and table 4.18, leads to the conclusion that people who intend to change jobs or to find additional employment are quite successful in doing so. In most sectors the demand for labor is high. This pressure on the labor market gives many migrants the opportunity to climb the occupational ladder. In the long run this enables many to pick up their original occupational skill level and at least partially levels out the degree of under-utilization of skills.

Table 4.18. Employed migrants by major branch of industry looking for another job

Major branch of Industry	% persons looking for a new job	% persons looking for a (new) second job	% persons not seeking yet or anymore	% persons already found a new / second job, not started yet	Total % persons looking for a new/ second job
Agriculture, hunting and forestry, fishing	0.0	0.0	100.0	-	0.0
Mining and quarrying	0.0	0.0	100.0	-	0.0
Manufacturing	4.3	10.6	85.1	-	14.9
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.0	0.0	100.0	-	0.0
Construction	9.4	6.3	83.3	1.0	15.6
Wholesale and retail trade, repair	5.0	4.2	89.9	0.8	9.2
Hotels and restaurants	8.0	5.7	86.4	-	13.6
Transport, storage and communications	8.3	0.0	91.7	-	8.3
Financial intermediation	15.4	0.0	84.6	-	15.4
Real estate, renting and business activities	5.3	8.0	86.7	-	13.3
Public administration and defence; social security	0.0	0.0	100.0	-	0.0
Education	3.4	0.0	96.6	-	3.4
Health and social work	0.0	4.8	95.2	-	4.8
Other community, social and personal services	5.6	0.0	91.7	2.8	5.6
Private households with employed persons	13.1	4.9	80.3	1.6	18.0
Extra territorial organizations and bodies	0.0	0.0	100.0	-	0.0
Not reported	7.4	5.1	86.8	0.7	12.5
Total					

Source: AMIS 2003

4.3. INCOME CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

Although lower income groups and the economic performance of immigrants are both important social issues on Aruba, few studies have focused on these topics. Discussions about these issues tend to focus on groups that traditionally have a disproportionate share of poverty, including children, one-parent families, the elderly and the disabled. Immigrants, particularly recent arrivals, should also be considered as a group at risk of experiencing poverty. This section is intended as a first step to look into this matter.

As Aruba has a very large annual inflow of immigrants relative to its total population and a large proportion of foreign-born persons, trends in immigrant income levels have a significant impact on the overall income level and the distribution of wealth.

For the analysis of income levels we use a combination of Census data and data from the AMIS 2003. From 1991 to 2000, Aruba's working population consistently grew more rapidly than the total population. Immigration contributed to the rapid growth of the economy.

Table 4.19 shows the distribution of personal monthly income from salary by type of country of birth for 1991 and 2000. By displaying the mean, median and percentiles, the extension of the gaps between low salary categories and high salary categories becomes visible. The table also highlights differences in income between immigrants and Arubans.

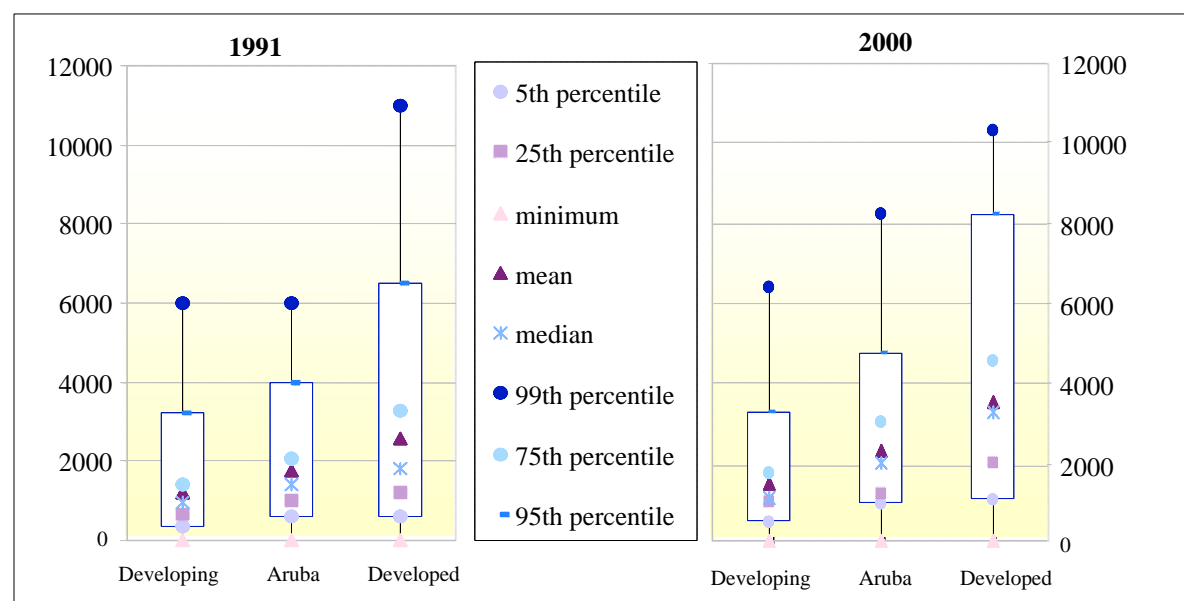
Table 4.19. Distribution of personal monthly income (in Afl.) from salary by type of country of birth

	Census 1991				Census 2000			
	Developing country	Aruba	Developed country	Total	Developing country	Aruba	Developed country	Total
5th percentile	350	602	600	450	525	1050	1197	650
25th percentile	650	1000	1200	950	1115	1400	2251	1226
mean	1223	1740	2559	1711	1657	2646	4056	2426
median	960	1400	1820	1300	1280	2251	3751	2000
75th percentile	1400	2078	3300	2000	2000	3500	5251	2927
95th percentile	3228	4000	6500	4000	3751	5500	9600	6000
99th percentile	6000	6000	11000	6630	7396	9600	12000	9600

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

This information is shown visually in figure 4.8. The first aspect that draws attention is that overall income levels have risen significantly. Both in 1991 and 2000 wages were considerably higher for persons from developed countries than for persons born on Aruba. People from developing countries earned considerably less than locals.

The data also show the dispersion of salaries for the three groups. Among immigrants from developing countries, the highest earning 5 percent earned Afl. 3.228 or more in 1991. The lowest 5 percent earned Afl. 350 or less. The dispersion was higher among Arubans and even greater for workers from developed countries. Figure 4.8 illustrates the changes in distribution of income from salary between 1991 and 2000. The increased dispersion in salary for people born in Aruba and in developed countries is noteworthy. The average salary corresponding with the 75th percentile increased by 68 and 59 percent between 1991 and 2000 respectively for Arubans and people from developed countries. This is a clear indication of the proportion of people who profited from the prosperity in the last decade.

Figure 4.8. Distribution of personal monthly income from salary by type of country of birth, 1991- 2000

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

It is interesting to determine which groups benefited the most from the economic prosperity. In order to do so, we compared the average income from salary for each quartile between 1991 and 2000, for persons born in Aruba, born in developed countries or born in developing country. Tables 4.20 and 4.21 present the results of this analysis. The average salary earned per quartile increased for all persons, regardless of their country of origin. The average income for the low income workers (1st quartile) increased by 296 florins. The income rise for the high income workers (4th quartile) was more than five times that of the first quartile (1,522 florins). Although this skewed increase of income can be observed for both local and foreign born persons, the ratio between high income and low income workers is most pronounced for persons born in Aruba and least pronounced for those from developing countries (respectively 5.2 times and 1.8 times). This trend implies a further increase in dispersion of income between lower and higher income groups.

The absolute increase in salary was most pronounced for the higher income quartiles. Migrants from developed countries in particular experienced an impressive increase in income. The observed income growth for the fourth quartile was more than Afl. 2,000. Their counterparts in the lowest quartile experienced an income increase of only Afl. 451.

The relative growth of average income per quartile, the right half of figure 4.9, illustrates the increase in income from salary for each subgroup. The highest growth can be seen to be realized in the lowest quartile of migrants from developing countries: 74.6 percent between 1991 and 2000. Migrants from developing countries in the 4th quartile took least advantage of the growing salaries; their income increased only by 21.5 percent.

Table 4.20. Distribution of personal monthly income by type of country of birth

	Census 1991				Census 2000			
	Developing country	Aruba	Developed country	Total	Developing country	Aruba	Developed country	Total
Income quartiles								
First quartile	414	755	791	669	723	1102	1242	965
Second quartile	808	1189	1457	1125	1203	1899	2340	1495
Third quartile	1135	1695	2503	1631	1484	2535	4001	2298
Fourth quartile	2537	3322	5483	3426	3082	5112	7552	4948

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

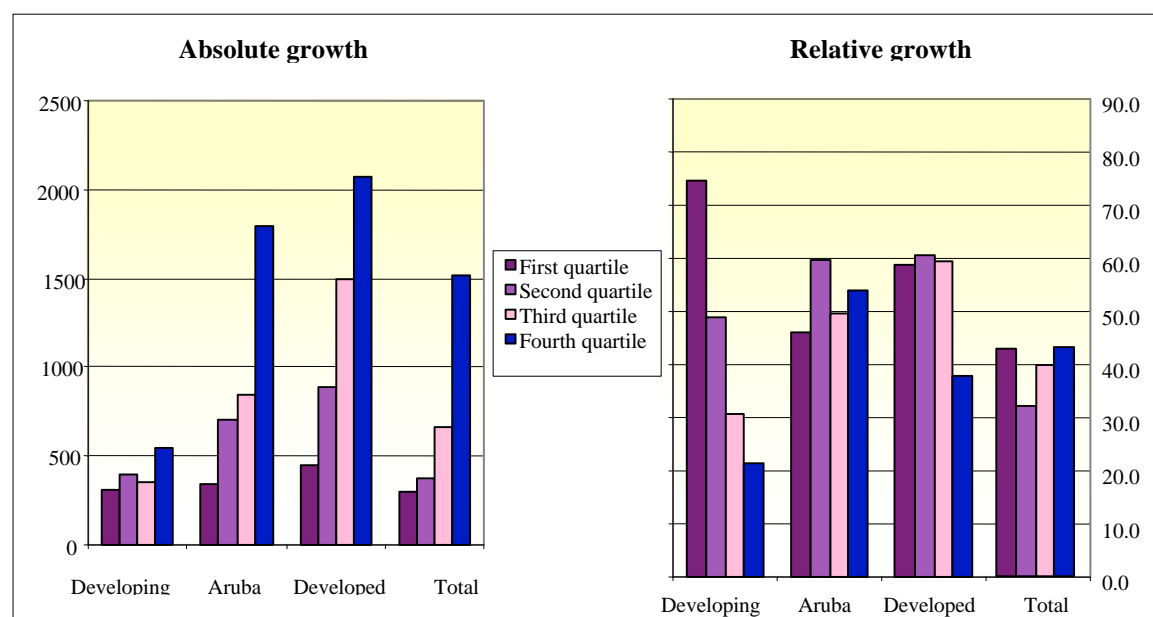
Table 4.21. Growth of personal monthly income between 1991 and 2000, by income-quartile and type of country of birth (absolute and relative)

Income-quartiles	Absolute growth				Relative growth			
	Developing country	Aruba	Developed country	Total	Developing country	Aruba	Developed country	Total
First quartile	309	347	451	296	74.6	46.0	57.0	44.2
Second quartile	395	710	883	370	48.9	59.7	60.6	32.9
Third quartile	349	840	1498	667	30.7	49.6	59.8	40.9
Fourth quartile	545	1790	2069	1522	21.5	53.9	37.7	44.4

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

We used a multiple classification analysis to estimate the difference in income levels between various categories. The dependent variable in the analysis was monthly income. We introduced sex, type of country of birth, occupational category, branch of industry and level of education as independent variables. As the number of hours worked per week obviously has an effect on the income level, we introduced working hours per week as a covariate in the analysis. Only those cases for which all information was available were used in the analysis.

Figure 4.9. Absolute and relative growth of personal monthly income between 1991 and 2000 by type of country of birth



Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

The results of the MCA analysis are presented in table 4.22. After the second column, representing the number of cases in the analysis, the unadjusted predicted means are given. The next column shows the predicted mean, adjusted for factors and covariates. The unadjusted deviations from the grand mean are given in the next column. For instance, the value of Afl. 302 for males means that on average men earn Afl. 302 per month more than the unadjusted mean of Afl. 2,418. The fifth column gives the adjusted mean values (again expressed as deviations from the grand mean). For instance, the deviation from the grand mean for men drops from Afl. 302 to Afl. 220 if we statistically control for the effect of type of country of birth, occupational category and branch of industry, age and hours worked. The correlation coefficient (R^2) represents the proportion of variation in income explained by the additive effects of sex, type of country of birth, branch of industry and occupation, age and hours worked. The correlation coefficient was 0.483. This means that 48.3 percent of the variation in the level of income can be

explained by the four factors (and the covariate) in the analysis. The results show that all factors (sex, type of country of birth, occupational category and branch of industry) are highly significant.

The overall gross mean income was Afl. 2,418. Even after controlling for differences between type of country of birth, occupational and industrial characteristics, we see that an important difference exists between the sexes. The adjusted mean income is still about Afl. 471 higher for men than for women. It is often said that foreigners in Aruba work for lower wages. The results are a clear indication that immigrants born in developing countries indeed earn less money than locals for doing the same job. As we controlled for other intervening factors we find that there is a significant difference in salary level between Arubans and persons born in developing or developed countries. Migrants born in developing countries earn Afl. 417 less than Arubans, and Afl. 685 less than migrants born in developed countries. The difference between Arubans and migrants born in developed countries is Afl. 268.0.

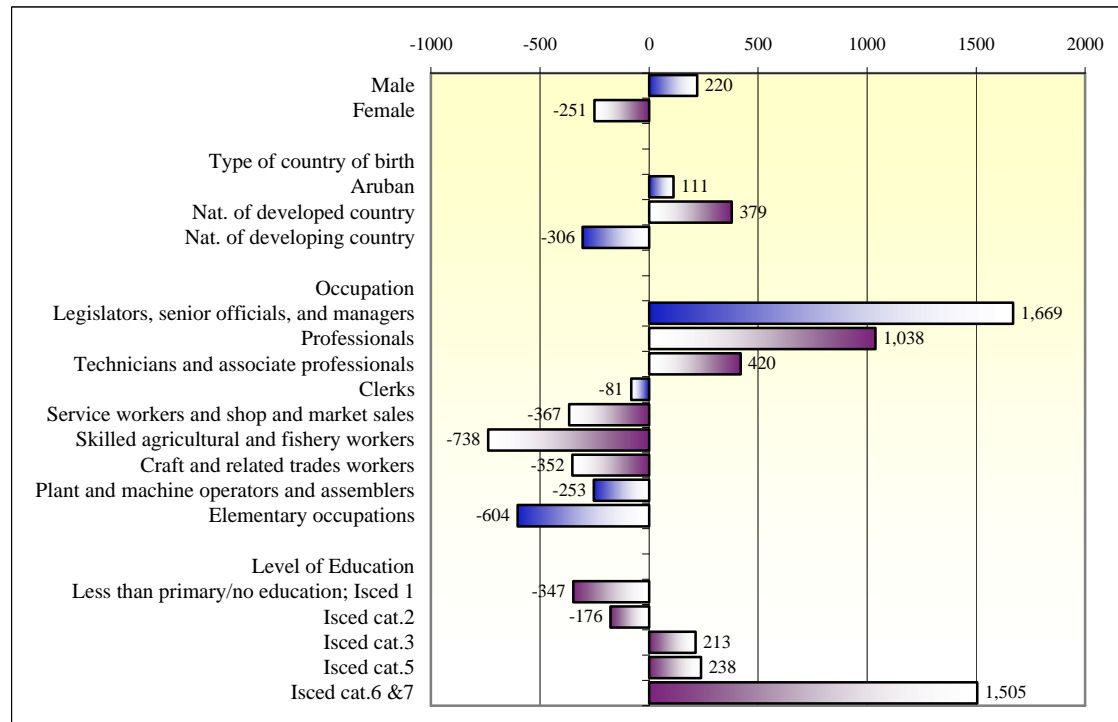
Arubans have consistently out-earned immigrants born in developing countries, regardless of educational or occupational level, branch of industry, sector of employment or sex. These lower earning patterns could simply mean that the productivity level of immigrants from developing countries is lower than that of native workers. However, the number of requests from employers to contract foreign-born persons seems to point in the other direction.

Immigrants from developing countries appear to suppress wages, perhaps causing employment to grow at a faster rate than it would have otherwise. However, the disproportionate entry of immigrants with a low educational level may lead to the loss of the educational improvements achieved on Aruba in the last decade by the younger native population.

There are large differences in salary between the various industrial sectors. Adjusted deviations are highest for the sectors 'extra-territorial organizations and bodies', 'electricity, gas and water supply', 'public administration and defense, social security', 'education' and 'financial intermediation'. Wages for household staff are very low. The unadjusted deviation from the overall mean amounts to Afl. -1,749. This implies an average income of Afl. 669 (Afl. 2,418 - 1,749). After we control for the other factors, the deviation from the grand mean is still Afl. -396.

The status of an occupation is clearly reflected in the deviations from the grand mean. The adjusted deviations for 'legislators, senior officials and managers', 'professionals' and 'technicians and associate professionals' are all positive. The first two groups earn over Afl. 2,000 more than the mean income. Workers in elementary occupations earn very little for their work. Applying the adjusted deviation, we find that the average gross income for an elementary occupation is Afl. 1,814 per month. Skilled agricultural and fishery workers earn even less: after controlling for factors, their gross monthly income is about Afl. 1,680.

Figure 4.10. Gross income differentials by sex, type of country of birth and occupation



Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

The effect of education is clearly reflected in the deviations from the grand mean. Figure 4.10, corresponding to table 4.22, highlights the importance of education in relation to immigrants' opportunities to earn a lot of money with their job. By using an MCA, we were able to measure the sole effect of education on income.

Persons within category 1 (the lowest level of education) earn very little for the work they do. Applying the adjusted deviation, the average gross salary for workers in this category is Afl. 2,071. At the other end of the spectrum, people with a bachelor's degree (ISCED 6) or university degree (ISCED level 7) earn nearly twice as much a month: Afl. 3,923.

The previous analysis based on Census data highlights the increase in salaries for both local and foreign-born persons. Even though the salaries increased for all workers regardless of place of origin, the gap between persons born in or outside Aruba remains a fact. It even seems to widen considering the median income levels.

Given that some immigrant groups do not catch up with native workers with regard to earnings during their first years on the island, the question arises which factors are possible determinants of the rise in income rates. Generally speaking, immigrants achieve full and equal participation in a new society and economy only after one or two generations. Previous waves of immigrants in Aruba are living proof of the time it takes to integrate in Aruban life. Differences in unemployment rates, level of education and level of salary between Arubans and immigrants are an indication that a small number of immigrants who entered Aruba a long time ago, have still failed to catch up completely with locals.

Table 4.22. Gross income differentials: a Multiple Classification Analysis

Grand mean	2,418				
R-square	0.483				
Factor Category	N	Predicted Mean, unadjusted	Predicted Mean, adjusted for Factors and Covariates	Deviation Unadjusted	Adjusted for Factors and Covariates
SEX					
Male	21,187	2,720	2,638	302	220
Female	18,600	2,074	2,167	-344	-251
Type of country of birth					
Aruban	23,550	2,661	2,529	243	111
Nat. of developed country	3,429	3,720	2,797	1,302	379
Nat. of developing country	12,807	1,623	2,112	-795	-306
Occupation					
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	3,464	4,586	4,087	2,168	1,669
Professionals	2,431	4,645	3,456	2,227	1,038
Technicians and associate professionals	4,448	3,370	2,838	952	420
Clerks	7,405	2,270	2,337	-148	-81
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	7,844	1,819	2,051	-599	-367
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	303	1,453	1,680	-965	-738
Craft and related trades workers	4,879	1,917	2,066	-501	-352
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1,975	2,291	2,165	-127	-253
Elementary occupations	7,038	1,228	1,814	-1,190	-604
Branch of Industry					
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	170	1,763	2,089	-655	-329
Fishing	26	1,430	2,052	-988	-366
Mining and quarrying	38	3,008	2,765	590	347
Manufacturing	2,306	2,579	2,530	161	112
Electricity, gas and water supply	483	3,706	3,390	1,288	972
Construction	3,755	1,942	2,201	-476	-217
Wholesale and retail trade, repair	6,786	2,024	2,095	-394	-323
Hotels and restaurants	7,336	2,025	2,356	-393	-62
Transport, storage and communications	2,767	2,705	2,578	287	160
Financial intermediation	1,438	3,305	2,974	887	556
Real estate, renting and business activities	3,569	2,565	2,357	147	-61
Public administration and defence; social security	3,289	3,640	3,075	1,222	657
Education	1,402	4,100	2,510	1,682	92
Health and social work	1,923	2,830	2,652	412	234
Other community, social and personal services	2,640	2,313	2,288	-105	-130
Private households with employed persons	1,816	669	2,022	-1,749	-396
Extra territorial organizations and bodies	43	6,083	4,452	3,665	2034
Level of Education					
Less than primary/no education; Isced 1	12,953	1,651	2,071	-767	-347
Isced cat.2	16,028	2,225	2,242	-193	-176
Isced cat.3	2,903	2,624	2,631	206	213
Isced cat.5	4,090	3,020	2,656	602	238
Isced cat.6 &7	3,813	5,032	3,923	2,614	1,505

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

When immigrants come to Aruba, they are typically confronted by a host of challenges: learning new languages, getting a job and adjusting to a new labor market, finding accommodation and becoming familiar with a new society. The more time immigrants spend in Aruba, the more adjustment takes place, but progress towards full and equal participation seems to take more than one generation. One of the primary keys to achieving participation in the labor force is education, and the importance of this key is growing.

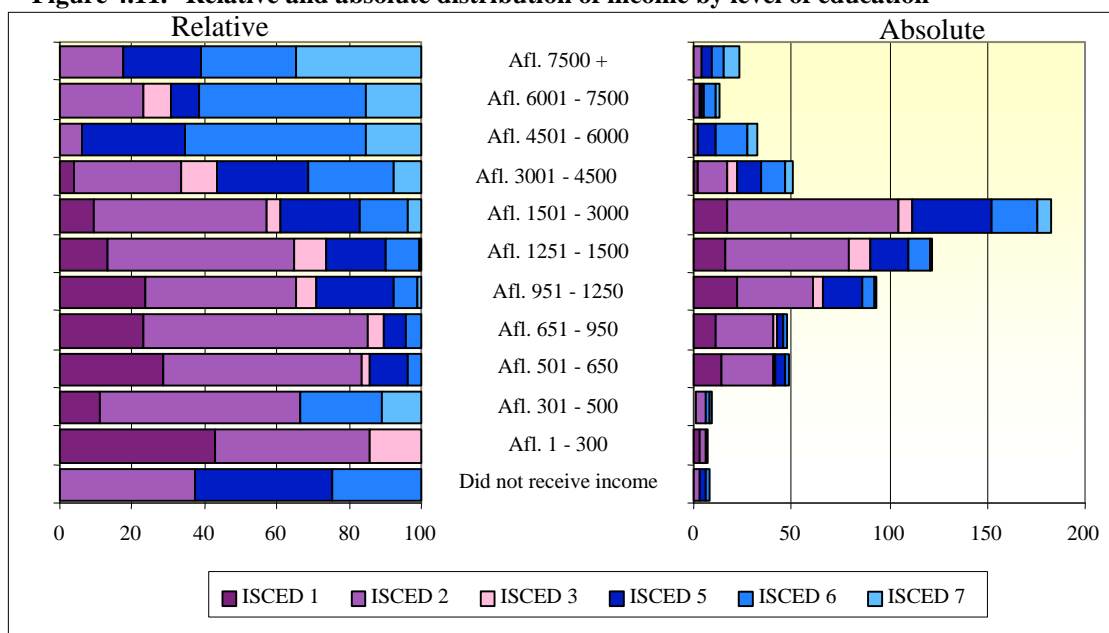
Differences in earning among immigrant groups are less a product of place of origin than of educational level. Immigrants from all over the world enter Aruba with vastly different educational levels. As figure 4.11 shows, income levels are strongly interrelated with the levels of education. The higher income levels seem to be almost unattainable for people without a solid schooling. By contrast, the proportion of well-educated immigrants earning a minimum income is nearly negligible.

Table 4.23. Relative distribution of income by level of education

Gross income	ISCED category						Total absolute
	1	2	3	5	6	7	
Did not receive income	0.0	37.5	0.0	37.5	25.0	0.0	8
Afl. 1 - 300	42.9	42.9	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	7
Afl. 301 - 500	11.1	55.6	0.0	0.0	22.2	11.1	9
Afl. 501 - 650	28.6	55.1	2.0	10.2	4.1	0.0	49
Afl. 651 - 950	22.9	62.5	4.2	6.3	4.2	0.0	48
Afl. 951 - 1250	23.7	41.9	5.4	21.5	6.5	1.1	93
Afl. 1251 - 1500	13.1	51.6	9.0	16.4	9.0	0.8	122
Afl. 1501 - 3000	9.3	48.1	3.8	21.9	13.1	3.8	183
Afl. 3001 - 4500	3.9	29.4	9.8	25.5	23.5	7.8	51
Afl. 4501 - 6000	0.0	6.3	0.0	28.1	50.0	15.6	32
Afl. 6001 - 7500	0.0	23.1	7.7	7.7	46.2	15.4	13
Afl. 7500 +	0.0	17.4	0.0	21.7	26.1	34.8	23
Total	13.5	44.2	5.2	18.7	13.9	4.5	638

Source: AMIS 2003.

Figure 4.11. Relative and absolute distribution of income by level of education

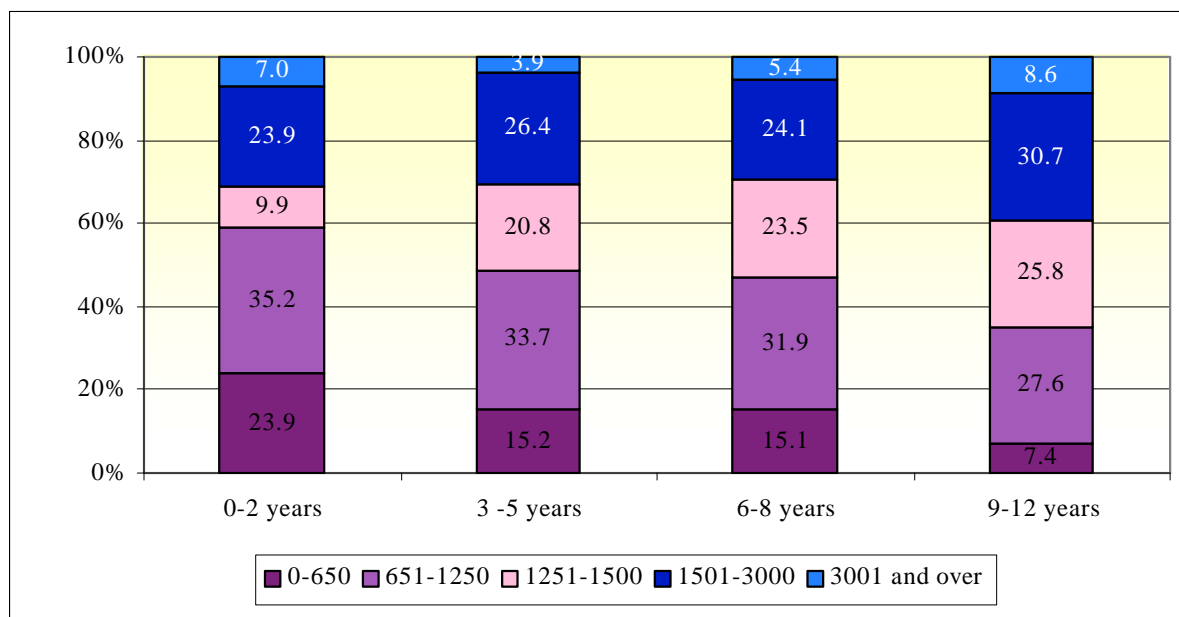


Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Signs that migrants 'catch-up' as they acquire Aruban experience

Some international migration studies suggest that newly arrived immigrants generally earn less than comparable non-immigrant workers. After some time they adjust to the labor market in the receiving society. For instance, on the basis of the 1973 *Canadian National Mobility Survey*, Meng (1987) finds that immigrant men had an earnings disadvantage of 15 percent one year after immigration, the gap closed in the space of about 14 years. Given the high influx of migrants from developing countries and the lower income of recent migrants, a key question relates to the speed at which the low-income rates fall with the rising number of years spent on Aruba.

Figure 4.12. Income by duration of settlement



Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

It is expected that earnings rise as immigrants acquire more experience on Aruba. As they improve their language skills, become more familiar with social and work norms, their labor market outcomes improve. As a result, low-income rates should fall. Figure 4.12 presents the evidence that the more recent migrants with a very high proportion of low-income earners (less than Afl. 1,250) do catch up to some degree after their settling period. Research results from AMIS indicate that the proportion of low-income workers continues to drop through the years. The category representing the lowest income levels drops from almost one quarter of all migrants to less than 8 percent. Also the category representing the bulk of migrants (income between Afl. 651 and Afl. 1,250) shrinks in time.

Conversely the group of higher income workers (Afl 1,501 and more) continues to expand. During the first years of their stay, three out of ten immigrants bring home Afl. 1,501 or more a month. Within 9 to 12 years this ratio will change to almost four out of ten persons. The fastest growing group comprises immigrants earning between Afl.1,251 and Afl. 1,500 monthly. Their share grows from 9.9 percent in the first two years, to 25.8 percent after 9 to 12 years of living on Aruba.

AMIS collected data on the wages respondents earned in a specific job. We wanted to gain insight into the financial benefits of performing a particular job. Among the questions, one asked whether foreigners had the impression that they were paid less than, the same, or more than Arubans for the same work. Table 4.24. shows their impression. More than one quarter of immigrants from developing countries had the feeling that they earned less than Arubans for doing the same job. For persons from developed countries only a minor group of 7.4 percent shared that feeling. On the other hand, almost the same percentage (8.4 percent) had the feeling that they earned more than Arubans for the same work.

Table 4.24. Impression of migrants about their level of income in comparison to income-levels of Arubans

Type of country of birth	Percentage				Absolute			
	Paid more/same/less than Arubans				Paid more/same/less than Arubans			
	Less	Same	More	Total	Less	Same	More	Total
Nat. of developed country	7.4	84.2	8.4	100.0	7	80	8	95
Nat. of developing country	27.6	70.1	2.3	100.0	155	394	13	562
Total	22.4	74.8	2.8	100.0	162	474	21	657

Source: AMIS 2003

4.4. REMITTANCES

A remittance is the proportion of a migrant's income that he or she sends abroad to relatives in their countries of origin. No exact global figures exist about the total amount foreign workers remit to their countries of origin. An estimate made by R. Chami et al. came to over 59 billion US\$ in the mid 1990s⁷⁹. Remittances sent by migrants working in foreign countries play an important role in the economies of many countries in the world. In 2000, the three largest recipients of official worker remittances in the world were: India (US\$ 7,994 billion), Mexico (US\$ 5,816 billion) and Turkey (US\$ 4,035 billion)⁸⁰. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is the only organization which collects data on remittances on an annual basis. However, it only reports on remittances sent via the official channels, i.e. banks and private money transfer companies.

Worldwide, workers in low occupations do not often migrate together with their families; their sole purpose in migrating is to go abroad to work, spend as little as possible, and send as much money as they can to their families back home. As we saw before, migration to Aruba is very diverse with many types of migrants and motivations to live on the island. Overseas remittances form an important aspect of migrants' lives on Aruba. Because our study is limited to recent migrants, it is impossible to estimate what the total yearly remittances of migrants are on the basis of the AMIS.

Remittances allow many migrants from developing countries to improve the quality of life of their families. *Caridad* came from Colombia to Aruba in 1996. One of her goals was to be able to expand her house in Colombia. For that reason, she sends an amount of Afl. 250 to her mother every month. She is looking forward to achieving her goal, saying that the moment the expansion of her house is ready she will put up a sign stating: '*Gracias a la Virgen Maria, que me ayudo y bendita sea la tierra de Aruba. Dushi Aruba*'⁸¹.

Table 4.25. Number of migrants by sex and type of country of birth who send remittances overseas

	Absolute			
	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Send money regularly	11	7	207	262
Does not send money regularly	68	65	148	217
Total	79	72	355	479
	Percentage			
	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Send money regularly	13.9	9.7	58.3	54.7
Does not send money regularly	86.1	90.3	41.7	45.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

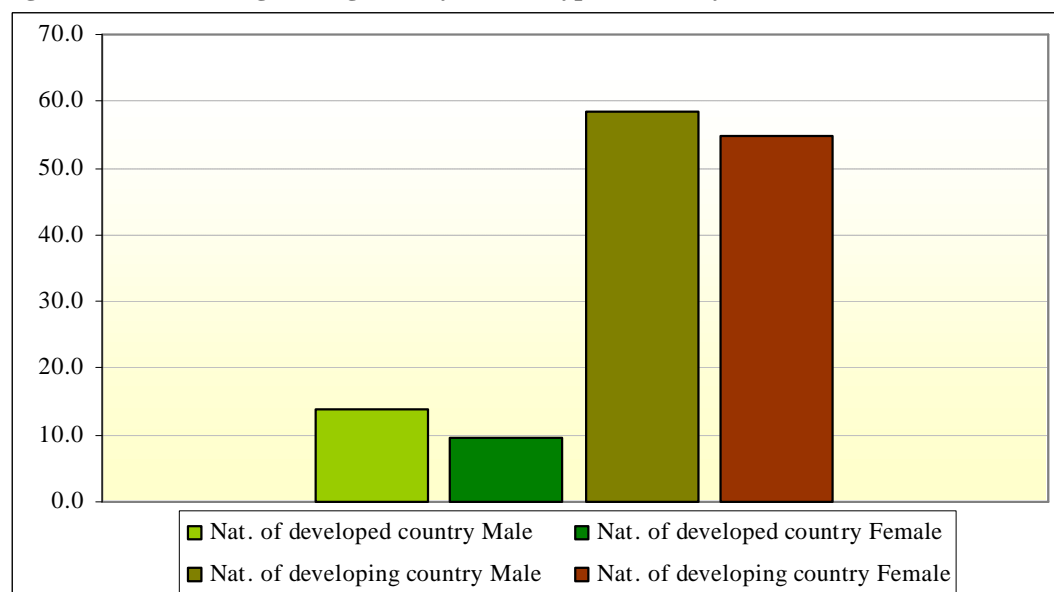
Source: AMIS 2003.

⁷⁹ Ralph Chami, Connel Fullenkamp and Samir Jahjah (2003), *Are International Remittance Flows a Source of Capital for Development?* IMF Working Paper WP/03/189, p.3.

⁸⁰ Richard H. Adams, Jr. (2003), *International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain: A Study of 24 Labor-Exporting Countries*. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3069, Washington, June 2003, p.5.

⁸¹ 'Thanks to the Virgen Mary, who has helped me, and blessed be the land of Aruba. Sweet Aruba'.

Figure 4.13. Percentage of migrants by sex and type of country of birth who send remittances overseas



Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 4.25 shows the number of migrants on Aruba by sex and type of country of birth who remit money overseas. These data are depicted in figure 4.13. The table includes all migrants, not only MMAs, and is restricted to those aged 10 years and older. The results show clearly that a much larger proportion of migrants from developing countries remit money to their country of origin than migrants from developed countries. Respectively 58.3 percent of men and 54.7 percent of women from developing countries send money overseas on a regular basis, against 13.9 and 9.7 percent of men and women from developed countries. For both types of country of birth the percentages are slightly higher for men than for women. One should keep in mind that the absolute number of migrants in the survey who send remittances was very small for those who originated from developed countries (18 men and women).

Table 4.26. Frequency of sending money to home country by sex

	Absolute		Percentage	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Every week	2	1	0.9	0.4
Every 2 weeks	22	7	10.1	2.6
Once a month	137	181	62.8	67.3
Every 2 months	26	27	11.9	10.0
3-4 times a year	17	31	7.8	11.5
Twice a year	9	18	4.1	6.7
Once a year	5	4	2.3	1.5
Total	218	269	100.0	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

Among all migrants who send money regularly, 62.8 percent of men and 67.3 percent of women do so on a monthly basis. About 10 percent send money every two months and 7.8 percent of men and 11.5 percent of women forward money three to four times a year. Migrants prefer to use private money transfer companies (such as Western Union) to send their money abroad, 70.4 percent use the services of these companies, compared with 16.4 percent who use banks. Fewer than 10 percent give money to friends or relatives to take it abroad. Interestingly, a major shift has taken place in the way people transfer remittances. In the 1994 Labor Force Survey, 9.9 percent of migrants used banks to remit money and 38.2 percent used private money transfer companies. At that time 38.2 percent of migrants preferred to send money via friends or relatives. Clearly, between 1994 and 2003 the way remittances are sent abroad has changed drastically. Nowadays many more migrants make use of official, rather than informal channels. Private money transfers are more important than banks to transfer migrants' remittances abroad. A reason may be that many migrants from developing countries do not have a bank account on Aruba: 37.2 percent of migrant men and 51.8 percent of women do not have a bank account (table 4.28).

Table 4.27. Way remittances are transferred by sex and type of country of birth

	Absolute				Total
	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Via a bank on Aruba (bank transfer)	7	6	41	26	80
Via friends/relatives who go abroad	0	0	16	29	45
Via mail	1	1	3	0	5
Via private money transfer service	1	0	143	199	343
Other	2	0	4	8	14
Total	11	7	207	262	487
	Percentage				
Via a bank on Aruba (bank transfer)	63.6	85.7	19.8	9.9	16.4
Via friends/relatives who go abroad	0.0	0.0	7.7	11.1	9.2
Via mail	9.1	14.3	1.4	0.0	1.0
Via private money transfer service	9.1	0.0	69.1	76.0	70.4
Other	18.2	0.0	1.9	3.1	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 4.28. Number of MMAs who have a bank account on Aruba by sex and type of country of birth

	Absolute		Percentage		Total
	Nat. of developed country	Nat. of developing country	Nat. of developed country	Nat. of developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Yes, has a bank account	66	50	223	231	570
No, does not have a bank account	13	22	132	248	415
Total	79	72	355	479	985
Percentage					
Yes, has a bank account	83.5	69.4	62.8	48.2	57.9
No, does not have a bank account	16.5	30.6	37.2	51.8	42.1

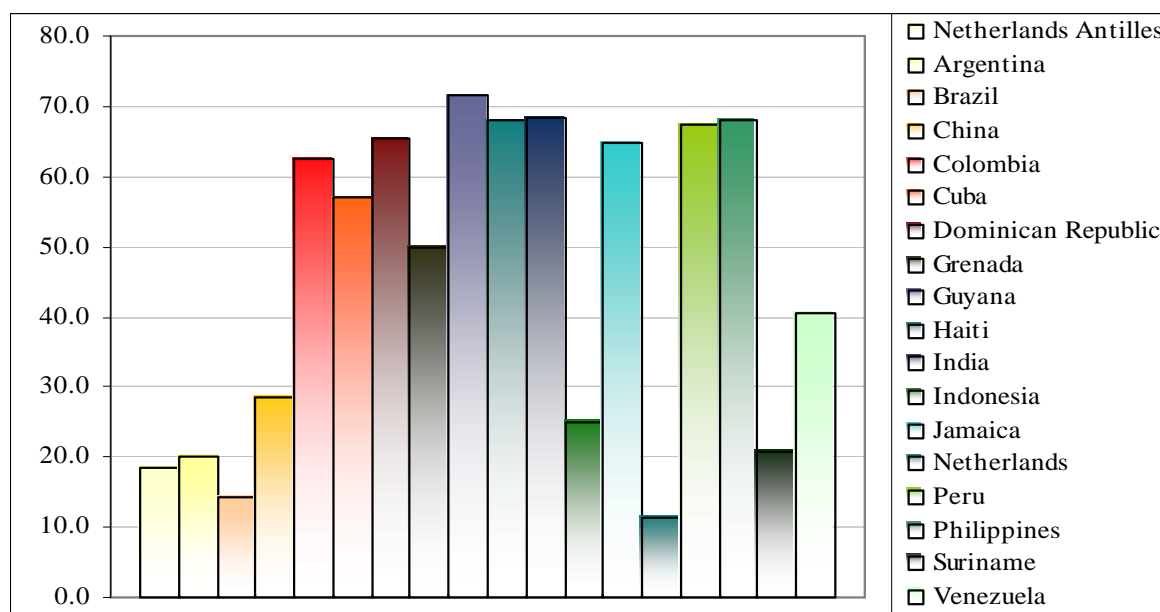
Source: AMIS 2003.

On average, male migrants, who send money abroad, remit Afl 4,112 per year to their country of origin. Female migrants send considerably less: Afl 3,421 per year. A large variety exists between sending countries with regard to remittances. In some countries a much larger percentage of migrants send money to relatives and friends. Moreover, for those who send money, large differences exist in the amounts they send. Table 4.29 and figure 4.14 show the percentages of migrants who send money overseas for some important countries of birth. The results of this table should be treated with caution as some cells are based on very few cases. The last column of the table includes the mean amount of money sent overseas by all migrants originating from these countries. In eight of the countries presented in table 4.29, more than 60 percent of migrants remit money to family or friends: Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Haiti, India, Jamaica, Peru and the Philippines. All of these countries are categorized as developing countries. The two richest countries in the list (USA and the Netherlands) have the lowest proportion of migrants who remit any money (0 and 11.4 percent). In the case of the Netherlands those who remit money usually do so to support children who are studying in the Netherlands. Figure 4.15 shows the difference in the mean amount of money remitted by migrants from the selected countries. These averages are only based on persons who remitted money. They do not include those who did not send any money.

Table 4.29. Persons remitting money to home country, for some important sending countries

	Absolute		Percentage sending money	Average amount sent per year
	Send money regularly			
	Yes	No		
Netherlands Antilles	8	35	18.6	8864.4
Argentina	1	4	20.0	-
Brazil	1	6	14.3	-
China	4	10	28.6	1470.6
Colombia	209	126	62.4	3711.3
Cuba	4	3	57.1	2188.8
Dominican Republic	51	27	65.4	3463.6
Grenada	3	3	50.0	750.0
Guyana	5	2	71.4	900.6
Haiti	36	17	67.9	2284.1
India	13	6	68.4	5525.3
Indonesia	1	3	25.0	-
Jamaica	11	6	64.7	3736.7
Netherlands	10	78	11.4	5601.2
Peru	37	18	67.3	3241.6
Philippines	36	17	67.9	5499.0
Suriname	12	46	20.7	5448.2
Venezuela	42	62	40.4	2988.8
United States	0	12	0.0	-

Source: AMIS 2003.

Figure 4.14. Percentage of persons remitting money to home country, for some important sending countries

Source: AMIS 2003.

It appears that immigrants born in the Netherlands Antilles who remit money send the highest average amount of money. However these averages are only based on very few cases. One respondent actually indicated he had just sent a large amount of money to his son overseas. Some developing countries show relatively high levels of remittances. For instance, the Philippines and Surinam both have levels of remittances well above Afl. 5,000 per year. The difference between the two countries is that in the Philippines 67.9 percent of migrants provide money to relatives abroad, while only 20.7 percent of migrants from Surinam do so. A minority of Chinese who move to Aruba remit money to their country of origin. Those who send money, send about Afl. 1,470. The financial links of Indians to their motherland remain much stronger. More than two-thirds of all Indian migrants send money abroad. On average they send no less than Afl. 5,525 per year. Colombians, the largest group of migrants on the island, remit Afl. 3,711 per year. Other countries with large number of persons on the island submit on average respectively Afl. 3,463.6 (Dominican Republic), Afl. 2,284.1 (Haiti), Afl. 3,736.7 (Jamaica), Afl. 3,241.6 (Peru) and Afl. 2,988.8 (Venezuela). Whether or not to send remittances is an important decision for migrants. Leaving hard earned money in the hands of relatives or other persons requires trust and confidence that the money will be spent optimally. The decision to remit depends on various factors. El Sakka⁸² mentions the following factors which play an important role:

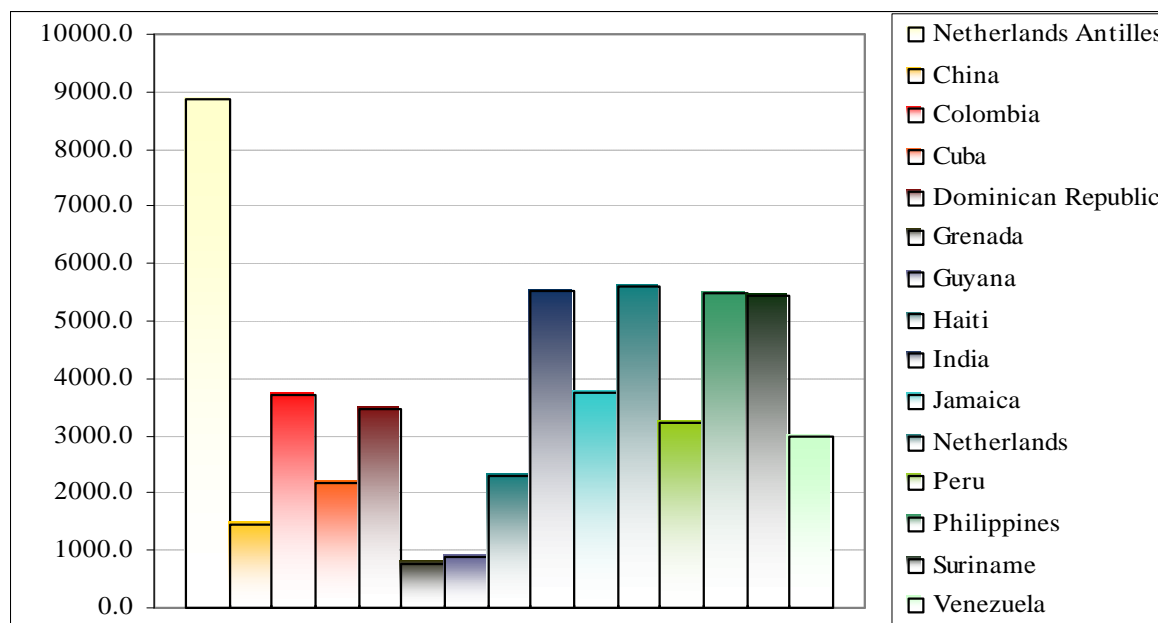
“Essentially remittances are private transfers of savings. The decision to remit, however, depends on a variety of variables. Besides the demographic characteristics of emigrants, i.e., age, sex, marital status, number of dependents, and links with family at the country of origin, the occupational status of emigrants is playing an important role in determining the amount of remittances sent home. Workers of low occupational status do not often take their families to the country of employment. Usually they are considered as target emigrants who tend to endure poor living conditions in the country of employment and thus, their propensity to save is very high.”

To examine the variables which contribute to higher and lower levels of remittances by migrants residing on Aruba, we again used a Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA). As we saw before, an MCA table provides estimates for the mean and deviations from the overall mean, before and after controlling for intervening factors and covariates. For each of the factors in the analysis, the level of statistical significance is indicated. Table 4.30. presents the results of the MCA. In the first run only migrants who had effectively remitted money were include in the analysis. In the second run, all

⁸² El-Sakka M.I.T. (s.d.) *Migration remittances policy options for host and countries of origin*. (Final report of research project no. CC023) Kuwait University College of Administrative Sciences, Department of Economics.

migrants whether they had remitted money overseas or not were included. The amounts in table 4.30 refer to yearly remittances sent overseas.

Figure 4.15. Mean amount of remittances (Afl.) send to country of origin, for some sending countries



Source: AMIS 2003

We saw that on average male migrants remit about Afl. 700 more than women. However, when we control for intervening factors, the difference between the sexes becomes very small and statistically insignificant. All other factors (except 'marital status' and 'financial stability of the household before migration' in the run with all migrants) are statistically significant. It should not come as a surprise that the level of income of migrants creates the largest differences. Obviously, those who earn good salaries are able to remit more substantial amounts of money than those who earn very little.

Migrants who intend to return home after their stay on Aruba remit higher amounts of money than those who intend to stay on the island indefinitely. Those who have decided to build a new life on Aruba have often brought their family with them – which makes it unnecessary to remit. Moreover, they have to spend more on the island, for example to buy a house and a car. On average, migrants who want to settle on Aruba remit Afl 868.30 less than those who intend to return. Those who want to go to another country fall in between. Migrants who live here together with their children, with or without a partner, remit much less than those who are living alone or live here with a partner. Those who live here alone, have a higher number of dependants in their home country. After controlling for intervening factors, we see that –at least for those migrants who transfer money - migrants from developed countries remit significantly higher amounts overseas than migrants from developing countries. If we look at the analysis with all migrants, the opposite is true. Because a much higher percentage of migrants from developing countries remit money, the overall mean amount for them is higher.

Migrants who are married remit significantly more than others. Although the same pattern can be observed among all migrants, 'marital status' loses its statistical significance. The same holds true for financial stability of the household before migration. Those migrants whose financial situation was more than sufficient remit higher amounts of money. It is interesting to see that those whose situation were insufficient before migration remit more than those who indicated that it was sufficient or barely sufficient. Probably, the need to help the home front becomes greater as the economic situation is more difficult.

Table 4.30. Remittances of migrants for those who remit money and for all migrants

		Migrants who remit money				All migrants				
		N	Adjusted mean	Adjusted deviation	Sign.	N	Adjusted mean	Adjusted deviation	Sign.	% who remit money
Sex	Male	165	4116.1	61.7	0.79	268	2584.5	-181.5	0.30	61.6
	Female	200	4003.4	-50.9		267	2948.2	182.2		74.9
Intend to return	Return to your home country	108	4629.0	574.6 *	0.10	132	3673.5	907.4 *	0.00	81.8
	Settle in this country	229	3760.7	-293.7		358	2394.9	-371.2		64.0
	Migrate to another country	28	4239.7	185.4		45	3057.2	291.2		62.2
Sociological family type	Soc. one person family	197	4609.0	554.6 ***	0.00	230	3819.0	1052.9 ***	0.00	85.7
	Soc. Family living together, no kids	66	4602.6	548.3		107	2867.8	101.7		61.7
	Soc. Family living together with kids	86	2603.0	-1451.4		169	1416.8	-1349.2		50.9
	Soc. father with kids	1	1154.5	-2899.9		3	1987.8	-778.3		33.3
	Soc. mother with kids	15	2872.6	-1181.7		26	1892.7	-873.3		57.7
Income recoded	1-949 Afl	113	3202.3	-852.0 ***	0.00	135	1988.0	-778.0 ***	0.00	83.7
	960-2999 Afl.	231	3913.2	-141.2		331	2706.4	-59.6		69.8
	+ 3000 Afl.	21	10191.9	6137.5		69	4574.2	1808.2		30.4
Type of country of birth	Nat. of developed country	13	7425.4	3371.0 ***	0.00	74	843.3	-1922.7 ***	0.00	17.6
	Nat. of developing country	352	3929.8	-124.5		461	3074.7	308.6		76.4
Marital status	Never married	191	4007.5	-46.9 **	0.03	245	2660.3	-105.8	0.20	78.0
	Married	145	4333.8	279.4		243	3045.8	279.7		59.7
	Legally divorced	18	3594.2	-460.1		33	1478.5	-1287.5		54.5
	Legally separated from bed and board	-	-	-		-	-	-		-
	Widowed	8	3735.2	-319.1		9	2150.0	-616.0		88.9
Financial stability hh before migration	More than sufficient	18	6159.6	2105.2 *	0.09	51	3498.1	732.0	0.21	35.3
	Sufficient	141	3965.3	-89.0		236	2429.4	-336.7		59.7
	Barely sufficient	104	3734.2	-320.1		126	2861.9	95.8		82.5
	Insufficient	102	4132.3	77.9		122	3012.3	246.2		83.6
R ²		0.34			*** 0.00	0.17			*** 0.00	

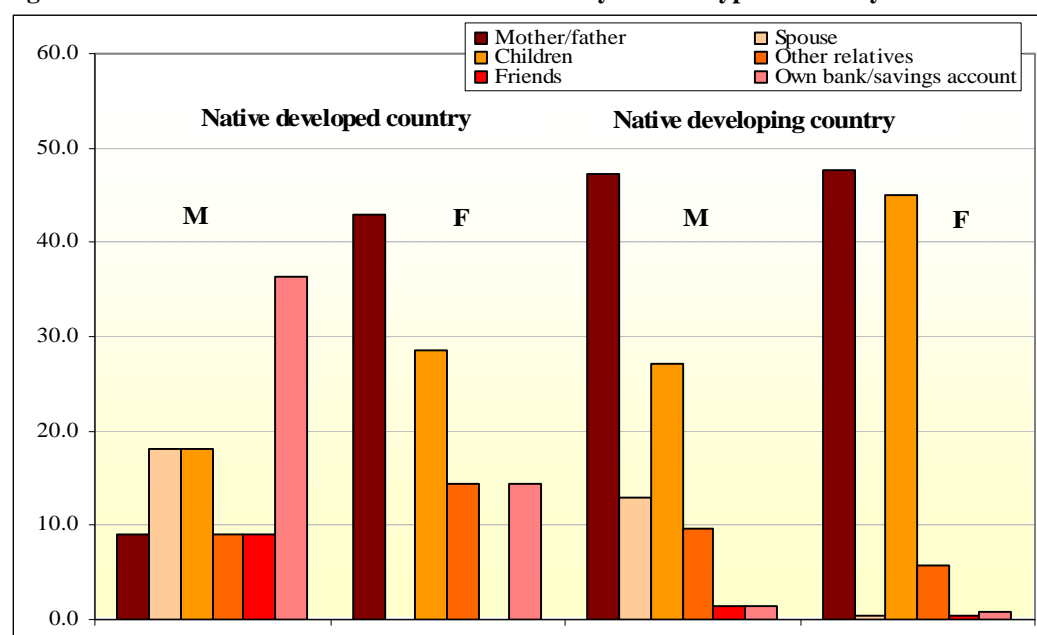
Table 4.31. Person to whom remittances are sent by sex and type of country of birth

	Absolute			
	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mother/father	1	3	98	125
Spouse	2	0	27	1
Children	2	2	56	118
Other relatives	1	1	20	15
Friends	1	0	3	1
Own bank/savings account	4	1	3	2
Total	11	7	207	262
	Percentage			
	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mother/father	9.1	42.9	47.3	47.7
Spouse	18.2	0.0	13.0	0.4
Children	18.2	28.6	27.1	45.0
Other relatives	9.1	14.3	9.7	5.7
Friends	9.1	0.0	1.4	0.4
Own bank/savings account	36.4	14.3	1.4	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

About 36 percent of male migrants from developed countries send money to their own bank account. They are only a minority. All other groups prefer to send money to their mother or father; respectively 42.9 percent for women from developed countries and 47.3 percent of men and 47.7 percent of women from developing countries. However, it should be kept in mind that the number of migrants from developed countries is very small and subject to small number variability. Sending money overseas to another person involves a certain risk. It is always possible that hard earned money will be squandered by those left behind. Unsurprisingly, therefore, migrants prefer to send money to their parents. Also, forty-five percent of women from developing countries send money to their children. As we mentioned before, some of the migrants come to work to get their children through education; children are thus important recipients of money. Men who are living alone on Aruba send money to their wives overseas. Respectively, 18.2 and 13.0 percent of men from developed and developing countries send money to their wife.

Figure 4.16. Person to whom remittances are sent by sex and type of country of birth



Source: AMIS 2003.

Remittances are potentially an important input of foreign exchange for sending countries. According to a report by the International Labor Organization (ILO) the total amount of remittances in the world exceeded the amount of official overseas development (ODA) in 1999. The authors of the report estimate that at that time ODA amounted to 54 billion US\$, while remittances accounted for about 65 billion US\$⁸³. About two-thirds of all remittances are sent from developed to developing countries. Worldwide most remittance money is used to pay for daily expenses. Much smaller amounts go into education of family members, building a house and savings. Although only a small proportion of all remittances are used for direct investments, the influx of such large amounts of foreign currency into the local economies creates a considerable multiplying effect. In some countries remittances constitute a high proportion of the household budget. Van Doorn, for instance, indicates that in El Salvador, 61 percent of the household budget comes from remittances⁸⁴.

The AMIS included a question on how the money sent in the past twelve months had been spent. The questionnaire listed a large number of possible answers. The interviewers were instructed to mark all answers that were mentioned spontaneously. Table 4.32 presents the absolute and relative number of times a particular item was mentioned by respondents. In the discussion we shall direct our attention mainly to migrants from developing countries.

The majority of migrants from developing countries who remitted money to their home country indicated that the money was mainly used to cover daily expenses: 84.5 percent of men and 80.2 percent of women. The next most important item was financing the education of a household member in the country of origin. No difference exists in this respect between male and female migrants. About a third of all migrants who sent money home said it was used for educational purposes. Migration remittances can be utilized to alleviate the difficult situation of the household. Twenty-one percent of migrants from developing countries who sent money did so to cover medical costs for family members. Many persons in sending countries do not have any type of medical insurance.

Table 4.32 shows that very few migrants used the money they earned on Aruba for investment or savings. Also, only a handful of migrants had bought land or built a house with money earned on Aruba. In general, our data show that migrants who sent money abroad did so for the short-term improvement of the living conditions of family members left behind, rather than for a long-term strategy to ameliorate the well-being of the household.

4.5. WORKING CONDITIONS

This section will look into some aspects of the working conditions of migrant workers on Aruba. During the fieldwork, all migrants (MMAs and non-MMAs) were asked whether they had a written employment contract for their current job. Having a written contract obviously gives the employee a much stronger position if a disagreement arises about working conditions. Table 4.33 shows that a large proportion of all migrants do not have a written contract. Just under 40 percent of men from developed and developing countries do not have a written contract. The percentage without a written contract is highest among working women from developing countries (47.8 percent).

⁸³ Judith van Doorn (s.d.), Migration, remittances and development. In: Global Perspective. Social Finance Program. ILO. (Website ILO). p. 48.

⁸⁴ Judith van Doorn, op. cit., p. 51.

Table 4.32. Absolute and relative number of persons by ways remittances are used in receiving country by sex and type of country of birth.

	Absolute				Percentage			
	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Money spent on house	0	0	6	9	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.4
Money spent on land	0	0	1	2	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.8
Money spent on business	0	0	3	0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0
Money spent on agriculture	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Money saved	1	0	3	4	9.1	0.0	1.4	1.5
Money spent on car	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Money spent on education hh member	2	2	67	85	18.2	28.6	32.4	32.4
Money spent for daily expenses	6	3	175	210	54.5	42.9	84.5	80.2
Money spent on consumption goods	1	0	2	6	9.1	0.0	1.0	2.3
Money spent for medical costs	2	0	45	56	18.2	0.0	21.7	21.4
Money spent to pay back migration costs	0	0	0	2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Money spent to pay back other debts	3	0	4	4	27.3	0.0	1.9	1.5
Money spent for a new migration	1	0	0	0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Money spent for marriage hh member	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Money spent for family celebration	0	0	1	0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
Money spent for other purpose	1	2	6	14	9.1	28.6	2.9	5.3
Total	11	7	207	262				

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 4.33. Migrants by sex and type of country of birth by whether they have a written work contract

	Absolute				Percentage			
	Developed country		Developing country		Developed country		Developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Written contract	39	21	181	153	62.9	60.0	61.8	52.2
No written contract	23	14	112	140	37.1	40.0	38.2	47.8
Total	62	35	293	293	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 4.34. Migrants by sex and type of country of birth by whether the termination date of work is clearly stipulated by the employer

	Absolute				Percentage			
	Developed country		Developing country		Developed country		Developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
End work stipulated	9	6	16	10	14.5	17.1	5.5	3.4
End work not stipulated	53	29	277	283	85.5	82.9	94.5	96.6
Total	62	35	293	293	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

Another question in the survey asked about the termination date of the migrant's current job. The majority of migrant workers have an open-ended employment arrangement. A higher percentage of migrants from developed countries have a specified termination date for their job (14.5 percent of men and 17.1 percent of women). Only very few migrants from developing countries have a termination date stipulated by their employer (5.5 percent of men and 3.4 percent of women).

It is interesting to see whether migrant workers work more hours per week than local workers. To look into this we use data from the 2000 Population and Housing Census. However, to see whether foreign workers work longer we have to control for the effect of other intervening factors. For instance, as many migrants work in the hotel sector, where working hours are longer than in other sectors, it may seem that migrants work longer, while it is in fact the effect of their sector of work, rather than their type of country of birth.

To control for the effects of intervening factors we used another MCA in which working hours was the dependent variable and a number of personal characteristics of the employee were intervening factors. We tested a number of variables for their impact on the number of hours worked in the week prior to the Census. Some variables, which we believed would be important, were dropped from the analysis because their effect proved to be minimal. For instance, age (both in continuous format and in large age groups) did not have an important effect on the weekly number of hours worked. Only the very young and the older age groups on the labor market work significantly less than workers in the middle age groups. Family type did not prove to be an important factor either. Table 4.35 shows the results of the MCA table.

After controlling for intervening factors, the 2000 Population Census shows that foreign workers from developing countries work an average of two hours per week more than local workers. The difference between workers from developed countries and Aruban workers is quite small (0.7 of an hour per week compared to the grand mean). Our analysis also shows that men work on average 2.6 hours per week more than women. Data from AMIS show that a higher percentage of migrant workers from developed countries than those from developing countries had worked overtime (see table 4.36). About thirty percent of male workers and 28.6 percent of women from developed countries worked overtime. Women from developing countries were working least overtime (12.6 percent). Payment of overtime work is quite different for men and women from developing countries. About half of women from developing countries are not paid for overtime work, against only 15 percent of men. About half of workers from developed countries are paid when they work longer than agreed. Table 4.37 whether or not overtime was compensated by the employer.

Table 4.35. MCA analysis on working hours

Grand mean	42.7				
Variable	N of cases	Predicted Mean, unadjusted	Predicted Mean, adjusted	Deviation Unadjusted	Adjusted for Factors and Covariates
SEX					
Male	22,286	43.8	43.9	1.1	1.2
Female	19,301	41.5	41.4	-1.2	-1.4
Type of country of birth					
Aruban	24,579	41.8	42.1	-0.9	-0.7
Nat. of developed country	3,759	43.0	42.8	0.2	0.0
Nat. of developing country	13,249	44.4	44.0	1.7	1.3
Handicap					
Yes	942	41.1	41.3	-1.7	-1.4
No	40,646	42.8	42.8	0.0	0.0
ISIC categories					
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	179	42.9	41.9	0.2	-0.9
Fishing	34	46.3	46.5	3.5	3.7
Mining and quarrying	38	46.6	45.5	3.8	2.8
Manufacturing	2,439	43.4	43.1	0.7	0.3
Electricity, gas and water supply	501	40.5	40.5	-2.3	-2.3
Construction	3,892	42.4	41.7	-0.4	-1.0
Wholesale and retail trade, repair	7,112	43.1	42.9	0.3	0.2
Hotels and restaurants	7,650	46.3	45.9	3.6	3.1
Transport, storage and communications	2,904	41.3	41.5	-1.4	-1.2
Financial intermediation	1,485	41.2	42.1	-1.5	-0.6
Real estate, renting and business activities	3,722	43.1	42.9	0.4	0.2
Public administration and defence; social security	3,528	40.9	41.4	-1.9	-1.4
Education	1,431	35.2	36.3	-7.5	-6.4
Health and social work	1,987	39.6	40.7	-3.2	-2.0
Other community, social and personal services	2,775	43.0	42.8	0.2	0.1
Private households with employed persons	1,866	42.3	43.3	-0.5	0.5
Extra territorial organizations and bodies	45	45.7	45.0	2.9	2.2
ISCO categories					
Armed forces	134	41.4	41.6	-1.3	-1.2
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	3,728	46.8	46.4	4.0	3.6
Professionals	2,536	40.2	42.6	-2.6	-0.2
Technicians and associate professionals	4,627	40.5	41.8	-2.3	-0.9
Clerks	7,673	41.5	42.4	-1.3	-0.3
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	8,120	44.4	43.6	1.7	0.9
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	315	43.7	42.0	0.9	-0.8
Craft and related trades workers	5,061	42.6	41.7	-0.1	-1.0
Plant and machines operators and assemblers	2,077	42.9	42.7	0.1	-0.1
Elementary occupations	7,316	42.6	41.7	-0.2	-1.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 4.36. Migrants by sex and type of country of birth by whether they worked more hours than agreed

	Absolute				Percentage			
	Developed country		Developing country		Developed country		Developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
More hours	19	10	71	37	30.6	28.6	24.3	12.6
Not more hours	43	25	221	256	69.4	71.4	75.7	87.4
Total	62	35	292	293	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 4.37. Migrants by sex and type of country of birth by whether overtime was compensated

	Absolute				Percentage			
	Developed country		Developing country		Developed country		Developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Compensated	11	4	60	19	57.9	40.0	85.7	51.4
Not compensated	8	6	10	18	42.1	60.0	14.3	48.6
Total	19	10	70	37	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003

For workers who worked overtime, the mean number of extra hours was quite considerable. Men from developed countries and women from developing countries, who are not paid for overtime, work on average more than ten hours more. In the case of men from developed countries many have a high position which means that working long hours comes with the job. In the case of women from developing countries many are housemaids.

In some cases, excessive working hours may lead to a labor conflict between employee and employer. During the in-depth interviews we came across the case of *Mercedes* who ended up losing her job because of a conflict about working hours.

Mercedes came to Aruba in June 2000. After some initial problems finding a job she started working as a cleaner in a restaurant. She had to work four hours a day there. She was not directly employed by the restaurant but worked for a contractor. The problem was that because of the amount of work, she had to work seven days a week, without a day off. She did so for six weeks. When her child became ill she asked for a couple of days off, but her employer refused to grant this request. She got into an argument with the employer and was subsequently fired. (*Mercedes*, Colombia, born 1964)

Table 4.38. Migrants by sex and type of country of birth by whether overtime was compensated and number of hours of overtime

	Hours worked overtime during last week			
	Developed country		Developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Overtime compensated	12.4	11.5	9.8	8.2
Overtime not compensated	11.5	6.3	7.6	10.3

Source: AMIS 2003.

4.6. FOREIGN ENTREPRENEURS

This section examines the activity of foreign-born entrepreneurs on Aruba. According to the 2000 Population and Housing Census, the total Aruban working population consisted of 41,918 persons. Table 4.39 presents the working population by country of birth and employment status. The most important countries of birth are presented separately; all other countries are grouped in the category 'other countries'. In this table, an entrepreneur is a person who is either an employer, a small employer or an own-account worker. The 2000 Census counted a total 4,066 entrepreneurs, just under 10 percent of the total working population. Quite a few of Aruba's entrepreneurs were born abroad: a total of 1,660.

Sandra is a typical example of a young woman who took control of her own destiny and started her own little business on Aruba.

Sandra is a professional dancer who had worked in musical productions in various countries in Europe and Latin America. She was living in Cuba when, in 1997, she was hired by one of the hotels on Aruba as a dancer in one of their shows. She came to Aruba initially for a contract of 6 months. She was paid on Aruba, but also received money in Cuba. This money was paid to her mother who took care of her son. On Aruba she met her husband, who was born on Bonaire. After she married, she decided to start a dancing school. Her temporary contract with the hotel had ended. She thought that by teaching dance to Arubans, she would get to know many people and become better integrated.

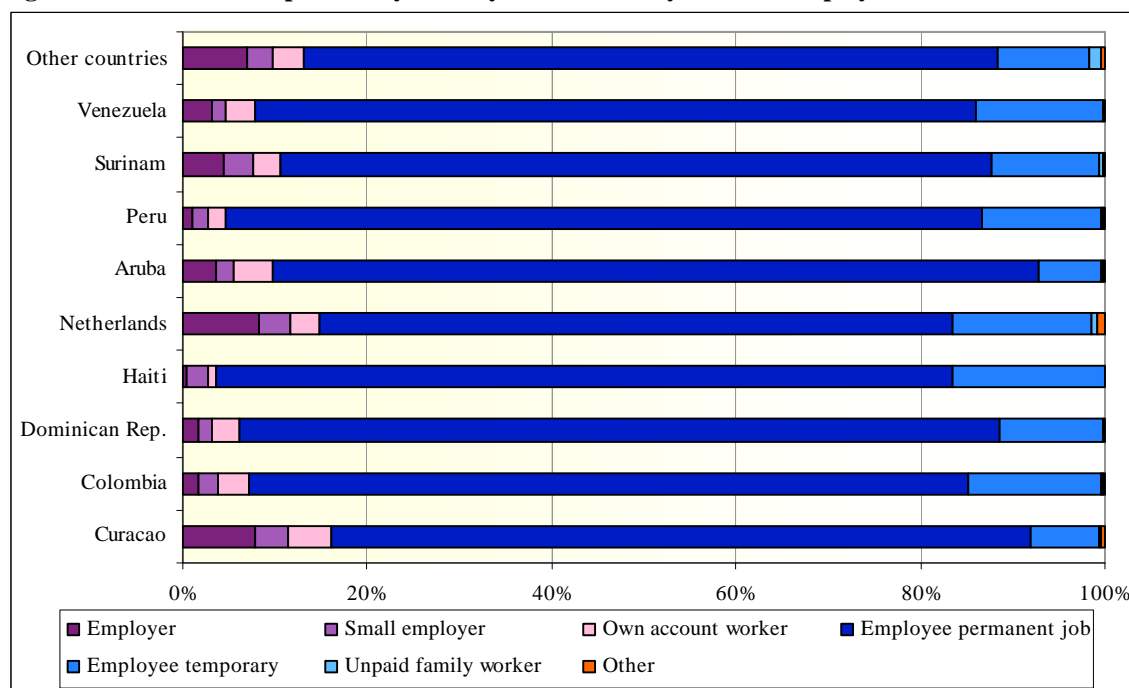
Table 4.39. Number of persons by country of birth and by status in employment

	Employer	Small employer	Own account worker	Employee permanent job	Employee temporary	Unpaid family worker	Other	Entrepreneur Total	%
Curacao	94	42	56	904	87	3	5	192	16.1
Colombia	78	103	149	3596	668	11	8	330	7.1
Dominican Rep.	35	33	60	1720	230	1	5	127	6.1
Haiti	3	17	6	595	123	0	0	26	3.5
The Netherlands	138	57	54	1138	253	7	16	248	14.9
Aruba	873	488	1045	20563	1661	53	60	2406	9.7
Peru	7	13	14	591	93	2	1	34	4.7
Surinam	30	23	20	540	82	2	2	74	10.5
Venezuela	50	24	53	1272	225	2	1	127	7.8
Other countries	271	104	128	2883	378	53	16	503	13.1
Total	1579	903	1583	33803	3800	133	114	4066	9.7

Source: Population and Housing Census Aruba, 2000.

The percentages of entrepreneurs differ considerably between countries of birth. The highest percentages can be found among migrants from Curaçao, the Netherlands and Surinam. Interestingly people born in these three countries have a higher percentage of entrepreneurs than local born persons (9.7 percent). The lowest percentages of entrepreneurship can be observed among migrants from Latin American countries and Haiti (see figure 4.17).

Figure 4.17. Number of persons by country of birth and by status in employment



Source: Population and Housing Census Aruba, 2000.

5 INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MIGRATION

‘Most of the people on this island are very nice and gentle....

Yet some less than beautiful individuals do exist and if they hear something not to their total liking their instant response is: ‘Miho bo bai bo pais back’⁸⁵. For those who still didn’t get it. Aruba is a melting pot, an immigration country: if you pay your taxes, file your papers correctly and abide by the law, you will prosper here, build a home and educate your kids.....

We are a fruit salad of many flavors, melon, kiwi, grapes- and any time you hear ‘miho bo bai bo pais back’, you are welcome to totally and completely ignore the advice and reject the offense offered. Go buy a pastechi, listen to Padu’s recording of ‘Abo So’, if you have tears in your eyes at the end of the song you are Aruban, and you need no validation from the man in the street to know you belong – the feeling of being local, the knowledge that you are an islander, comes from inside ...’ Rhona Coster, Bati Bleki, Diario, June 23rd 2003.

According to the author of the above citation in a local newspaper, the feeling of being a local, an Aruban, comes from the inside and is not determined by your country of birth and certainly not by the opinion of others. She tells that how well a person is integrated in Aruban society depends on him or her adopting local eating habits, loving the folklore, abiding by the local law and having a general feeling of belonging. In this chapter we shall address the position of migrants in Aruban society.

UNESCO⁸⁶ refers to social integration as “...the extent and intensity of the connections between the elements of a social unit. Implying that the society is well ordered and that the entry of new individuals or groups either does not endanger existing system integration or changes it in a way that society will be integrated again as a result of the transformation. To avoid the implication that the society in question is well-ordered, they prefer to use the term ‘insertion’ over ‘integration’. Referring to any process of entry or extension whereby new elements are included into the system regardless of whether this disturbs or enhances overall social integration. Except for the positive effects of integration, they also speak of negative integration. That is participation of immigrants in petty criminal activity or simply illegal entry and irregular employment. These negative forms of integration do lead to social participation of immigrants, but at the same time undermine the rule of law in receiving societies.”

Integration or exclusions of migrants in society is an important topic of public debate in many countries. In Europe, for instance, the failure to integrate past migrants effectively in the community has been an important factor in the rise of many extreme right-wing political parties. These parties exploit peoples’ fear and anxiety about large groups of migrants living in the country.

There is a wide range of levels of integration of migrants, from complete assimilation in the receiving society to complete exclusion of all forms of social interaction. In some countries in Europe, governments see assimilation as the ideal form of integration. Assimilation involves integration at the individual level, which is accompanied by the sacrifice of cultural and ethnic differences. France, Germany and Spain are clear examples of countries which favor an individual, assimilative form of integration. Other countries, such as the Netherlands, Great Britain, Sweden, Australia and Canada favor integration with more deference for cultural diversity and lifestyles. These countries support a more multi-cultural approach to integration. Neither approach is without ambiguity: “...priority given to the respects of collective identities could lead to de facto segregation; priority given to individual

⁸⁵ ‘You better return to your country’. Rhona Coster, Bati Bleki, Diario, June 23th 2003

⁸⁶ Unesco, International Migration and Multicultural Policies

integration could lead to the ignorance of actual discriminations and the non-recognition of inherited identities”⁸⁷.

It is essential to emphasize that integration is always a two-way and a long term process, involving attitudes and actions both on the part of the migrant and on the part of the members of the receiving country. For the migrant, integration means a willingness to become an active element of the community and for the receiving community integration involves a willingness to accept outsiders with their own social, cultural and religious identity. Acts of racism against migrants are often an expression of rejection by local citizens of migrants’ attempts at normal social interaction. Racism is an effort to push the victim into social exclusion. Integration, on the other hand, requires equality and equal rights between local residents and migrants at all levels in society.

The Aruban population has been molded by successive waves of migrants who have come to Aruba. Alofs and Merckies⁸⁸ indicated that in 1985 there was still a clear distinction between residents who came before and those who arrived after the LAGO refinery. Although the two groups were not separated economically, there was no real social, political and cultural integration. In 2003, we see that the distinction between the two groups, which lived on the island between 1924 and 1985, had become more unclear. The fight for the Status Aparte in 1986 was the fire which melted both groups together to one nation. The difference in economic opportunities between those who had come to work in the refinery and the population in the outer districts was canceled out by the closure of LAGO and the growth in the tourism industry. Internal migration, caused by the shift of economic opportunities from San Nicolas to Oranjestad and Noord, resulted in an ethnically more diversified living pattern⁸⁹. Migrants from other South American countries who came to Aruba before 1985 have also generally been assimilated in Aruban society. However, because of the enormous recent influx of large groups of foreign workers on the island, a new division has grown within society: between the Aruban population from before 1985 and the migrant population who have settled on the island more recently. In a way, a new process of integration and assimilation has started. Many of these new migrants stay on the island only for a limited period of time, while others will settle indefinitely. At the moment, there is still a clear social distinction between the group of recent migrants and Arubans. It will be interesting to see how the relationship between the two groups will evolve in the coming years. In this chapter, we shall look at how the process of integration is taking shape. At the time of writing, the Aruban government did not have an official integration policy. Also, it will be interesting to see what actions in this field will be taken in the future.

The degree of integration of migrants who participated in AMIS was measured by their knowledge of the local language, household and family composition, their intentions, their knowledge of Aruba and their perception of certain aspects of their own lives on Aruba. We shall also look into how migrants feel about the tolerance of Arubans towards the group of recent migrants.

Each person, each group, may experience integration differently. A child, for instance, sees the world from a different perspective than a teenager. Adults, on the other hand, may put economic motives for migration above integration. There is no doubt that age at migration is an important factor in the integration process, as is illustrated by the following case.

Antonio is Venezuelan and married to an Aruban who had been living in Venezuela since she was 14 years old. The family migrated to Aruba in 1997 when the children were respectively 16, 12, 7 and 3 years. In Antonio’s own words:

‘..... The youngest children integrated easily and very fast, the two eldest had difficulty leaving their friends and their schools behind. Every time they had the chance they would go back to Venezuela on

⁸⁷ Houle, René (2000), Integration of migrants and refugees in local communities: Problems and Policies. Comunicació presentada al II Seminari Language Training and Socio-cultural Adaptation celebrat a Moscó, del 7 al 9 d’abril de 1999. Centre d’Estudis Demogràfics, 2000, p.1.

⁸⁸ Alofs, L. & Merckies, L. (1990), Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba. Leiden. p. 215.

⁸⁹ Alofs, L. & Merckies, L. (2001), Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba 1924-2001. Tweede Herzien en Uitgebreide druk. Oranjestad, Aruba. p.213.

vacation. Maybe the age difference between them makes integration either easy or difficult, their perceptual spectrum is different.'

'... We want to stay in Aruba. It's very peaceful here compared to the situation in Venezuela. But the main motive for staying on the island now is the education of our children.'

The age groups presented in the following tables reflect important groups in society. The group aged 0-5 years are children in pre-primary education (toddlers), 6-11 years are children in primary education, 12-19 years represent adolescents and young adults⁹⁰, 20-64 years incorporate the working age population and 65 years and over the elderly.

One requirement for successful integration is mastering the language of the receiving country. However, the mere knowledge of the language is not sufficient. Knowledge of and respect for the cultural, social and political entity of the receiving country is equally important. Below we shall go into migrants' knowledge of the local language first, before looking into other social aspects of integration.

5.1. LANGUAGE

Language is often the first and major barrier a migrant encounters in a foreign country. For immigrants, Aruba is quite complex in this respect. Just consider the fact that Dutch has been the official language for many years and that Papiamentu⁹¹, the native language of Aruba, is predominantly a spoken language among the locals. Mastering both languages is more than a handful.

With the increasing consciousness of Arubans about their cultural identity, a prominent desire has emerged to use Papiamentu in all areas of society. There is a draft ordinance on official languages which formally states that Papiamentu and Dutch are both the official languages of Aruba. Although it has not yet been formally adopted, its principal aim is to encourage the use of Papiamentu for administrative and legal purposes.

According to the Census 2000, 33.9 percent of Aruba's population were foreign-born. More than 50 percent of all migrants came from Spanish-speaking countries, 17.0 percent from Dutch-speaking countries and fewer than 10 percent from other Papiamentu-speaking countries⁹².

Table 5.1. Number of foreign-born persons by vernacular language and age-group

	Spanish		Dutch		English		Papiamentu		Other		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
0-5 yrs.	328	2.2	234	4.6	112	2.5	89	3.2	20	0.8	783	2.6
6-11 yrs.	868	5.7	660	12.9	261	5.8	120	4.3	79	3.2	1,989	6.6
12-19 yrs.	1,305	8.6	865	17.0	394	8.7	197	7.0	154	6.3	2,916	9.7
20-64 yrs.	12,091	79.5	3,012	59.0	3,024	67.2	1,829	65.2	2,012	82.1	21,968	73.1
65 yrs.+	616	4.1	330	6.5	709	15.7	569	20.3	186	7.6	2,410	8.0
Total	15,208	100.0	5,102	100.0	4,500	100.0	2,805	100.0	2,451	100.0	30,066	100.0
Row %	50.6		17.0		15.0		9.3		8.2		100.0	

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

⁹⁰ The age-groups 0-5 yrs and 6-11 yrs correspond to the divisions used in the new International Standard Classification of Education version 1997, *Onderwijs op Aruba*, context en output, CBS, 2003

⁹¹ Papiamentu was probably introduced after 1780, when the number of white settlers on Aruba increased and the original Indian population mixed with the newcomers. These European settlers spoke the language of Curaçao and introduced Papiamentu on the island. The Indian language soon disappeared and was replaced by Papiamentu, Alofs & Merckies (1990).

⁹² Central Bureau of Statistics – Aruba (2001), Fourth Population and Housing Census 2000. Oranjestad, Aruba.

Table 5.1 gives an overview of the age distribution of the foreign-born population by vernacular language. Unsurprisingly, the largest group of migrants is in the working age category, thus between 20 and 64 years old. The second largest group, (16.3 percent), is between 6 and 19 years of age.

It is interesting that more than 95 percent of school-aged children from Spanish-speaking countries report they are able to speak Papiamentu, and more than 70 percent indicate they can speak Dutch (see table 5.2). On the other hand, some 70 percent of children from English-speaking countries say they can speak Papiamentu and less than 60 percent say they can speak Dutch. In table 5.2, the Papiamentu-speaking children consist of children from Aruba, Bonaire or Curaçao. Children in this category were born on either Aruba, Curaçao or Bonaire, but do not necessarily belong to an Aruban or Antillean family.

Although children usually pick up languages faster than grown-ups, Papiamentu is not learned overnight. Because of its resemblance to Spanish, children from Latin America have fewer problems learning Papiamentu than children from English-speaking countries.

In the following two cases, the language barrier hampered integration. Both cases come from our qualitative data collection:

'... The two youngest children (7 and 3) enrolled in the school system almost at the same level as Aruban children, their knowledge of Dutch being minimal. Even though the instruction language in pre-primary and the two first years of primary education is Papiamentu, they encountered few or no problems at all integrating.' Antonio, see previous page.

'When my daughter (6) arrived in Aruba for the first time, she had many problems, mostly because of loneliness (after school), and the language was also a difficulty. A tutor was hired who could speak English and Papiamentu. At school she soon learned Papiamentu ... The tutor was hired for three months during her first school year...' Clarita, Filipino married to a Filipino.

For children, not speaking the local language can easily lead to isolation and loneliness. In Antonio's case he has four children, and even though they vary somewhat in age, they can still play with each other. Clarita's daughter is an only child. She not only had to master a foreign language, but also had the pressure of mastering it more quickly in order to be able to make friends.

As mentioned above, it takes time to learn Papiamentu. Each individual's duration of residence on Aruba must be taken into account in this respect. Someone who had arrived less than a year before the interview may have reported not being able to speak Papiamentu (yet). His or her degree of integration cannot be compared to that of someone who had been living on the island for say nine years and had not yet mastered the Papiamentu language. Figure 5.1 illustrates the numbers of school-aged children and adolescents/young adults by their length of stay on Aruba who indicated they can speak Papiamentu.

For children from Spanish-speaking countries, 45.2 percent indicated they were able to speak Papiamentu within a year of arriving. This was 35.6 percent for children from Dutch-speaking countries, and only 17.2 percent for children from English-speaking countries. The longer persons have been living on the island, the more likely it is that they speak Papiamentu. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show again that children pick up the local language faster than grown-ups.

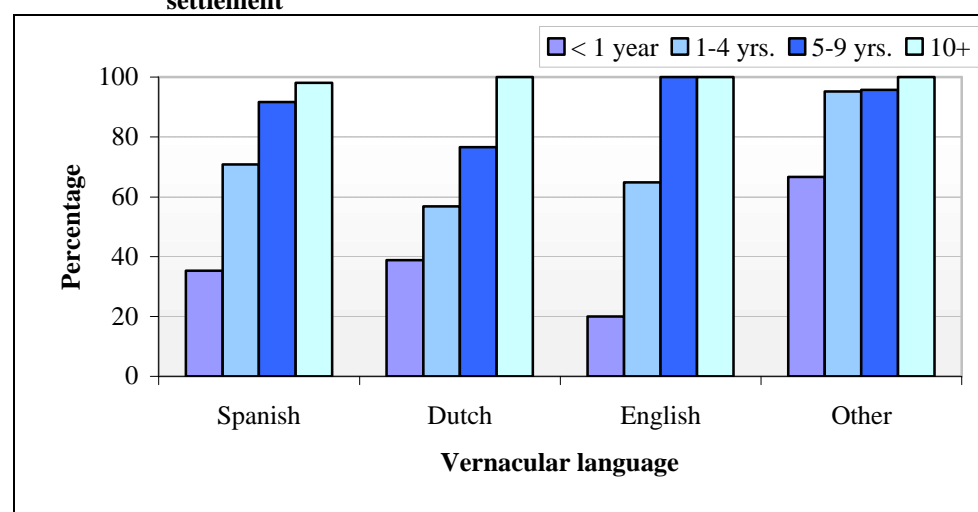
To master a foreign language one can either follow a course, or pick up the language through conversations with others or through local television and radio programs. Table 5.3 shows that 76.7 percent of Spanish-speaking migrants can speak Papiamentu whereas only 16.5 percent report they took a course in Papiamentu. The largest group of persons taking lessons in Papiamentu are Dutch speakers, namely 25.9 percent. The highest percentages of persons speaking Papiamentu are among the age groups 0-5 years and 6-11 years. As for the working age population, it seems as if the Dutch speakers either have the most difficulty learning Papiamentu or are least interested in learning the language. Only 60.7 percent speak Papiamentu.

Table 5.2. Migrant children (aged 6-19 yrs.) by vernacular language and languages they can speak

Languages	Vernacular language									
	Spanish		Dutch		English		Papiamentu		Other	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
6-11 yrs.										
Papiamentu	781	90.0	547	82.9	195	74.7	115	95.8	63	79.7
Spanish	822	94.7	158	23.9	90	34.5	38	31.7	27	34.2
Dutch	527	60.7	600	90.9	168	64.4	86	71.7	48	60.8
English	187	21.5	324	49.1	240	92.0	52	43.3	26	32.9
Portuguese	1	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	10.1
Creole	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.8	0	0.0	22	27.8
French	1	0.1	1	0.2	1	0.4	0	0.0	8	10.1
German	0	0.0	3	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.3
Chinese	6	0.7	0	0.0	3	1.1	0	0.0	27	34.2
Sranan Tongo	0	0.0	15	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other language	3	0.3	4	0.6	29	11.1	0	0.0	7	8.9
Total	868		660		261		120		79	
12-19 yrs.										
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Papiamentu	1183	90.7	793	91.7	315	79.9	194	98.5	136	88.3
Spanish	1286	98.5	536	62.0	237	60.2	154	78.2	94	61.0
Dutch	854	65.4	843	97.5	296	75.1	183	92.9	100	64.9
English	785	60.2	747	86.4	383	97.2	173	87.8	112	72.7
Portuguese	7	0.5	2	0.2	1	0.3	0	0.0	22	14.3
Creole	0	0.0	4	0.5	2	0.5	0	0.0	37	24.0
French	21	1.6	63	7.3	14	3.6	4	2.0	27	17.5
German	2	0.2	25	2.9	3	0.8	2	1.0	3	1.9
Chinese	6	0.5	5	0.6	3	0.8	0	0.0	60	39.0
Sranan Tongo	0	0.0	47	5.4	3	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other language	3	0.2	14	1.6	38	9.6	0	0.0	3	1.9
Total	1305		865		394		197		154	

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Figure 5.1. Migrant population (6-19) who speak Papiamentu by vernacular language and duration of settlement

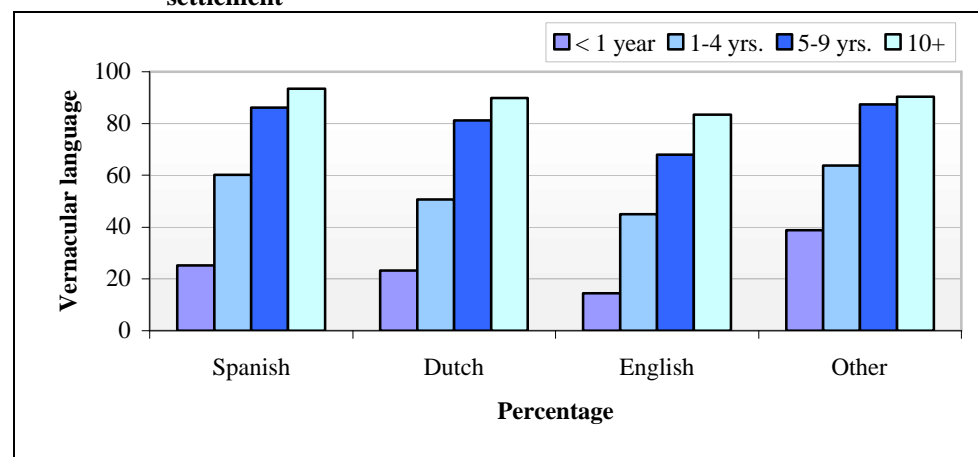


Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Although their percentage is very low (13.6 percent), it is still interesting to highlight the group that took lessons in Papiamentu, but indicated they are not able to speak it. These people are all in the working-age category, of whom 50 percent come from a Dutch-speaking country.

Table 5.4 shows that the majority of foreign-born persons interviewed during the AMIS 2003 watch Aruban television programs on a daily basis. Of people who watch Aruban television every day, 83.5 percent said they can speak Papiamentu. Only as few as 5.1 percent indicate they never watch Aruban television programs; 67.6 percent of this group said they can speak Papiamentu.

Figure 5.2. Migrant population (20-64) who speak Papiamentu by vernacular language and duration of settlement



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.3. Foreign-born persons who speak Papiamentu and whether they followed a course or not, by vernacular language

	Number of respondents	% of respondents who speak Papiamentu	% of respondents who took courses in Papiamentu	% of respondents who speak Papiamentu and took courses in Papiamentu	% of respondents who speak Papiamentu and didn't take courses in Papiamentu
Spanish					
0-5 yrs.	19	68.4	.	.	.
6-11 yrs.	68	97.1	.	.	.
12-19 yrs.	41	92.7	12.2	13.2	86.8
20-64 yrs.	561	74.0	16.2	19.8	78.1
65+	7	28.6	14.3	50.0	50.0
Not Reported	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	696	76.7	13.9	16.5	81.8
Dutch					
0-5 yrs.	11	36.4	.	.	.
6-11 yrs.	23	91.3	.	.	.
12-19 yrs.	15	93.3	6.7	7.1	92.9
20-64 yrs.	121	60.3	35.5	41.1	41.1
65+	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not Reported	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	170	65.9	25.9	27.7	60.7
English					
0-5 yrs.	8	37.5	.	.	.
6-11 yrs.	12	58.3	.	.	.
12-19 yrs.	14	71.4	7.1	10.0	90.0
20-64 yrs.	117	66.7	11.1	11.5	83.3
65+	8	37.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
Not Reported	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	162	62.3	8.6	9.9	86.1
Other					
0-5 yrs.	1	100.0	.	.	.
6-11 yrs.	3	66.7	.	.	.
12-19 yrs.	4	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
20-64 yrs.	88	87.5	14.8	16.9	83.1
65+	1	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Not Reported	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	98	86.7	13.3	15.3	84.7
Total					
0-5 yrs.	39	39.0	.	.	.
6-11 yrs.	106	83.2	.	.	.
12-19 yrs.	74	78.4	8.2	10.5	89.5
20-64 yrs.	887	71.9	15.1	17.6	79.0
65+	16	26.3	2.6	10.0	90.0
Not Reported	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

Note: the question whether the person has followed a course in Papiamentu was only applicable for persons 12 years of age and older.

The AMIS also asked migrants and their families what nationality they had; i.e. whether they had the Dutch nationality, if so when they obtained it, and if not, whether and when they intended to apply for it. To obtain Dutch citizenship, migrants are required to pass a Papiamentu (or Dutch) exam among other things. Of all foreign-born⁹³ persons in the Census 2000, 23 percent reported they had the Dutch nationality. In AMIS, 94.8 percent of migrants with the Dutch nationality said they speak Papiamentu. Thus, a very small group of migrants who obtained the Dutch nationality are actually unable to speak Papiamentu.

⁹³ Foreign-born in this case excludes persons born in the Netherlands Antilles

Table 5.4. Foreign-born persons by number of times they watch Aruban television programs

	On a daily basis	Once or twice a week	Three to five times a week	Never watches Aruban programs	Other	Has no television/ never watch television	Total (Abs.)
Vernacular language							
Spanish	58.7	23.1	12.5	4.1	0.2	1.4	416
Dutch	43.5	23.5	20.0	3.5	2.4	7.1	85
English	43.0	26.7	19.8	5.8	3.5	1.2	86
Papiamento	54.5	9.1	18.2	9.1	0.0	9.1	22
Other	55.7	8.2	18.0	11.5	3.3	3.3	61
Total	54.3	21.8	15.1	5.1	1.2	2.5	670
Ability to speak Papiamento	83.5	65.8	82.2	67.6	62.5	70.6	78.1

Source: AMIS 2003.

In Aruba, 61.2 percent of the local population can speak at least four languages. During the Census, 23.2 percent of the foreign-born population indicated they can also speak four languages. The following table is an overview of the foreign-born population by vernacular language and age-group, and the ability to speak those four languages.

Table 5.5. Foreign-born persons who speak at least four languages, by age and vernacular language

	Spanish		Dutch		English		Papiamento		Other		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
0-5 yrs.	2	0.1	4	0.2	2	0.2	3	0.1	0	0.0	12	0.2
6-11 yrs.	150	8.3	208	11.1	96	11.2	25	1.2	19	7.7	379	5.5
12-19 yrs.	588	32.3	421	22.5	186	21.8	148	6.9	60	24.5	1,589	23.0
20-64 yrs.	890	49.0	1,128	60.3	442	51.8	1,555	73.0	158	64.4	4,173	60.3
65+ yrs.	121	6.6	110	5.9	128	15.0	399	18.7	8	3.4	766	11.1
Total	1,819	100.0	1,871	100.0	854	100.0	2,130	100.0	245	100.0	6,918	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Note: Languages are Papiamento, English, Spanish and Dutch.

Table 5.6. Total population by household composition and language most spoken at home

Household composition	Language most spoken at home						
	Papiamento	Spanish	Dutch	English	Portuguese	Other	Not Rep.
Only Arubans	95.3	0.1	0.9	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.1
Only Foreigners	17.2	44.6	14.8	14.3	0.8	8.3	0.0
Mixed households	64.8	14.3	8.4	10.6	0.3	1.6	0.0
Total	69.6	13.2	6.2	8.1	0.3	2.1	0.6

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Note: Questions about language were only applicable for persons 3 years of age and older.

The largest group of foreign-born persons who can speak four languages (31.5 percent) comes from other Papiamento-speaking countries. The second largest group is the Dutch, closely followed by the Latin Americans, respectively 26.8 and 26 percent. Of all these persons 60.3 percent are in the working

age category. For Spanish-speaking persons it is interesting to see that they comprise the largest group of teenagers (32.3 percent) who can speak at least four languages.

Of all households where all members are born in Aruba, 95.3 percent speak Papiamentu. An additional small percentage speak Spanish, Dutch or English at home. Remarkably 17.2 percent of people in a completely foreign-born household indicated they speak Papiamentu with each other. Of the mixed households, the majority speak Papiamentu (64.8 percent), 14.3 percent speak Spanish, 8.4 percent speak Dutch and 10.6 speak English.

Language can be a major obstacle in the integration process of a migrant, but can be at the same time a major advantage. As one of the migrants puts it: *‘Aunque el niño no quiere estudiar, sale con 4 idiomas y ya con eso tiene para sobrevivir en la vida’*⁹⁴. Antonio, Venezuelan

Another migrant, also a Latin American, has the same opinion and is very grateful to Aruba and its people for the opportunity:

*‘..... En Colombia en la educación no enseñan en dos idiomas, porque el idioma es importante, abre puertas y da una oportunidad. Que mis hijos reciben su educación acá en Aruba y de joven pueden hablar mas de un idioma, hace que el sacrificio que nosotros hayamos hecho, que seamos mas que agradecidos con Aruba y su gente.’*⁹⁵ Paola, Colombian.

5.2. SOCIAL INTEGRATION

In this section we shall look into the social integration of migrants in Aruban society. Integration has many aspects, and we are well aware that we can only unveil some parts of this complicated process. Integration is a long-term process and is highly dependent on personal and cultural characteristics of both the migrant and the receiving community. In order to integrate into a community with a different culture, the migrant has to be open to other habits and lifestyles. Two migrants expressed their ideas about this in the following way:

‘We go to different social and cultural activities of Aruba, for example: Carnival and ‘Dera Gai’. We go to all activities. My children and I speak Papiamentu and the children can speak Dutch too...’ Antonio, Venezuelan married to an Aruban.

‘....Some Arubans don’t have any respect for migrants and it’s because most Spanish migrants don’t want to integrate. They don’t want to learn Papiamentu or learn the culture.’ Edelen, Venezuelan married to a Venezuelan.

Knowledge about Aruba

The AMIS study included some questions about the migrants’ knowledge about Aruba. These questions were:

- What is the highest hill on Aruba?
- Can you mention the political parties which currently have a seat in parliament?
- Do you know the name of Aruba’s national anthem?

These questions may seem rather simple, but are important cultural indicators. Arubans are proud of their country and their national anthem. Even children in pre-school learn the national anthem by heart. Arubans follow politics with vivid interest. After an election victory, car parades draw thousands of enthusiastic followers.

⁹⁴ ‘Even though a child may not want to go to college, he/she at least masters 4 languages which is enough to survive in life’.

⁹⁵ ‘In Colombia they don’t teach the children in two languages, because language is important, it opens doors and gives opportunities. The fact that my children can receive an education here in Aruba and that they can speak more than one language, makes the sacrifices worthwhile, we are very grateful to Aruba and its people.’

Table 5.7 shows the answers MMAs gave to these questions, by some of the main countries of birth. Among all migrants, only 29.6 percent know that Jamanota is the highest hill on the island. Quite a few thought that the Hooiberg, a much more visible landmark on Aruba, was the highest hill. The knowledge of the political landscape seems to be far better than that of the geographical landscape: 58.8 percent of migrants know all four parties with at least one representative in parliament. Aruba's national anthem is exceptional in the sense that it has a fluent waltz rhythm instead of the military march tempo of most other countries' anthems. This makes it highly recognizable: 70.1 percent of all migrants know the title of the anthem (Aruba dushi terra). To see migrants from which country score best on the test, we added the percentages scoring positive for each question. Obviously, in some cases the number of observations is quite small, and only three questions were asked. Results are therefore indicative and should not be over-interpreted. Migrants from the Netherlands scored highest, closely followed by migrants from the Netherlands Antilles. Among all South Americans, migrants from Venezuela seem to have the best knowledge. Migrants from India scored lowest overall.

Table 5.7. MMAs knowledge of Aruba by place of birth

Country of birth	Highest hill Aruba		Parties in parlement		National anthem	
	% Correct answer	No. of cases	% Correct answer	No. of cases	% Correct answer	No. of cases
<i>South America</i>						
Colombia	22.4	255	57.6	255	65.5	255
Peru	16.7	36	61.1	36	75.0	36
Suriname	34.6	26	61.5	26	65.4	26
Venezuela	36.2	58	65.5	58	77.6	58
Rest of South America	38.5	13	61.5	13	76.9	13
<i>Caribbean</i>						
The Netherlands Antilles	64.0	25	64.0	25	68.0	25
Dominican Republic	25.0	56	62.5	56	80.4	56
Haiti	10.3	39	69.2	39	74.4	39
Jamaica	23.1	13	38.5	13	61.5	13
Rest of the Caribbean	27.3	11	81.8	11	63.6	11
<i>Europe</i>						
Netherlands	66.7	60	63.3	60	81.7	60
Rest of Europe	50.0	4	75.0	4	75.0	4
<i>Asia</i>						
India	0.0	14	57.1	14	35.7	14
Phillipines	23.7	38	36.8	38	81.6	38
Rest of Asia	35.7	14	28.6	14	35.7	14
<i>North America</i>						
United States	50.0	8	50.0	8	62.5	8
Total	29.6	670	142.8	276	70.1	670

Source: AMIS 2003.

Television is an important medium to obtain information about what is happening in a local community. MMAs were asked how often they watch Aruban programs on television. Table 5.4 presented these results by the vernacular language of the respondents. The bottom row of the table shows the percentage of the people in each column who can speak Papiamentu. About 54 percent of all MMAs watch Aruban programs on a daily basis. Spanish-speaking migrants score slightly higher than migrants who speak other languages (58 percent). Remarkably, some 16 percent of those who watch television every day cannot speak Papiamentu. Perhaps they use television to practice understanding the language. Only 5 percent of migrants watch television, but never watch programs in Papiamentu; 15 percent watch three to five times a week and 22 percent once a week.

Religious rights

One important indicator for the social inclusion of migrants is the accommodation of religious needs of members of minority religions in public life. In many countries in Europe and North America, the dramatic events of 9/11 have led to an increase in 'Islamophobia'. After September 11, 2001, the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia found increased opposition as well as verbal and physical maltreatment of Muslims⁹⁶. A solid 88.0 percent of people born on Aruba consider themselves to be Catholic. There have been some shifts among the smaller churches in the last thirty years. Methodists, Anglicans and Protestants saw their shares decline. Although still small in comparison with the Catholic faith, the number of Evangelists has increased rapidly. In 2000, they represented 4.1 percent of the population. Evangelism has become the second largest religion on the island. Aruba has complete religious freedom. Almost all migrants belong to the Christian faith.

In chapter 3 we introduced Rao, a migrant from India. He is a Hindu and regretted that there was no place for him to practice his faith on Aruba. However, he had found a solution to satisfy his religious needs:

"Na Aruba no tin un lugar especificamente pa nos (Hindu), pero riba diadomingo mi ta bai misa. Ami sa con e ta bai pasobra mi a studia na un Catholic School y nos tabata bai misa na India. Pa nos tur religion ta mescos, bo ta bai pidi despensa na misa y ta mescos cu otro lugar, y e ta duna mas pas tambe. Tur dia bo ta traha traha, un dia djis bai 10 minuut misa ta bon".⁹⁷ Rao, migrant from India.

Thirty-three of the 1,379 respondents in AMIS said they were Muslim; this is about 2.4 percent of all migrants. Muslims, too, do not have the opportunity to worship as a group, as there is no mosque on the island. In general, religion has never been an issue on Aruba and it is currently not a potential segregational factor, unlike many European and North American countries.

Political rights

Another important aspect of integration is the political rights of migrants. In many countries in Europe, permanent resident migrants have the right to vote in local elections. In some countries, such as Belgium, voting rights for migrants is the topic of heated political and public debate. In Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Ireland and the Swiss cantons of Neuchâtel and Jura long-term foreign residents have the right to vote in municipal elections. National politics, on the other hand has generally remained the realm of formal citizens⁹⁸.

Aruba is different from European countries in the sense that there is no administrative division at the local level. Only national elections are held, and on Aruba, as in other countries, elections for Parliament are restricted to formal citizens. Only persons aged 18 years and older, with the Dutch nationality, and registered at the Population Registry three months before the closure of the electoral poll are eligible to vote. This means that besides Arubans, European Dutch people and naturalized citizens who have been living on the island for three months or more can participate in general elections. As many foreign-born persons have taken the Dutch nationality over the years, they play a significant role in Aruban politics.

In 2001, the total electorate numbered 56,610 persons, 78.2 percent of whom were born on Aruba. If non-voting were independent of country of birth, 16.4 of the 21 seats in parliament would be decided

⁹⁷ Rudiger A. & Spencer S. (2003), Social Integration of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities, Policies to combat Discrimination. OECD . Conference Jointly organized by The European Commission and the OECD, Brussels, 21-22 January 2003.

⁹⁷ In Aruba there is no specific place for us (Hindus), but on Sunday I go to church. I know the ceremony, because I studied in a Catholic school and we also went to church in India. For us, all religions are the same, you go and ask forgiveness and it is the same in any other place, and it also gives you more peace. Every day you work and work, just one day you go to church for ten minutes, that is good.

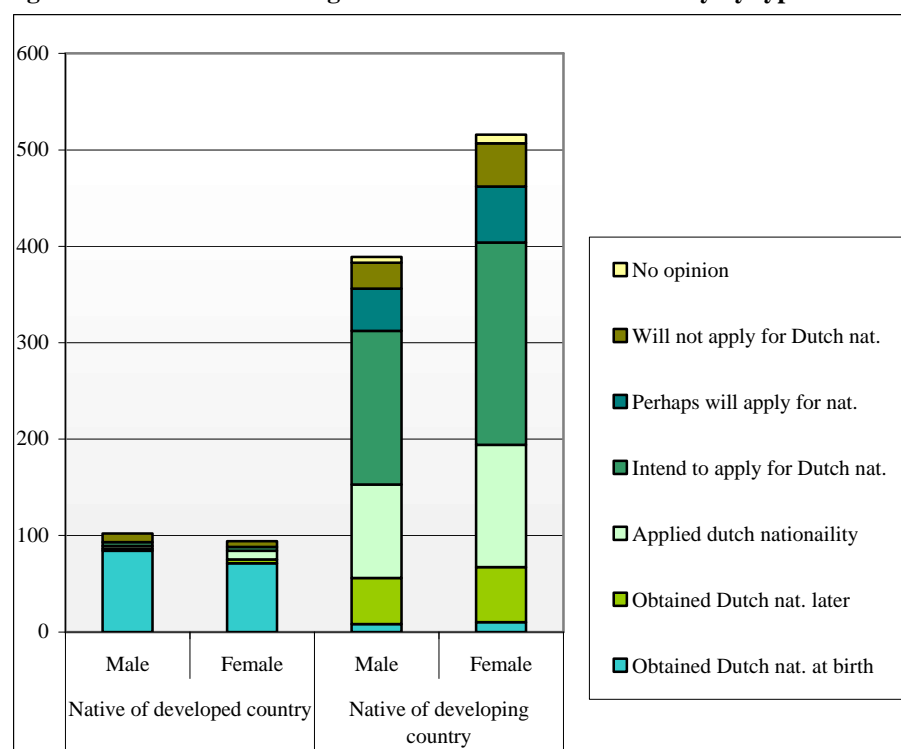
⁹⁸ Joint Group of Specialists on migration, demography and employment. Report prepared by Rainer Bauböck, consultant. (1994). The Integration of immigrants. Social Cohesion and Quality of life. Presented on website: <http://social.coe.int/en/cohesion/action/publi/migrants/intgcont.htm>.

by Arubans⁹⁹. A party able to catch all the votes from persons born in the Netherlands would gain a seat; the same holds true for the Netherlands Antilles. Although this will come as a surprise to many politicians, people born in countries other than Aruba, the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles decide collectively about 2.5 seats in Parliament. Naturalized voters born in Colombia and the Dominican Republic together account for one seat. Up to now, migrants have played a passive role in Aruba's political arena: i.e. they vote, they are not voted for. No 'ethnic' political parties have been formed yet. However, existing political parties have discovered the potential influence of foreign-born voters; during election campaigns special information meetings are organized for European and naturalized Dutch voters.

Naturalization and citizenship

Naturalization can be seen as a chicken and egg issue: should we view naturalization as the ultimate step of an integration process to become a full citizen of the receiving country? Or should we view naturalization as a condition for full integration and not an outcome? Obtaining citizenship is most important for residents who have come to live in a country permanently, because in most cases it is a prerequisite for obtaining full civil and political rights. In Aruba, naturalization can be obtained after five years of residence in the country. When a person is naturalized he or she obtains the same legal rights as a 'jiu di terra'¹⁰⁰. According to the Law Department (Directie Wetgeving) a person who is naturalized in Aruba in fact has more rights than a European Dutch person. When they leave the island they can come back without having to apply for a residence permit, something which is not the case for European Dutch migrants¹⁰¹.

Figure 5.3. Attitudes of migrants to obtain Dutch nationality by type of country of birth and sex



Source: AMIS 2003.

⁹⁹ Arubans here are defined as people born on Aruba who have the Dutch nationality.

¹⁰⁰ Person with the Dutch nationality who was born on the island.

¹⁰¹ Personal communication with Mr. Ter Weme, legal expert Directie Wetgeving, 13/11/2003.

Table 5.8. Attitudes of migrants to obtain Dutch nationality by type of country of birth and sex

	Type of country of birth				All migrants	
	Native of developed country		Nat. of developing country			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Obtained Dutch nat. at birth	84	71	8	10	92	81
Obtained Dutch nat. later	2	4	48	57	50	61
Applied dutch nationaility	3	9	97	127	100	136
Intend to apply for Dutch nat.	4	4	159	210	163	214
Perhaps will apply for nat.	0	0	44	58	44	58
Will not apply for Dutch nat.	9	6	27	45	36	51
No opinion	0	0	6	9	6	9
Total	102	94	389	516	491	610
Relative distribution						
Obtained Dutch nat. at birth	82.4	75.5	2.1	1.9	18.7	13.3
Obtained Dutch nat. later	2.0	4.3	12.3	11.0	10.2	10.0
Applied dutch nationaility	2.9	9.6	24.9	24.6	20.4	22.3
Intend to apply for Dutch nat.	3.9	4.3	40.9	40.7	33.2	35.1
Perhaps will apply for nat.	0.0	0.0	11.3	11.2	9.0	9.5
Will not apply for Dutch nat.	8.8	6.4	6.9	8.7	7.3	8.4
No opinion	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.7	1.2	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

Migrants on Aruba have a number of advantages if they have the Dutch nationality. First of all, they no longer need to renew their residence and work permits yearly. As soon as they have the Dutch nationality, rules laid down in the 'Admission and Deportation Act' (LTU) are no longer applicable. This means that the person can no longer be deported for whatever reason. Starting a business is much easier for Dutch nationals. Also, according to the Social Welfare Act (AB1989 GT 27) foreign-born persons residing on Aruba can only receive welfare if they have the Dutch nationality and have been on the island for at least three years. Another advantage for migrants is that a Dutch passport entitles them to travel and reside in any country of the European Union. Migrants on Aruba who are in transit and plan to go to Europe can easily migrate there if they have the Dutch nationality.

Taking steps to obtain the nationality is an important indicator for the willingness and the commitment of a migrant to fully integrate in the receiving country. As naturalization can be seen as the closing stage of migration, AMIS pays it the attention it merits. All Dutch respondents were asked whether they had the Dutch nationality from birth, and if not when they had obtained it. For those who did not have the Dutch nationality, we first asked which nationality they had, next whether they had applied for Dutch citizenship, and if not, whether they planned to do so in the future.

Table 5.8 and figure 5.3 summarize the answers to these questions, again by type of country of origin and by sex. The majority of migrants from developed countries have the Dutch nationality at birth; 82.4 percent of men and 75.5 percent of women. Only very few migrants from developing countries were born Dutch citizens. Quite a few migrants had already successfully applied for citizenship; 12.3 percent of men and 11.0 percent of women. It is interesting to see that such a high proportion of migrants from developing countries wanted to apply for a Dutch passport. About one in four migrants indicated that they had already applied to change their nationality. The largest group comprised those who had not taken any steps but intended to do so in the future. No less than 41 percent of all migrants (both men and women) from developing countries indicated their intention to obtain the Dutch nationality. Some 11 percent were not yet sure whether they wanted to apply or not. In the end, this leaves only a very small group of 6.9 percent of men and 8.7 percent of women from developing

countries who did not want to change their nationality. The figures on naturalization show the eagerness of most migrants to become full citizens of Aruba.

Table 5.9. Number of requests for naturalization and granted naturalization

Year	Requests	Naturalizations
1989	unknown	36
1990	unknown	32
1991	unknown	62
1992	unknown	57
1993	unknown	45
1994	unknown	unknown
1995	157	350
1996	794	594
1997	1063	468
1998	539	888
1999	824	1058
2000	1025	576
2001	852	645
2002	997	508
2003*	-	163
Total	6251	5482

* Figures for 2003 are until 25-8-2003

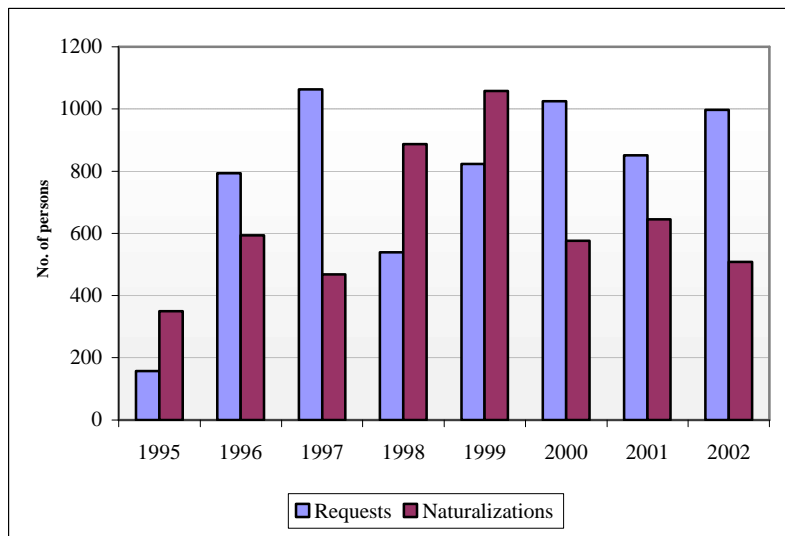
Source: Cabinet of the Governor of Aruba. Total naturalizations is for years 1995-2003.

Naturalization applications are handled by the Cabinet of the Governor of Aruba. Some countries in Europe (for example, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, and Austria) have special educational programs for naturalization candidates¹⁰². These programs are thought to serve as integration aides for prospective citizens. Candidates are also required to pass language tests. Also in the Netherlands, courses are provided to official refugees or holders of a residence permit. In Aruba, no such training program exists. Candidates for naturalization have to pass a simple test in which they have to prove a proficiency in Papiamentu and some knowledge of the Aruban society. At the time of writing, the government was also looking into the possibility of organizing courses for prospective citizens.

Table 5.9 and figure 5.4 show the number of requests for naturalization and the number of requests granted by the Cabinet of the Governor of Aruba. These figures do not include children who obtained their citizenship together with their parents. From April 1st 2003 requests are made separately for children and their parents. Unfortunately, figures for some specific years could not be provided. The data show that since 1995 both the numbers of requests and naturalizations have increased dramatically. In the period 1995-2002, a total 6,251 applications for naturalization were received; in the same period 5,087 applications were granted. Interestingly, the largest number of naturalizations (1,058) were granted in 1999. Although the number of requests has not gone down since 1999, we can see that the number of granted requests has decreased significantly. In the period 2000-2002, respectively 576, 645 and 508 requests for citizenship were approved (total: 1,729). In the same period 2,874 requests were made.

¹⁰² Rudiger A. & Spencer S. (2003), Social Integration of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities, Policies to combat Discrimination. OECD . Conference Jointly organized by The European Commission and the OECD, Brussels, 21-22 January 2003. p.11.

Figure 5.4. Number of requests for naturalization and granted naturalization



Source: Cabinet of the Governor of Aruba.

According to the Cabinet of the Governor, there has been a serious delay in the processing of naturalization requests. Since September 2002, the Immigration Office has to give recommendations about the naturalization of each candidate. Up to then, this was done by the Central Bureau for Juridical and General Affairs. In September 2002, the Cabinet of the Governor estimated that about 2,000 requests were being processed, some dating as far back as 1992. In theory, the whole naturalization process should take less than a year. In practice, it normally takes much longer¹⁰³.

The long waiting time is very frustrating for applicants. *Juan* came from Santo Domingo in 1991.

“Ta net dos ana pasa cu mi a entrega mi peticion di paspoort..... E mesun ana mi a haci e peticion di permiso mi a haci mi entrevista cual ta dos ana pasa y e fecha mi a haci mi entrevista mi no ta lubida nunca, pasobra esey ta dia di e chiste cu a pasa na Merca cual ta e tragedia di 11 september 2001 y door di esey mi no ta lubidele nunca. Tempo cu (.....) tabata encarga mi a bay cerca dje pa bay informa con leu mi peticion ta y el a bisami cu mi number no ta aya den y el a bisami bay na Procurador General y mi a bay ayanan y aki tampoco no a hana nada dimi, asina cruel y tristo mi situacion ta”¹⁰⁴ Juan, Santo Domingo.

Juan knows he should now go to DINA to check how things are progressing with his passport. However, he is reluctant to go because his friend had the same problem and was turned back rather crudely: his friend was told to go home and he would be called in two or three years.

Table 5.10 shows naturalization and the intention to naturalize by country of birth. Only the most important sending countries were selected, to avoid unnecessary small sample variability. The table shows that the intention to become a Dutch citizen is very high across the board. In most cases fewer than 10 percent of migrants do not want to naturalize. The highest rate was among Jamaicans, but it is based on only very few cases. Surinamese score highest in the survey in terms of naturalization. They either have the Dutch nationality (26.4 percent), have applied (39.6 percent) or intend to apply (28.3 percent). Among all groups, Filipinos have taken the least steps to become Dutch, but more than half of them plan to do so in the future.

¹⁰³ Personal communication provided by Mrs. A.M. Reyes, Cabinet of the Governor of Aruba.

¹⁰⁴ “It is now exactly two years since I applied for my passport. The same year I made the application, I did my interview and the date I will never forget because it was the day the thing happened in the US, the tragedy of 11 September 2001 and because of this I will never forget. At the time when (.....) was in charge I went to see him to check how far my application had come and he told me my number was not there and he told me to go to the General Prosecutor and I went there and there they did not have anything for me. This is how cruel and sad my situation is.

Table 5.10. Naturalization and intention to naturalize by country of birth

	Dutch	Applied dutch nationality	Intend dutch nationality				Total
		Yes	Yes	No	Perhaps	No opinion	
Colombia	28	83	164	28	48	10	361
Dominican Republic	8	23	39	4	6	2	82
Haiti	11	13	24	2	3	0	53
Jamaica	1	7	6	3	2	0	19
Aruba	10	27	22	7	5	0	71
Peru	12	12	17	5	10	0	56
Phillipines	4	9	29	5	8	1	56
Surinam	14	21	15	0	3	0	53
Venezuela	16	38	38	14	17	1	124
Total	104	233	354	68	102	14	875

Country of birth	Dutch	Applied dutch nationality	Intend dutch nationality			
		Yes	Yes	No	Perhaps	No opinion
Colombia	7.8	23.0	45.4	7.8	13.3	2.8
Dominican Republic	9.8	28.0	47.6	4.9	7.3	2.4
Haiti	20.8	24.5	45.3	3.8	5.7	0.0
Jamaica	5.3	36.8	31.6	15.8	10.5	0.0
Aruba	14.1	38.0	31.0	9.9	7.0	0.0
Peru	21.4	21.4	30.4	8.9	17.9	0.0
Phillipines	7.1	16.1	51.8	8.9	14.3	1.8
Surinam	26.4	39.6	28.3	0.0	5.7	0.0
Venezuela	12.9	30.6	30.6	11.3	13.7	0.8
Total	11.9	26.6	40.5	7.8	11.7	1.6

Source: AMIS 2003.

Not so difficult to integrate?

People generally have the idea that Aruba is not a difficult place to live and that integration should not be too difficult. To check whether this idea is generally accepted among migrants, we asked the MMAs whether they find it difficult to integrate in the Aruban society. Table 5.11 shows that most migrants find that this is easy: about 87 percent of men and 79 percent of women from developing countries say it is easy to integrate. Slightly fewer people from developed countries say it is easy. One in four women from developed countries find it difficult to integrate. Only very few (four) persons in the entire sample are not at all interested in integrating.

In the previous chapter we introduced Coromoto. She has very clear ideas about integration.

Coromoto cannot imagine herself anywhere else. She said that it is not difficult to integrate because most Arubans are friendly. All three of her children who were born on Aruba have Aruban godparents. She feels more Aruban than Venezuelan now because Aruba has given her many wonderful things: a husband, three children, a home and peace. Coromoto, Venezuela.

Maggy, a 44 year-old woman from Jamaica, thinks differently about Aruba.

She was never discriminated against, but she does not feel at home here. She thinks Aruba is boring and the weather is sometimes unbearable. She expected a whole different scenery. She is not interested in learning Papiamentu, because she will not be staying here for long. She wants to go back to Jamaica, because she says she feels freer there and there are so many places you can go to. She also wants to reunite with her family and start sewing again. Only one of her goals has been accomplished here. She wanted to send her daughter to college. Her daughter is now studying to become a teacher. Maggy, Jamaica.

Table 5.11. Opinion of migrants about difficulty to integrate in Aruba by sex and type of country of birth

Absolute numbers	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Difficult to integrate	10	11	32	68
Not so difficult to integrate	42	33	208	262
Not interested to integrate	1	0	0	3
Percentage				
Difficult to integrate	18.9	25.0	13.3	20.4
Not so difficult to integrate	79.2	75.0	86.7	78.7
Not interested to integrate	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.9

Source: AMIS 2003.

The following quotations by migrants shed some more light on how individual migrants experience their stay on Aruba.

*“Heb je een goede opvang dan heb je minder heimwee. Als mijn man naar het werk gaat en de kinderen naar school heb ik niemand om naar toe te gaan. Mensen op Aruba zijn meer afstandelijk dan in Nederland”.*¹⁰⁵ Anita, the Netherlands.

*“Mi ta hanja Aruba masha trankil mes pa biba y mi ta sintimi hopi bon akinan y ora mi bay vakantie Venezuela, ya e di dos of tres dia mi kier regresa Aruba.”*¹⁰⁶ José, Venezuela, came to Aruba 1993

*“Yo no me siento como que soy una persona.... aquí en Aruba no me siento como que no soy de Aruba. Me siento Arubana”.*¹⁰⁷ Luisa, Dominican Republic, age 39, came to Aruba 1999.

*“Mi sina hopi cos akinan y mi ta pasando hopi dushi. Ana pasa mi a bai vakantie na full e mundo, Europa, Hulanda, pero mi ta sinti akinan ta e terra cu mi ta sinti bon, y mi ta trankil, y den cinco ana ya mi a custumbra caba. Mi a bai otro parti, pero niun no ta sirbimi manera Aruba ta sirbimi. Poco poco mi ta sinando e cultura di Aruba y bira un di nanArubiano.”*¹⁰⁸ Rao, India.

These quotations show that people are generally content with their life on Aruba, which is confirmed by the results of the survey. A simple question was asked: “In general, do you feel yourself to be a happier person than before, now that you live on Aruba?” Table 5.12 shows that the vast majority of migrants consider themselves happier now than before they came to Aruba. Women from developing countries score lowest, but still about two out of three think they are happier here than before. Women from developed countries have the highest score for feeling less happy; about 16 percent of them feel less happy.

Figure 3.1 showed the importance of economic motives for migration to Aruba. For migrants from developing countries in particular, finding good work and pay was the main reason to come to Aruba. To measure the migrants’ own assessment of their quality of life on Aruba, we asked whether they would still prefer to live on the island if they could earn the same salary in their own country of birth. More than eighty percent of people born in developed countries indicated they would still prefer to live on Aruba, while just over 60 percent of men and women from developing countries would prefer to stay on the island. This is in line with the results shown in figure 3.1, which indicated that economic

¹⁰⁵ “If you are taken good care of, you feel less homesick. When my husband goes to work and my children go to school, I have nobody to go to. ...People in Aruba are more standoffish than in the Netherlands.”

¹⁰⁶ “I find Aruba a very quiet place to live and it feels very good here; when I go to Venezuela on holiday, I want to go back to Aruba by the second or third day.”

¹⁰⁷ “I do not feel like I am a ... person here in Aruba, I do not feel as if am not from Aruba. I feel Aruban. Because the people around me are nice.”

¹⁰⁸ I have learned a lot here and I have a good time. Last year I went on a holiday to the whole world... Europe, the Netherlands... but I feel this is the place where it feels good, and I am at peace, and in five years I got used to the place. I went to other places, but none has treated me as Aruba treats me. Little by little I am learning Aruba’s culture and I am becoming one of them... Aruban.

motives were more important to come to Aruba for migrants from developing countries. Migrants from developed countries attached more value to quality of life and social variables. The data in table 5.13 may be an indication that a group of migrants from developing countries is on Aruba for purely economic reasons and would like to go back home if it were economically possible. A larger group may have come for economic reasons, but have come to like the place to such an extent that they now even prefer it to their home country.

Table 5.12. MMAs' feeling more or less happy than before coming to Aruba, by type of country of birth and sex

		Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country	
Absolute		Male	Female	Male	Female
Happier person in Aruba?	Yes	39	33	172	217
	No	4	7	28	44
	The same	10	4	40	70
Percentage					
Happier person in Aruba?	Yes	73.6	75.0	71.7	65.6
	No	7.5	15.9	11.7	13.3
	The same	18.9	9.1	16.7	21.1

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 5.13. MMAs' preference still to live on Aruba if they could earn the same salary in their home country by type of country of birth and sex.

		Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country	
Absolute numbers		Male	Female	Male	Female
Same salary would prefer to live in Aruba		43	36	148	200
Same salary would prefer to live in own country		9	7	90	131
Percentage					
Same salary would prefer to live in Aruba		82.7	83.7	62.2	60.4
Same salary would prefer to live in own country		17.3	16.3	37.8	39.6

Source: AMIS 2003.

5.3. DISCRIMINATION AND EXCLUSION

In many receiving countries migrants face discrimination, xenophobia and exclusion. Muslim migrants in particular have been stereotyped and discriminated since the dramatic events of 11 September 2001. In Germany, for example, 20 percent of people with a Turkish background suffered from insults or verbal abuse in 2001. More than 30 percent said they had suffered an incident of direct discrimination.

In their report on the social integration of ethnic minorities for the OECD, Rudiger and Spencer indicated the dangers of exclusion of residents on the basis of ethnic characteristics, religion or nationality:

"Many migrants, some after decades of settlement, suffer economic and social disadvantages, are excluded from civic and political participation and face discrimination, racism and xenophobia. Their marginalisation makes them easy targets for scape-goating by far right parties, which have gained increasing support throughout Europe by exploiting fears and inciting resentment. Public attitudes tend to turn against migrants especially in times when social welfare provisions are rolled back and exclusion emerges as a real threat for many. The ensuing polarisation of population groups signals a process of social fragmentation. In the context of economic, social and even physical insecurities, the

tasks of appreciating diversity and learning to manage differences appear particularly challenging.”
109

Because of marginalization ethnic minorities may more easily fall victim to extremist political and religious ideologies. In 2000, the European Union adopted anti-discrimination directives under Article 13 of the EC Treaty to protect residents against discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, race and religion. The Directives ban all racial and ethnic discrimination in employment, education, housing, health and social protection in all countries of the European Union. Countries were required to implement these rules by June 2003. Religious discrimination in employment and training was banned from December 2003¹¹⁰.

Alofs and Merkies¹¹¹ have indicated that the social differences between the ethnic groups on Aruba have become vaguer and less significant in the last twenty years. The common cause of the fight for the Status Aparte brought the different ethnic segments together, and the awareness of being Aruban has grown across all ethnic and social groups. Although a certain ‘color sensitivity’ is still perhaps present within a group of Aruban society, the discrepancies between the native population and the ‘LAGO migrants’ have all but disappeared. Because of the recent migration wave a new contrast between the local population and ‘stranheros’ has surfaced. Going by the frequent comments made in radio programs such as Pueblo na Palabra, some feelings of resentment do exist towards the group of foreigners. A small group of locals blame migrants for taking over the labor and marriage market and have disrupted the quiet life on Aruba. In fact, little is known about the feelings of the local population towards the group of new migrants. Unfortunately, AMIS did not have room to interview a large group of local citizens about their ideas and feelings towards the group of migrants. The survey did ask some questions about MMAs’ experiences of discrimination:

Would you say that people of your home country are treated with respect in Aruba?

Do you think people from your home country who live in Aruba deserve to be treated with more respect than they get here on Aruba?

Do you sometimes feel discriminated as a foreigner in Aruba?

Do you think foreigners in Aruba are treated fairly by the government?

About half of all migrants said people from their country are treated with respect on Aruba. Although the differences are rather small, more MMAs from developed countries think their countrymen are not respected enough on Aruba. For respondents from developing countries, 27.5 percent of men and 28.8 percent of women think migrants from their country are not treated with much respect in Aruba. Although less than thirty percent of migrants from developing countries think people from their country are not treated with much respect, more than forty percent would like to see more respect for their countrymen. Among migrants from developed countries 26.4 percent of men and 20.5 percent of women would like to see more respect for their countrymen.

It seems that there are mixed opinions among migrants about discrimination on Aruba. Fifty-eight percent of men from developed countries and 50.2 percent of men from developing countries say they never feel discriminated in Aruba. Among women these percentages are respectively 72.7 and 40.4 percent. Women from developing countries complain the most of discrimination: 47.3 percent feel they are sometimes discriminated and 12.3 percent say they are often discriminated. Also a considerable percentage of the other groups indicate they are sometimes discriminated (see table 5.14).

Migrants have different opinions about being discriminated, depending on their country of birth. As only a limited number of migrants from some countries were interviewed in AMIS, table 5.15 was limited to the countries where most migrants came from. Women from Venezuela, Colombia, Surinam and the Philippines complained most about being discriminated. If we add ‘sometimes discriminated’ and ‘often discriminated’, the percentages among these groups of women are respectively 71.0, 67.3,

¹⁰⁹ Rudiger A. & Spencer S. (2003), Social Integration of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities, Policies to combat Discrimination. OECD . Conference jointly organized by The European Commission and the OECD, Brussels, 21-22 January 2003. p.3.

¹¹⁰ Rudiger A. & Spencer S. (2003), op. cit. p.13.

¹¹¹ Alofs, L. & Merkies, L. (2001), Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba 1924-2001. Tweede Herziene en Uitgebreide druk. Oranjestad, Aruba.

61.5 and 60.0. Results are shown in figure 5.5. Among migrants from these countries, men feel somewhat less discriminated. This might be because they are less targeted by discrimination, or perhaps because women are more sensitive to these messages. As these results are based on relatively small groups of cases, some small sample variability may be involved. Also, discrimination is not clearly defined in the questions. However, the results show that the issue of discrimination against new migrants should certainly be a matter of concern.

Table 5.14. MMAs opinions about discrimination and integration by type of country of birth and sex

		Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Absolutre numbers					
People from home country treated with respect	True	24	22	134	179
	Not true	20	14	66	96
	No opinion	9	8	40	58
People deserve to be treated better	True	14	9	99	139
	Not true	10	14	15	27
	Satisfied with respect	29	21	126	163
Discriminated as a foreigner	Never	31	32	121	134
	Sometimes	19	11	92	157
	Often	3	1	28	41
	Treated fairly	18	15	141	147
Foreigners treated fairly by government	Not treated fairly	24	16	60	109
	No opinion	11	13	39	76
Percentages					
People from home country treated with respect	True	45.3	50.0	55.8	53.8
	Not true	37.7	31.8	27.5	28.8
	No opinion	17.0	18.2	16.7	17.4
People deserve to be treated better	True	26.4	20.5	41.3	42.2
	Not true	18.9	31.8	6.3	8.2
	Satisfied with respect	54.7	47.7	52.5	49.5
Discriminated as a foreigner	Never	58.5	72.7	50.2	40.4
	Sometimes	35.8	25.0	38.2	47.3
	Often	5.7	2.3	11.6	12.3
	Treated fairly	34.0	34.1	58.8	44.3
Foreigners treated fairly by government	Not treated fairly	45.3	36.4	25.0	32.8
	No opinion	20.8	29.5	16.3	22.9

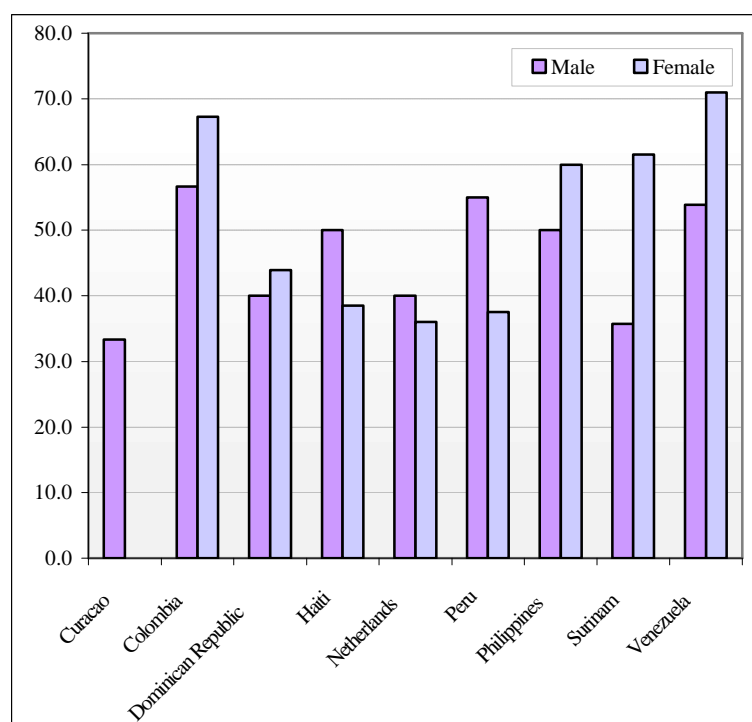
Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 5.15. MMAs by whether they feel discriminated by sex by selected countries of birth

		Absloute			Percentage		
		Discriminated as a foreigner			Discriminated as a foreigner		
		Never	Sometimes	Often	Never	Sometimes	Often
Curacao	Male	4	1	1	66.7	16.7	16.7
	Female	11	0	0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Colombia	Male	39	42	9	43.3	46.7	10.0
	Female	54	86	25	32.7	52.1	15.2
Dominican Republic	Male	9	5	1	60.0	33.3	6.7
	Female	23	14	4	56.1	34.1	9.8
Haiti	Male	13	9	4	50.0	34.6	15.4
	Female	8	5	0	61.5	38.5	0.0
Netherlands	Male	21	13	1	60.0	37.1	2.9
	Female	16	8	1	64.0	32.0	4.0
Peru	Male	9	7	4	45.0	35.0	20.0
	Female	10	5	1	62.5	31.3	6.3
Philippines	Male	9	7	2	50.0	38.9	11.1
	Female	8	8	4	40.0	40.0	20.0
Surinam	Male	9	3	2	64.3	21.4	14.3
	Female	5	8	0	38.5	61.5	0.0
Venezuela	Male	12	10	4	46.2	38.5	15.4
	Female	9	20	2	29.0	64.5	6.5

Source: AMIS 2003.

Figure 5.5. MMAs by whether they feel discriminated sometimes or often discriminated by sex and selected countries of birth



Source: AMIS 2003.

Respondents in our in-depth interviews expressed different opinions and told very dissimilar stories about their experiences with discrimination. A very serious case of discrimination was told by Martha in chapter 3. She was fired by her male employer because she was Colombian. At that time, some Colombian criminals had robbed the Aruba Bank in Noord and killed one of the bank employees. Some other migrants expressed other opinions.

'Clarita's only experience with inequity was when she was looking for a job. During the job interview they asked: "Are you a local, no, this is only for locals". Clarita does not think this is right. "Everybody should have the same treatment".' Clarita, Philippines.

'Gabriela came to Aruba in 2000, at 17 years of age, because her mother was living here. In general she did not have much trouble integrating and now she has an Aruban boyfriend. Many of her friends are Aruban. She had hardly any problems with discrimination. A while ago she had to go to the hospital for a minor operation. At the time she could not yet speak Papiamentu very well. The doctor's secretary refused to speak Spanish to her. She said that she was treated badly by the secretary only because she was Latin American. Now, when she goes to the doctor she goes with her Aruban boyfriend, in this way she is treated with more respect.' Gabriela, Colombia.

'Milagros comes from Venezuela but lived in the US for many years with her parents. She speaks English without an accent. After going back to Venezuela she worked for some years as a secretary for an oil company there. She likes Aruba very much. However, she thinks there is always a degree of discrimination depending on whether you are American or Latin American. When she came to Aruba she was blond. Later on she changed her hair back to her natural black. She said she was treated much better as a blond when she was speaking English, than with black hair speaking Spanish. She is very unhappy about one thing. She has a child who lives with her mother in Venezuela. She shares an office with several Americans who have children about the same age as her own child, they would go to the same school and be in the same class. They have all received permits to bring their children over, but she is unable to bring her child to Aruba. Every couple of weeks she goes to Venezuela to visit her child. According to Milagros they have a permit to bring their children because they are Americans.' Milagros, Venezuela.

Some migrants think there are more than enough migrants on Aruba and that this causes too much friction. Some people who have settled on the island are even in favor of a more restrictive policy. Some of them identify themselves with Aruba. *Maria Helena* talks about her feelings towards Aruba with emotion and perhaps a little exaltation:

*"Aquí los Arubianos son personas excepcional, son personas amables, dulce, son personas que no tienen ningún tipo de problema, vamos a decir para hacer la relación, una compatibilidad excepcional que tienen, una fuerza de voluntad que tienen, increíble, que me encanta, me fascina, yo vivo a Aruba, no vivo.... Vivo en ella, pero mucho mas la vivo, porque me encanta, me fascina...."*¹¹²

She continues that the only problem with the island is that there are so many foreigners, that they take the job opportunities from the Arubans. She thinks foreigners have done wrong to the island. She was on Aruba a number of years ago on holiday to visit her mother, who was working here. Compared to then, there is now more disunion. Maria Helena, Dominican Republic, 38 years, came to Aruba in 1999.

Mercedes was born in Colombia and came to Aruba as early as 1991. She also thinks that too many foreigners have come to Aruba:

*"No hay cama para tanto gente"*¹¹³

She often teases her husband when he asks her why there are so many Latinos on the island. She tells him, because the Arubans leave their country and go away to study and leave their place empty. Mercedes, Colombia.

According to some migrants, foreigners are treated differently depending on their country of birth. Coromoto, who we have already quoted several times in this report, says that Venezuelans are treated with more respect and consideration than Colombians. As an example she mentions that if a Venezuelan and a Colombian fill in an application form for the same job, the chance is about ninety percent that the Venezuelan will get the job.

¹¹² "Arubans are an exceptionally kind and sweet people. They do not bring any kind of problem into a relationship. They are very compatible and they have exceptional will power, unbelievable, I like it; it is fascinating. Not only do I live in Aruba, I live for it, because I love it, it fascinates me."

¹¹³ "There are not enough beds for everybody".

Joyce, who is Jamaican, said the following bad experience was because of her skin color.

‘Two months before the interview she had an extra job in the evening working in a restaurant. She got the job because of a friend who worked at the same place. She would earn Afl. 1,500 per month including tips. One of the Colombian waitresses had left because her father died and she wasn’t sure she would be coming back. So they gave Joyce the job. After two months the Colombian woman showed up again. They fired Joyce to give the Colombian back her job. Joyce thought this was very unfair. She was very disappointed. She feels that there is a preference for Latin migrants in restaurants, because of their skin color’.

It is an open question whether this was indeed the case or whether it was a rationalization to explain to herself why she lost such a good job.

The position of Arubans towards new migrants is influenced by the observation that important changes in Aruban society have taken place because of the influx of large groups of foreigners. First, migrant women started playing an active role on the marriage market. Quite a few marriages between Aruban men and women have broken up because the husband ran off with a young Latin woman. Foreign women who are actively looking for an Aruban husband are disparagingly called ‘mamasitas’. This phenomenon will be examined in the section on marriage and migration. Secondly, natives have the idea that foreign workers take away jobs from Arubans, and they are often willing to work for much lower wages. The economic position of migrants has already been discussed extensively in chapter 4.

Another factor which contributes to the negative image of migrants are the growing feelings of unsafety. Twenty years ago, people in the outer districts could easily leave their house open when they went out. Nowadays, because of the higher crime rates and drug related felonies people on Aruba are much more conscious about their security.

Indeed, a significant part of crime on Aruba is committed by foreigners. Unfortunately, no crime statistics are available. However, the majority of the prison population were born abroad. Table 5.15 presents the number of prisoners at the Aruban Correctional Institute on 22nd August 2002. Out of a total prison population of 319, 195 were born outside Aruba. Many of the crimes for which people are incarcerated are drug related. Some prisoners have never actually lived on Aruba, but were caught at the airport for drugs smuggling. One should not forget that Aruba is little more than a stone’s throw away from Colombia, the drugs capital of the world.

Many of the migrants the AMIS team spoke to resent the negative image they have because of the misdemeanors of a few of their countrymen. Some express understanding that they are discriminated: *‘because of the actions of a few, the rest must suffer’.*

Luisa a woman from the Dominican Republic expresses her feelings about crimes committed by foreigners in the following way:

‘Uno se siente mal en realidad se siente mal. No entiendo, porque, porque lo hacen. Pudiendo trabajar. Habiendo trabajo, porque trabajo hay. El que quiere trabajar tiene trabajo. Pero el que no quiere trabajar, no trabaja ni aquí ni en ninguna parte. Pero trabajo hay, pero el que quiere no. Pero me siento mal si... cuando pasa algo así que dicen que fue un latino, que fue un extranjero. Uno se siente mal. Uno se siente aludido, un poquito abatido, como dicen’¹¹⁴. Luisa, Dominican Republic.

¹¹⁴ ‘One feels bad, in reality real bad. I do not understand why, why they do it. They can work. There is work. The one who wants to work, has work. But the one, who does not want to work, does not have work here or anywhere. But work there is. .. But I feel bad ... when something happens and they say it is a Latino, that it was a foreigner. One feels bad. One feels involved, depressed, as they say. ‘

Table 5.16. Number of prisoners in Aruba by country of birth (28 august 2002)

Country	No. of prisoners
Aruba	124
Dominican Republic	35
Colombia	33
Venezuela	42
Bonaire	4
Guyana	2
Republic of Congo	1
Croatia	1
Costa Rica	2
Honduras	1
Canada	1
Ecuador	6
Africa	2
England	3
Haiti	2
South Africa	1
Cameroun	1
Cabo Verde	1
Curaçao	25
Jamaica	2
Spain	1
Netherlands	11
Surinam	11
Belgium	1
United States	3
Brazil	1
Russia	1
Poland	1
Total	319

Source: Instituto Korrektional di Aruba.

*‘Coromoto: A veces me siento discriminada, pero no es culpa del Arubiano, es que el extranjero ha hecho muchas cosas. Si un Colombiano hace algo malo, van a decir que todos son malos’.*¹¹⁵

Lastly, many migrants think that migrants in general are not treated fairly by the government (see table 5.14.). More men and women from developed countries answered that the government does not treat migrants fairly (respectively 45.3 and 25.0 percent). For men and women from developing countries these percentages were correspondingly 36.4 and 32.8. As we mentioned before, many complaints of migrants are connected with the long waiting time and bureaucratic procedures for obtaining a residence permit and a Dutch passport.

5.4. EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

Going to a new school can be a dramatic experience for any child, no matter what age. There is always a degree of anxiety in the transfer to another school, whether it is because of a higher level of education or of moving to another city, province or country. Migrant children not only have to deal with moving to another country and integrating within the new social environment, they also have to adapt to the education system of that new country. As described in the following case, enrolling in Aruba’s education system is not always easy for migrant children. *Antonio* tells the story of his children:

¹¹⁵ ‘Sometimes I feel discriminated. But it is not the fault of the Arubans; it is because foreigners have done many things. If a Colombian does anything wrong, they say they are all bad’.

‘... The eldest daughter (currently 22) had the most difficulties, everything was in Dutch. In Venezuela she was in second grade of Bachillerato¹¹⁶, here in Aruba she was put into the sixth grade of primary education. She was 16 years old at the time. She had to improve her English and learn Papiamentu. Actually she no longer goes to school; she only does courses in English. The eldest son (currently 18) was sent from sixth grade of primary school to the EPB¹¹⁷, because the teacher was not confident of his abilities. At that time he was 12. They were told that he would not master the Dutch language. In his first year at the EPB in August, he enrolled in the third level, by December he was already sent to the second level and he would have gone on to the first level and afterwards to the MAVO, if it was not for the teachers who told his parents that it was too late in the academic year to send him through. He is now at the EPI¹¹⁸, sector Business administration and secretarial science and has plans to go and study in the Netherlands after finishing the EPI. Their third child (13) was sent to the MAVO after finishing sixth grade. She wants to go to the United States to study architecture. The fourth child (10) is in the fourth grade of primary education. The eldest children had to attend the Prisma project in order to learn the Dutch language. The youngest did not have that problem.’ Antonio, Venezuelan.

The education system on Aruba is based on the Dutch system and children are thus taught in Dutch, except in nursery school and the first two years of primary school, where the instruction language is Papiamentu. Migrant children have to adapt to a new education system where the instruction language may be completely unknown to them. As shown in table 5.17, a majority of migrant children (44 percent) come from Spanish-speaking countries. The second largest group of migrant children come from Dutch-speaking countries (31 percent).

The Prisma-project was launched for children in primary education to help Spanish-speaking children to familiarize themselves with the Dutch language as soon as possible in order to be able to follow a regular school program. Prisma was originally developed in the Netherlands as a remedial Dutch-language teaching project for non-Dutch-speaking-lateral entrants.

In its policy document ‘Un bon enseñansa: Condicion pa un miho futuro, Plan Strategico 1999-2008’¹¹⁹, the project group Priepeb (Proyecto di Inovacion di Ensenansa Preparatorio y Ensenansa Basico)¹²⁰ proposes a multilingual system of primary education for the immediate future. Papiamentu would be the main language of instruction, Dutch the second language. The idea of Papiamentu instead of Dutch as the main instruction language is based mainly on the fact that Dutch is a foreign language for most children aged 4-7 years. Figures 5.6 and 5.7 show the percentage of children aged 4-7 years by vernacular language who can speak Papiamentu or Dutch. The figures show that only 36 percent of children aged 4-7 years indicate they can speak Dutch. Of them, 85 percent come from a Papiamentu speaking country. The idea of changing the education system is that teaching children in their own language will help them understand the subject material better. It will give children the opportunity to fully develop their personalities and their cultural identity. Dutch will remain the second language of instruction, as it is the language of instruction in secondary schools. Consideration is given to the fact that Papiamentu is only spoken in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. Children will therefore require excellent knowledge of other languages in order to be able to continue their studies overseas.

¹¹⁶ Bachillerato in Venezuela is equivalent to MAVO in Aruba, preparatory to middle level professional education.

¹¹⁷ EPB is vocationally oriented secondary education.

¹¹⁸ EPI is middle-level professional education.

¹¹⁹ Good Education: a precondition for a better future, Strategic Plan 1999-2008); Priepeb.

¹²⁰ Priepeb: Innovation Project for Pre-school and Primary Education.

Table 5.17. Total population 3 yrs. and older by vernacular language and age-group

Vernacular language	0-5 yrs.		6-11 yrs.		12-19 yrs.		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Papiamento (Neth. Ant.)	89	11.1	120	6.0	197	6.7	406	7.1
Spanish	328	40.7	868	43.3	1,305	44.5	2,501	43.6
Dutch	234	29.1	660	33.0	865	29.5	1,760	30.7
English	112	14.0	261	13.1	394	13.4	768	13.4
Other	20	2.5	79	3.9	154	5.3	253	4.4
Not Reported	21	2.6	15	0.7	17	0.6	53	0.9
Total	804	100.0	2,003	100.0	2,933	100.0	5,740	100.0

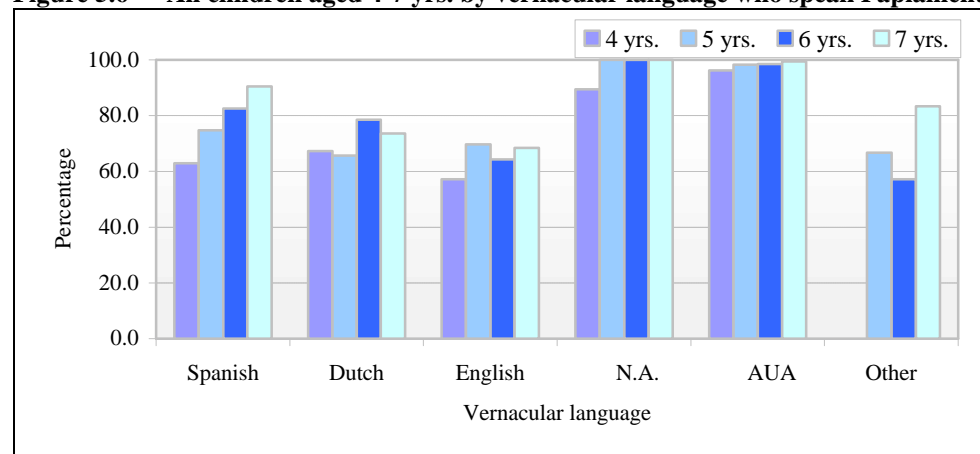
Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

The age-groups corresponding with the divisions used in the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) are:

Age-group	ISCED division
0 - 5	Pre-School and Pre-Primary Education
6 - 11	Primary Education
12 - 13	Lower Secondary Education
14 - 16	Upper Secondary Education
17 - 25	Post Secondary non-Tertiary and Tertiary Education

For children from the Antilles or Aruba, Papiamento is obviously not an issue. As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, children from Latin American seem to have the least problems learning Papiamento. The inability to speak Dutch is an obstacle for the majority of children, regardless of their country of birth. Dutch children have the highest percentage, because Dutch is their mother tongue. Even so, only 71 percent of the 4 year-olds indicate they can speak Dutch. Of the children aged 5, 6 and 7 respectively 69 percent, 80 percent 85 percent can speak Dutch.

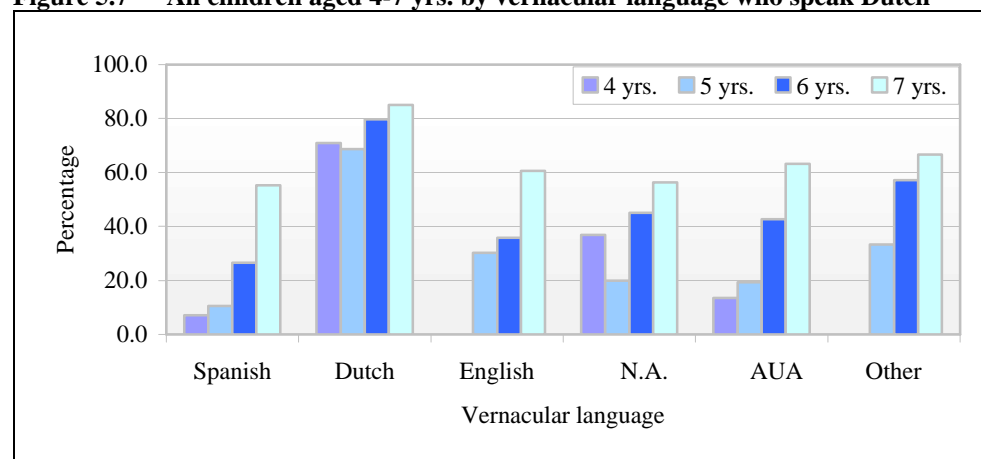
Figure 5.6 All children aged 4-7 yrs. by vernacular language who speak Papiamento



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

School participation rates for migrant toddlers (4-5 years) were highest among children from Dutch-speaking countries, namely 96.7 percent. Interestingly, only 77 percent of Latin toddlers attend school. It is also interesting that only 37.1 percent of persons aged 17 to 25 years still attend school. The majority of children who continue their studies after finishing upper secondary education come from

Figure 5.7 All children aged 4-7 yrs. by vernacular language who speak Dutch



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.18. Foreign-born population by vernacular language, age and school-participation

	Spanish		Dutch		English		Papiamentu		Aruba		Other		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Neth. Ant.		Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
4-5 yrs.	133	77.0	124	96.7	45	91.5	40	97.4	2,380	95.8	9	69.2	2,732	94.4
6-11 yrs.	792	91.2	651	98.6	248	94.8	120	100.0	6,470	99.1	76	96.0	8,356	98.0
12-13 yrs.	273	90.6	310	98.7	116	94.8	51	98.0	1,739	99.0	32	90.9	2,520	97.6
14-16 yrs.	423	84.1	299	97.6	137	83.3	66	100.0	2,763	97.5	55	91.2	3,742	95.0
17-25 yrs.	282	14.6	279	46.5	92	23.7	104	43.6	2,774	44.9	44	17.3	3,576	37.1
Total	1,904	50.3	1,663	82.8	637	64.6	381	73.6	16,126	81.5	215	48.7	20,926	75.9

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

The CBS publication 'Education on Aruba: context and output'¹²¹ takes a closer look at the impact of the influx of migrant children into the education system on Aruba. Migrant children may enter the Aruban education system via regular intake or via lateral intake. Regular intake is when a child enters primary education. Children aged 6 or 7 years would normally be in this category¹²². Migrant children older than 6 or 7 years who enter primary education are so-called lateral intake pupils. They enter at other than first grade of the primary education. The following table presents the foreign lateral intake of pupils.

Table 5.19. Lateral intake, foreign born pupils in primary education, 2000

	Age									
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Grade 1	6	6	8	4	3	1				29
Grade 2	9	14	17	8	2	1	1			53
Grade 3	1	26	27	32	14	3	2	1		106
Grade 4		2	24	32	32	13	2	1	1	106
Grade 5			2	26	47	25	13	5		119
Grade 6				1	33	41	53	25	2	154
Total	17	48	79	103	130	84	70	33	3	567

Source: Education on Aruba: context and output, CBS, 2003.

Note: Regular intake pupils are shown in the deep blue diagonal and the rest of the colored cells are the over aged per grade.

¹²¹ Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2003), Onderwijs op Aruba: context en output. Oranjestad, Aruba.

¹²² Children who reach 6 years of age after October 1st enter first grade the next year.

Table 5.19 shows the lateral intake of foreign born pupils in primary education according to the Census 2000. It is calculated that about 75 percent¹²³ of these pupils are over-aged. The majority of these lateral intake pupils do not speak Papiamentu or Dutch at the moment of enrollment. This is why so many children enroll in a lower grade than they should be in, given their age. The following case illustrates the hardships of a 10 year-old girl entering primary education.

Paola's family is from Colombia. Her husband migrated to Aruba in March 1999. Paola and her three children came to the island in December of the same year. The children were respectively 10, 7 and 3 years old. Gabriela, her oldest daughter, tells her story:

'.... When I came to Aruba I stayed half a year behind in classes. In Colombia I was already attending fifth grade, here I had to start fifth grade all over again. My problem was Papiamentu and Dutch, I could only speak Spanish. I translated every text I received word for word in order to learn Dutch. I had no problems with math. Dutch was the most difficult subject. And all the other subjects were also given in Dutch. I had a difficult time, my social life suffered because of the sacrifices I had to make for my study. I had no time to do sports or play with friends. In the fifth grade they told me I would probably go to the EPB. I didn't want to go to the EPB, so I worked hard. There were five Spanish speaking children in my class, but only two of us made it, we went to the MAVO. I went to the MAVO first because I was afraid of the psychological test. Afterwards my scores were so good that they sent me to the HAVO. And now at the HAVO it is going well. Now I feel as if I'm part of the community.' Gabriela (daughter)

'.... It was difficult. She didn't understand and sometimes she came home all stressed out and very tired, she worked hard, even during the night, translating, to study....' Paola (mother)

Table 5.20 shows that 94 percent of all children aged 12-17 years attend school. However, taking a closer look at the Spanish-speaking children, more than 17 percent do not attend school. Among English speaking children, about 14 percent are not in school. Less than 5 percent of Dutch and Papiamentu- speaking children (including Aruba) do not attend school, of whom the majority are 17 years of age.

Table 5.20. Children aged 12-17 yrs. by vernacular language, age and school-participation

	Spanish		Dutch		English		Papiamentu		Aruba		Other		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
12 yrs.	135	89.0	164	98.7	51	98.0	26	100.0	855	98.9	19	94.7	1,251	97.5
13 yrs.	138	92.3	146	98.6	64	92.4	25	96.0	884	99.2	13	85.7	1,269	97.7
14 yrs.	176	91.3	123	97.5	56	77.9	26	100.0	858	99.0	19	90.0	1,258	96.1
15 yrs.	132	84.0	97	97.9	51	87.5	23	100.0	976	97.7	13	80.0	1,293	95.4
16 yrs.	114	75.2	80	97.4	29	87.5	17	100.0	928	95.9	23	100.0	1,192	93.3
17 yrs.	107	64.2	79	97.4	30	72.5	20	86.4	822	89.6	8	50.0	1,067	85.3
Total	803	82.7	688	98.1	282	86.2	138	97.0	5,324	96.7	94	84.9	7,329	94.3

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.21 shows the school attendance of local and foreign-born people younger than 22 years of age by type of school they were attending at the moment of the 2000 Census. Of the children in primary education, 89.8 percent of local born children and 81.6 percent of foreign-born children are in the corresponding age-group, which is 6-11 years. Interestingly, 63 percent of the local born children aged 12-13 years were in secondary education (the age-group corresponding to that level), compared with 55 percent of foreign-born children. If we take a closer look at the foreign-born children aged 12-16 years in secondary schools (ISCED 2), we see that no less than 73 percent are in MAVO/ HAVO or

¹²³ The percentages are adjusted because some pupils enter primary education via regular intake at the age of 7 (they have their 6th birthday after October 1st). Some of them are accepted at age 6, after following special tests and also depending on space in schools.

VWO. Keep in mind that this table only gives a broad view of the foreign-born children attending school and makes no distinction between children from developed and developing countries. Later on in this section more attention is given to the type of country of birth these children come from.

The results of the Census 2000 in table 5.22 show that 77.8 percent of the 12,079 youngsters aged 12-21 years were attending school. More than 80 percent of the children from both Aruba and other developed countries indicated they were attending school. For children from developing countries on the other hand this was only 59.7 percent. The majority (90.6 percent) of children aged 12-21 years not in school were aged between 17 and 21 years. Children between 12 and 16 years of age not in school were mostly from developing countries, namely 57.3 percent.

Table 5.21 School attending population <= 21 yrs. by age, local or foreign-born and school-type

Current isced	Age-group									
	4-5 yrs.		6-11 yrs.		12-13 yrs.		14-16 yrs.		17-21 yrs.	
	Local	Foreign	Local	Foreign	Local	Foreign	Local	Foreign	Local	Foreign
Less than primary	2,358	339	87	40	-	-	-	-	-	-
ISCED1: Primary education	21	12	6,374	1,835	644	344	49	56	8	2
ISCED2: Brugklas EPB	-	-	1	1	154	39	565	171	125	46
ISCED2: EPB	-	-	-	-	20	11	441	144	502	138
ISCED2: MAVO	-	-	4	4	605	206	1,098	351	194	82
ISCED2: Brugklas Colegio	-	-	1	2	144	89	12	12	18	8
ISCED 2/3: HAVO	-	-	-	2	104	49	333	129	392	99
ISCED 2/3: VWO	-	-	-	-	60	39	160	84	127	45
ISCED 2: unknown	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	1
ISCED3: EPI	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	5	691	186
Other ISCED levels	-	-	1	1	7	2	50	23	343	105
Not Reported	1	1	2	-	-	2	3	5	12	6
Total	2,380	352	6,470	1,886	1,739	781	2,763	980	2,413	718

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

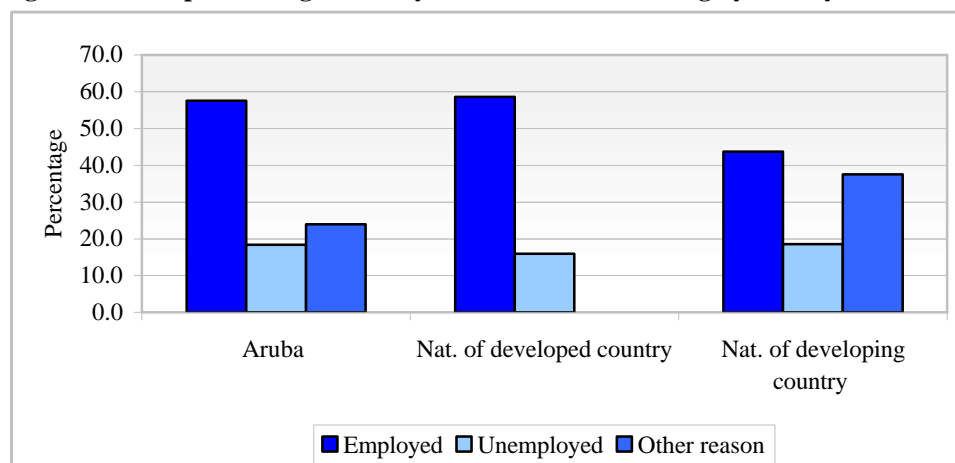
Of those not attending school between the ages of 17-21 years, 61 percent were born on Aruba, 6.8 percent in another developed country and 32.0 percent in a developing country. There was no specific question regarding the reason for not attending school, but figure 5.8 gives an illustration of the activity status of these youngsters not attending school. Most of them are already in the labor force: 57.5 percent of those born on Aruba, 58.6 percent of those from other developed countries, and 43.7 of those born in developing countries. Another group indicated they are unemployed respectively 18.4 percent, 15.9 percent and 18.5 percent. Other youngsters indicated they were housewives (homemakers), they had just graduated or were ill.

Table 5.22. Population aged 12-21 years by school attendance and type of country of birth

	Aruban		Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Not school attending	1,559	18.4	184	14.1	915	40.3	2,658	22.0
School attending population	6,914	81.6	1,123	85.9	1,356	59.7	9,393	77.8
Not Reported	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	-
Total	8,474	-	1,307	-	2,270	-	12,079	-

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Figure 5.8. Population aged 17-21 years not school attending by activity status



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

According to the ISCED age classification (see page 119), pupils in secondary education are between the ages of 12 and 17. However, the secondary educational level in Aruba, which consists of the EPB¹²⁴, MAVO and the Colegio¹²⁵, has other corresponding age categories. The MAVO for example can be delimited to ages 12-16 years. The HAVO on the other hand has a broader age category because of over aged students enrolling from MAVO 4 to the so-called E-classes¹²⁶. The type of country of birth of the student seems to make a lot of difference in type of education. As mentioned above, it is interesting to note the higher percentage of foreign-born youngsters in the MAVO/Colegio compared to those born on Aruba. Figure 5.9 illustrates the percentage of school-attendeers aged 12-21 years by country of birth and type of school. For youngsters born on Aruba almost equal percentages attend the EPB and the MAVO, respectively 35.8 and 37.6 percent. The proportion of Aruban-born 12-21 year-olds at the Colegio is only 26.7 percent. Youngsters from developed countries going to the Colegio is much higher, 41.7 percent from the Netherlands, 61.6 percent from the United States and 65.2 percent from other developed countries. Youngsters born in the Netherlands Antilles are mostly found in the MAVO; 46.5 percent of those born in Colombia and 63.9 percent of those born in the Dominican Republic go to the EPB. Youngsters from Surinam and Venezuela are mostly in the MAVO, respectively 44.6 and 43.9 percent.

Sometimes it is not so easy for foreign parents to enroll their children in school. Problems may be caused by the insufficient availability of classrooms and the hesitation of schools to enroll migrant children. On the other hand, there is fear among undocumented migrants that their children will be picked up by the immigration authorities while in school. This may keep parents from enrolling their children until their permits are regulated. In some cases it may take up to two years before a child starts in the school system because of the delay in obtaining the necessary permits. The following case illustrates the type of difficulties migrants face to enroll their children in school.

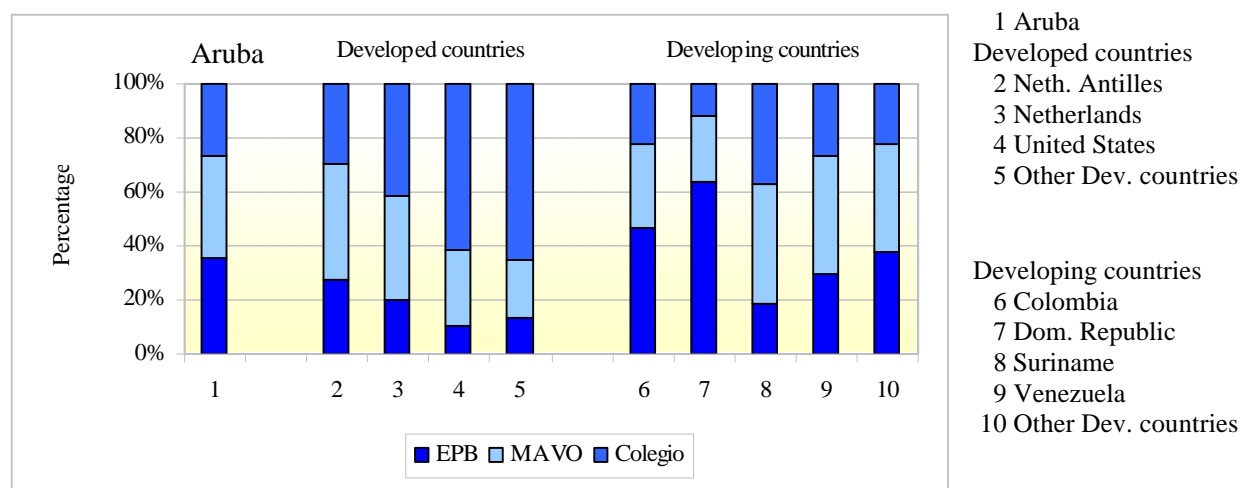
Coromoto (see page 53) is Venezuelan and is married to Enrique, also Venezuelan. In 2000 her husband's son came to Aruba. It took a year to arrange his permits. She got a place for him at a school for immigrants, so 'he would have somewhere to go instead of staying home'. The boy was getting bored of staying at home, doing nothing. In her own words: 'It's difficult to find a school for migrants' children when they're older than 12 years.... I got a place for him (16) at a school for migrants. Colombian friends told me about a school named IDEA. I don't know if these people are qualified to teach, but anything is better than nothing....'

¹²⁴ EPB is Brugklas EPB and EPB.

¹²⁵ Colegio is ISCED 2/3: Brugklas Colegio, HAVO and VWO; preparatory to middle or higher professional education.

¹²⁶ E-classes are considered to be the same level as the upper level of the HAVO, except for the duration of three years in the E-classes, while the upper level of the HAVO takes two years to finish. The HAVO itself is a five year education.

Figure 5.9. School-attending youngsters = 21 yrs. by type of secondary school and country of birth



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

IDEA, Iniciativa Desarrollo Educacion Aruba¹²⁷, is a pilot group of the foundation Cede Aruba. The main motive behind this project is to tackle the problem of drop-outs¹²⁸ on Aruba. This is a growing problem due to the large influx of school-aged migrant children¹²⁹. The group IDEA believes that the focus should not only be on the existing structural problems in the educational system (among others repeaters and early school leavers), but also on the integration of pupils from different cultures. They believe that the exclusion of certain groups of children will lead to a systematic 'wastage of human potential'. IDEA supports the education model proposed by Servol¹³⁰ in Trinidad. IDEA works according to the 'Life Center' model. In the first place it is a center where school drop-outs are assisted to prepare themselves for life. The center helps them to regain their self-esteem, which was diminished because of their dreadful school experiences. The overall focus is on individual support and coaching to enter the labor market. The purpose is thus to prepare the student for life, concentrating on 'life-attitudes', 'life-knowledge' and 'life-skills' given their own experiences and reality. The project is oriented towards underprivileged boys and girls without any or uncompleted (vocational) education. They receive cooperation from the Fundacion Enseñansa Solidario (FES),¹³¹ and the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA)¹³². FES consists of teachers and students from the IPA and is therefore charged with the curriculum, implementation, supervision and evaluation of the program, together with Servol. The aim is to involve the accredited IPA students as volunteers in the program.

Many migrants are aware that their children are at a disadvantage in the school system, because of the instruction language used. Both Antonio's story (see page 118) and the quotations presented below, reflect the concern of migrants about this language barrier for the educational development of their children. Many parents make serious sacrifices to help their children perform better in school.

¹²⁷ IDEA: Initiative for Educational Development Aruba

¹²⁸ According to the IDEA drop-outs are all non school-attending children aged 12-18 years

¹²⁹ According to the findings in the publication 'Onderwijs op Aruba: context en output; CBS, 2003, the size of the net migration of school-aged children is practically nil in the last five years. This does not necessarily mean that the migrant children do not have an impact on the education system. After all, the immigrating school-aged children totaled about 650 yearly during the same period.

¹³⁰ Servol is a non-governmental service organization engaged in educational and community-based efforts to strengthen the family unit by providing support and education for parents, children and adolescents in Trinidad and Tobago. The scope of Servol's projects involves initiating employment skills, enterprise development, and individual and community empowerment initiatives in disadvantaged urban and rural communities. Specific activities include counseling, teaching and leadership/life skills development. Servol offers skills training to school drop-outs and its most notable innovation is its Adolescent Development Programme, which aims at building self-esteem among the country's youth. It is already recognized internationally and the model has been implemented in different parts of the world.

¹³¹ FES: Foundation for United Education (Aruba).

¹³² IPA: Pedagogical Institute Aruba, middle- and higher level Professional Education for teacher training.

'... We (mother and son) are going on a course this month. We are going to learn Dutch. I have to learn it; soon my (other) children will go to school. How can I help them with their assignments if I can't understand Dutch. It will be difficult for me, but I'd rather have them go to school to learn more.' Marisela, Colombian single mother.

'.... A tutor was hired who could speak English and Papiamentu. At school she soon learned Papiamentu ... The tutor was hired for three months during her first school year...' Clarita, Filipino married to a Filipino

Clarita paid a tutor to teach her daughter Papiamentu, so she could communicate with the children at school and in the neighborhood. Antonio is aware of the hardship migration has caused for his children, particularly the older ones. However, he still wants to stay in Aruba, and not primarily because of the tranquility in Aruba compared to the situation in Venezuela. He says his main motive for staying on the island is the education of his children.

Unfortunately not all parents can afford the luxury of helping their children with their education in such a manner as described above, either because they do not have the necessary means or they do not have the time to spend with their children. Low-income households may place more importance on another working family member (extra income) than on further supporting the education of the children. Rosa Maria's story illustrates the case of parents who are unable to help their children. She thinks it is a pity they cannot help their son with his school assignments, but is proud of what he has achieved so far.

'... My son is currently attending first grade of primary school and was enrolled for two years in a pre-primary school. He likes to go to school. He's the only one who asks the teacher if he may go to the bathroom in Dutch. The only problem we have is that we cannot help him with his assignments, because we can't speak Dutch.' Rosa Maria, Dominican married to a Dominican

The above discussion shows that migrants' children face many problems and difficulties in adapting to the school system in Aruba. Depending on age, background and personal talent some are able to overcome these problems, while others are unable to finish their school career successfully. Many migrant parents are aware of the problems their children have to face and many go to great lengths to help them as much as possible. Although some initiatives have been taken to help these children, many needs are not yet fulfilled.

5.5. MARRIAGES

In general, the reason for getting married is that there are certain advantages of doing so. These may be in the emotional and sexual sphere, but in some ways may also be a question of simple economics. For instance, in many societies the legal position of non-married partners is not equal to those of married partners, with regard to inheritance for example. Although far from universal, the western marriage model involves a man and a woman who mutually decide to formalize their love for each other. Throughout history and still today in many parts of the world, marriage has served more as a socio-economic link between two partners and between their respective families.

Although they are common nowadays, marriages between Aruban men and Latin American women do not have a good reputation with many people on Aruba. 'Mamasitas'¹³³ are quite often portrayed as seducers of Aruban men, luring them into marriage, regardless of their marital status, educational level or age; it is not about love; it is about getting their permits and an easy life on Aruba. These 'fictitious' marriages are a frequent topic of discussion in daily conversations, and a common issue for local papers and radio stations. To illustrate how these types of marriages are discussed, the following excerpt from a translated article in a local newspaper is presented.

¹³³ 'Mamasita' is a general term used for a Latino woman who is actively looking for a husband in order to obtain the necessary permits and Dutch nationality and so achieve her goals in life, regardless of the marital circumstances of the man.

'Serious case on Aruba! Foreigner abducts Aruban's thoroughbred dog as blackmail.' It happens to be that this Venezuelan woman married an Aruban man in Venezuela. They have come to live on Aruba but have never lived together. This induced the man not to register the marriage at the Population Registry Office of Aruba and at the same time to file for divorce in Venezuela. As long as the man doesn't register the marriage at the population Registry Office, the woman and her 6 year-old child are not legally on the island, with the consequence that the child cannot be enrolled in school. If the divorce papers come through, the woman would have to leave the island. The man reported his dog missing and indicated this was a blackmail action by his wife in order to obtain the necessary papers. A reliable source indicated the dog is living in bad conditions: in the sun the whole day. There is no information about whether the dog has sufficient food. The dog was due for its shot in September, but missed it. The Aruban is angry about what is happening to his dog and is asking for help from among others the Animal Rights Aruba. 'Diario brings this to the public so people can see to what extremes some foreigners go to obtain what they want and stay on Aruba. ... This must all serve as a warning to Arubans to watch out when they fall in the trap and marry foreign-born people. If you yourself are not harmed, now you can see that even your pet can get harmed. Diario, 21 November 2003.

Internationally, intercultural marriages are used as a cultural indicator to define the success of integration among different cultures. Qian¹³⁴ denotes inter-ethnic marriage as the final stage of immigrant assimilation. In a paper presented at an OECD¹³⁵ conference the following meaning is given to the marriage indicator: *'The higher the rate of inter-marriage, the more diverse a society becomes by breaking down barriers between communities, and the greater the benefits for cohesion'*. Should we consider the fact that so many foreign women marry Aruban men as a sign that the migrant population is integrating rapidly into the Aruban society? In this section we shall discuss various aspects of the interrelationship between migration, marriage and integration.

Foreign partners

In Aruba, marriage and migration have long been linked. Arubans were already marrying people from the South American mainland and from other Caribbean islands at the beginning of the 19th century¹³⁶. In the LAGO period, migrant workers generally came without their families and stayed only for a limited time. Some opted to stay longer and sent for their spouses. Frequently this involved marriage migration where spouses were chosen from the country of origin (or another foreign country) and brought to Aruba. West Indian migrants sometimes married by proxy with a 'hometown girl'. The import of spouses was attached to certain conditions: the migrant had to prove he/she had appropriate housing and sometimes even had to pay a deposit¹³⁷. According to Green¹³⁸, marriages between West Indians with local women were not very popular at that time. Color differences and the lower economic position of the Aruban population were important factors which prevented intermarriage. However, some married local girls. This certainly had certain benefits: the Dutch nationality and a residence permit.

Restrictions on the free entry of new migrants in the receiving country may have a positive effect on marriage migration. In this way marriage may become an interesting alternative to gain admittance to a country. According to the authors of *'Marriage Migration: Just another case of positive assortative matching?'*¹³⁹, most countries in Western Europe are facing increases in marriage migration. *'Marriage migration is by far the most common type of marriage pattern among many non-Western immigrant*

¹³⁴ Qian, Z. (1999) Who Intermarries? Education, Nativity, Region, and Interracial Marriage, 1980 and 1990." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 30(4): 579-597.

¹³⁵ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD Conference Jointly organized by The European Commission and the OECD Brussels, 21-22 January 2003, p.14.

¹³⁶ Alofs, L. & Merckies, L. (2001), *Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba, 1924-2001*. Tweede herziene en uitgebreide druk, VAD/ De Wit Stores, Aruba.

¹³⁷ Alofs, L. & Merckies, L. (2001), *Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba, 1924-2001*. Tweede herziene en uitgebreide druk, VAD/ De Wit Stores, Aruba, p.73.

¹³⁸ Green, V. (1969), *Aspects of interethnic integration in Aruba, Netherlands Antilles*. Tucson; Ann Arbor University of Arizona.

¹³⁹ Aycan Çelikaksoy, Helena Skyt Nielsen (2003), *Mette Verner Marriage Migration: Just another case of positive assortative matching?*, August 13, 2003 (A paper investigating two aspects of the marriage behaviour of Turkish, Pakistani and Ex-Yugoslavian immigrants in Denmark).

groups in Europe. And even though marriage migration has always existed, its relative importance has increased extensively until the 1990s where the rules were tightened'. In 1998, 18 thousand of the 81.6 thousand immigrants in the Netherlands, came to join a partner. And more than half of all Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands came for family formation¹⁴⁰.

In 2000, 30,174 persons were married and living together with their spouse on Aruba. According to "The people of Aruba, Continuity and Change", the number of marriages between native partners has been declining during the last decade. Of all marriages conducted in 1992 (where both partners were still together in the 2000 Census), 35.8 percent were between native partners. The Census 2000 showed that among 646 couples who married in 1999 and who were still living together on the island in October 2000, only 188 (29.2 percent) were marriages where both partners were Aruban. Another 28.5 percent were Aruban men married to foreign-born women and in less than 15 percent the wife was Aruban and the husband foreign-born¹⁴¹.

Table 5.23. Married couples living together by type of country of birth of partners

Country of birth husband	Aruba		Country of birth wife				Unknown		Total	
			Developed countries		Developing countries					
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Aruba	7,515	83.2	604	41.5	2,101	46.0	4	14.3	10,224	67.8
Developed countries	795	8.8	711	48.8	340	7.5	3	10.7	1,849	12.3
Developing countries	726	8.0	141	9.7	2,121	46.5	2	7.1	2,989	19.8
Unknown	1	0.0	1	0.1	3	0.1	20	67.9	25	0.2
Total	9,036	100.0	1,456	100.0	4,565	100.0	29	100.0	15,087	100.0

Country of birth wife	Aruba		Country of birth husband				Unknown		Total	
			Developed countries		Developing countries					
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Aruba	7,515	73.5	795	43.0	726	24.3	1	4.2	9,036	59.9
Developed countries	604	5.9	711	38.4	141	4.7	1	4.2	1,456	9.7
Developing countries	2,101	20.6	340	18.4	2,121	71.0	3	12.5	4,565	30.3
Unknown	4	0.0	3	0.2	2	0.1	20	79.2	29	0.2
Total	10,224	100.0	1,849	100.0	2,989	100.0	25	100.0	15,087	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.23 shows the total married population living together on October 14th, 2000 by the partners' type of country of birth. A total of 15,087 couples indicated they were married; 7,515 of these consisted of two Aruban partners, accounting for 49.8 percent of all married couples¹⁴². It is interesting to note that more or less equal percentages of Aruban women marry men from developed and developing countries, respectively 8.8 and 8.0 percent. On the other hand, Aruban men show a distinctly higher preference for women from developing countries (20.6 percent) to women from developed countries, (5.9 percent).

¹⁴⁰ Han Nicolaas and Arno Sprangers (2001), Migration motives of non-Dutch Immigrants in the Netherlands. Joint ECE-EUROSTAT Work Session on Migration Statistics. Submitted by Statistics Netherlands. Joint ECE-EUROSTAT Work Session on Migration Statistics organised in cooperation with the UN Statistics Division (Geneva, 21-23 May 2001). UN STATISTICAL COMMISSION and UN ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES (EUROSTAT).

¹⁴¹ Central Bureau of Statistics (2002), The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change. Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 14, 2000.

¹⁴² This percentage covers all persons married at the Census moment. In "People of Aruba, Continuity and Change", the author used as total population the persons who married in 1999 and were, still living together at the time of the Census.

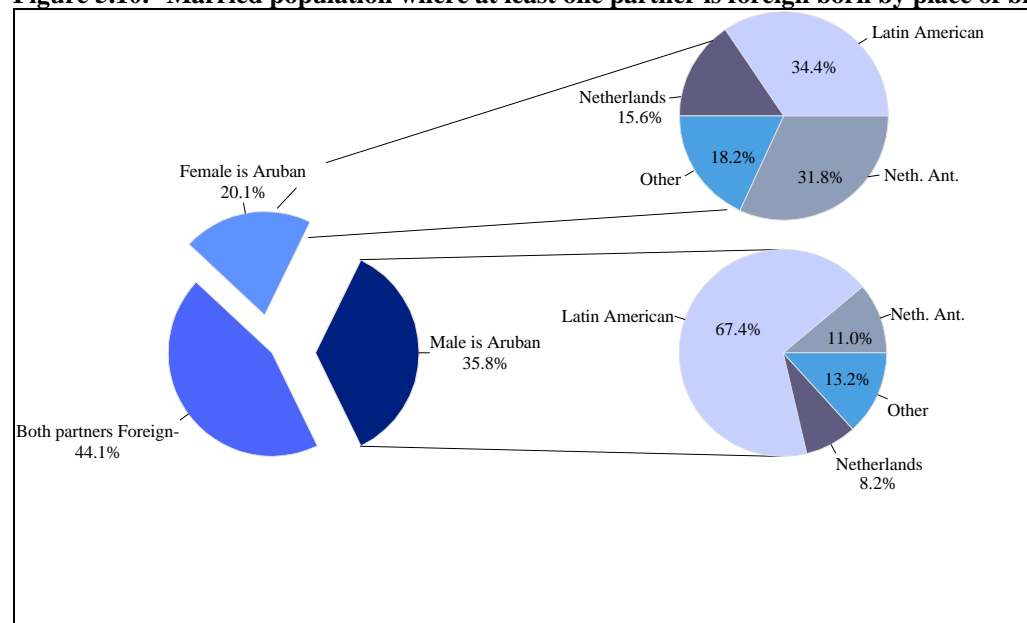
Table 5.24. Married couples living together by type of country of birth of partners. Husband < 40 yrs. or wife < 40 yrs.

Country of birth husband	Aruba		Country of birth wife		Developed countries		Developing countries		Unknown		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Aruba	2,642	79.7	270	45.7	1,295	45.1	2	28.6	4,208	62.0		
Developed countries	300	9.1	265	44.8	171	6.0	1	14.3	737	10.9		
Developing countries	373	11.2	55	9.3	1,404	48.9	1	14.3	1,832	27.0		
Unknown	0	0.0	1	0.2	2	0.1	3	42.9	6	0.1		
Total	3,315	100.0	590	100.0	2,872	100.0	7	100.0	6,784	100.0		

Country of birth wife	Aruba		Country of birth husband		Developed countries		Developing countries		Unknown		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Aruba	2,134	64.9	270	45.9	392	23.4	0	0.0	2,795	50.3		
Developed countries	230	7.0	204	34.6	53	3.1	1	33.3	487	8.8		
Developing countries	923	28.1	114	19.5	1,227	73.3	1	33.3	2,266	40.8		
Unknown	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.1	1	33.3	3	0.1		
Total	3,287	100.0	588	100.0	1,674	100.0	3	100.0	5,551	100.0		

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000

Figure 5.10. Married population where at least one partner is foreign born by place of birth partners



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

In table 3.14 (chapter 3), we showed that at the moment of migration only 28.6 percent of the MMAs were married. Many more men than women were married at the time they set foot on Aruba (table 5.23). Among all married couples who were living together at the time of the Census, 2,101 were unions between an Aruban man and a woman from a developing country. Among all married women from developing countries living with a husband on the island, 46.0 percent were married to an Aruban man. Among all Aruban men, 20.6 percent were married (and living together) with a woman from a developing country.

As marriage rates with foreigners have increased recently, table 5.24 restricts the analysis to husbands or wives in a union who are below age 40. In the 5,551 marriages where the husband is younger than 40 years, 2,134 are unions where both husband and wife are Aruban. This is only 38.4 percent of all marriages. Among Aruban husbands younger than 40, 64.9 percent are married to Aruban wives and 28.1 percent to women from developing countries. More married women are present below age 40 than married men (6,784); just under half of all wives on Aruba younger than 40 were born locally (3,315). Among the 2,872 wives from developing countries 45.1 percent were married (and lived together) with an Aruban husband.

Figure 5.10 shows that 67.4 percent of all Aruban men who marry foreign-born women, do so with Latin American women. It is also interesting that a much smaller group of Aruban women marry 'Latino' men. However, compared to men, Aruban women seem to be more attracted to Dutch partners than Aruban men; 15.6 percent of Aruban women who marry a foreigner choose a Dutch husband. Only 8.2 percent of foreign women, marrying Aruban men, are Dutch.

Equal partners?

Accepting 'mixed' marriages has been a serious issue on the island, especially in the last decade. These marriages are often viewed with a certain prejudice. Migrants, too, have different attitudes towards marriage with an Aruban partner. Martha and Caridad are two cases which reflect a whole spectrum of opinions and attitudes of young foreign women towards marriage with an Aruban man. In previous chapters we have already mentioned Martha's difficult situation.

Martha, a 34 year-old Colombian woman, married an Aruban after living on Aruba illegally for three years. She met her husband while working at a Chinese restaurant. Her husband is 33 years old and has only primary education. It wasn't love at first sight, not even attraction, she admitted. He liked her and she saw a great opportunity to get her permit. After she got married she sent for her youngest son. There were no problems bringing him to Aruba because she was married to an Aruban. Her husband's family helped her enroll her son in school. She will wait a while before bringing her other two children to Aruba; they are doing well at school in Colombia. They would most probably fall behind in classes if she brought them now.

Caridad, a 40 year-old Colombian, works as a bartender in a bar/restaurant. According to her all Aruban men are the same. They read the same book, the same page: 'I'm going through a divorce, I'm having problems with my wife', and they all come with the same tittle tatttle. They come to me because I'm a woman and I work in a bar. Men have this necessity to look for someone in a bar, like a bartender. But they don't have to lie. Because when they get home they hug her, kiss her. They do and say all beautiful things to their wives to get rid of their lies. I do not agree with such doings. When you see him with her, he looks away and doesn't even say hello. He has to be friendly to everyone. It's not fair. We are all equal. If they (the women) don't like you it's because they are jealous. But I have not come here to steal anyone's man. ...I would have done that a long time ago. If I fall in love with someone I would marry and stay here.'

It is impossible to get quantitative data about the popular question of why foreign women marry Aruban men: love or economics, or perhaps a combination of the two. The two cases above illustrate that there is no clear-cut answer to this question. There are probably women who marry for economic reasons, but it is impossible to quantify this group. One way to learn more about intercultural marriage on Aruba is to look at the characteristics partners have in common and the differences that exist between them. We shall focus on some similarities and differences below.

Table 5.25a. Aruban men with spouse from a developed country by educational attainment of partners

Male educational attainment	Less than primary/ no education	Female educational attainment							Total
		Isced cat.1	Isced cat.2	Isced cat.3	Isced cat.5	Isced cat.6	Isced cat.7	Isced cat.9	
Less than primary/ no education	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0		2.4
Isced cat.1	1.2	7.1	7.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.2	17.6
Isced cat.2	0.3	5.4	14.1	3.5	3.8	3.3	0.2		30.6
Isced cat.3	0.2	0.5	1.0	1.6	0.7	0.7	0.2		4.9
Isced cat.5	0.2	0.7	4.2	2.1	4.3	2.6	0.7		14.8
Isced cat.6	0.0	1.0	5.4	1.6	4.2	6.4	0.3		19.0
Isced cat.7	0.0	0.5	0.3	1.2	1.7	5.4	1.6		10.8
Isced cat.9									
Total	2.6	16.2	32.7	11.1	15.3	19.0	3.0	0.2	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.25b. Aruban men with spouse from a developing country by educational attainment of partners

Male educational attainment	Less than primary/ no education	Female educational attainment							Total
		Isced cat.1	Isced cat.2	Isced cat.3	Isced cat.5	Isced cat.6	Isced cat.7	Isced cat.9	
Less than primary/ no education	1.7	1.7	0.8	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0		5.0
Isced cat.1	5.3	18.7	6.3	3.5	1.4	0.3	0.0	0.3	36.0
Isced cat.2	3.8	13.2	13.7	5.7	3.5	1.1	0.2		41.6
Isced cat.3	0.1	0.7	1.1	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.0		3.1
Isced cat.5	0.5	2.1	2.5	1.1	1.3	0.5	0.1		8.3
Isced cat.6	0.2	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.2		4.2
Isced cat.7	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3		1.5
Isced cat.9		0.1	0.0						0.2
Total	11.8	37.9	25.9	12.3	7.3	3.2	0.8	0.7	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.25c. Aruban women with spouse from a developed country by educational attainment of partners

Male educational attainment	Less than primary/ no education	Female educational attainment							Total
		Isced cat.1	Isced cat.2	Isced cat.3	Isced cat.5	Isced cat.6	Isced cat.7	Isced cat.9	
Less than primary/ no education	0.7	1.5	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		3.2
Isced cat.1	1.7	11.2	7.1	0.7	1.1	0.9	0.0		22.7
Isced cat.2	0.5	9.1	16.0	2.8	3.0	2.4	0.4	0.3	34.5
Isced cat.3	0.1	0.8	2.4	2.1	1.5	0.4	0.3		7.5
Isced cat.5	0.0	3.3	5.2	1.2	1.7	1.5	0.3	0.1	13.2
Isced cat.6	0.1	1.2	3.3	1.5	2.5	3.7	1.3		13.6
Isced cat.7	0.0	0.4	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9		4.9
Isced cat.9	0.1	0.3							0.4
Total	3.3	27.7	36.1	9.0	10.6	9.8	3.2	0.4	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.25d. Aruban women with spouse from a developing country by educational attainment of partners

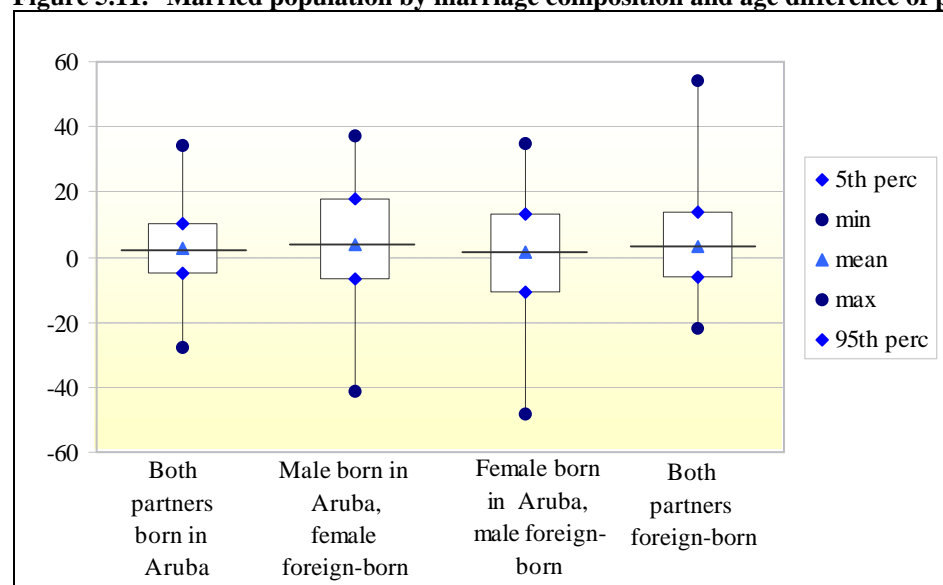
Male educational attainment	Female educational attainment								Total
	Less than primary/ no education	Isced cat.1	Isced cat.2	Isced cat.3	Isced cat.5	Isced cat.6	Isced cat.7	Isced cat.9	
Less than primary/ no education	1.3	3.5	2.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0		7.2
Isced cat.1	1.3	13.2	14.6	0.4	2.3	0.9	0.1	0.1	33.0
Isced cat.2	0.6	9.3	16.4	1.3	3.6	1.6	0.3	0.1	33.1
Isced cat.3	0.3	1.4	3.9	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.1		7.5
Isced cat.5	0.1	1.3	4.2	0.6	1.2	1.0	0.1		8.5
Isced cat.6	0.0	0.7	1.9	0.3	1.7	1.6	0.3		6.5
Isced cat.7	0.0	0.3	0.7	0.1	0.4	1.0	0.6		3.2
Isced cat.9	0.1	0.1	0.4		0.1				0.9
Total	3.8	29.8	44.3	3.5	10.1	6.7	1.6	0.3	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Tables 5.25a-5.25d comprise the educational attainment of mixed marriages. These tables show the education of Aruban men and women compared with the education of their partners from developed and developing countries. For both groups, about 35 percent of the foreign-born partner has the same educational level as their Aruban partner. In about 27 percent of cases, Aruban men have a lower educational attainment than their wives and about 36 percent of both groups show men to have a higher educational attainment than their spouses. Although the two groups seem to be similar, there is one important difference. More Aruban men with a higher education marry women from developed countries, while Aruban men with a lower education are more likely to marry women from developing countries.

Aruban women marrying foreign-born men show a somewhat different pattern. More Aruban women marry men from developed countries (52.3 percent) than from developing countries (47.7 percent). Among Aruban women marrying men from developed countries, 36 percent have the same educational level as their spouses, 37 percent have a lower and 26 percent have a higher educational level. But among Aruban women marrying men from developing countries, 35 percent have an equal educational level, 30 percent have a lower and 34 percent have a higher educational level.

The report *People of Aruba, Continuity and Change* contained an analysis of the age differences between married partners. This study indicated that Aruban men marrying foreign-born women are on average 4 years older than their wives. About 35 percent of these men are at least 5 years older than their spouses. Some 5 percent are at least 18 years older than their wives. Among these younger foreign-born wives, about 29 percent are Colombian, 25 percent are Dominican and 11 percent are Venezuelan. Interestingly is that Aruban women with foreign-born husbands are on average 1.7 years older than their husbands. Twelve percent are at least 5 years older than their husbands. Figure 5.11 is a graphic representation of these age differences according to the Census 2000.

Figure 5.11. Married population by marriage composition and age difference of partners

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

According to the Census 2000, a total 2,705 Aruban men were married to a foreign-born partner (table 5.26a). In many of these marriages both partners are employed, respectively 44.1 percent for Aruban men married to women from developing countries and 52.9 percent for Aruban men married to women from developed countries. Only a small share of Aruban men (15 percent) indicate they are non-active. Among non-active Aruban men married to partners from a developing country, 53.1 percent are retired. Of those married to women from a developed country, 74.7 percent are retired. Among all retired men, 36 percent of their spouses are housewives, 28 percent are retired, 24 percent are employed, and 4 percent are unemployed.

Table 5.26a Mixed marriages by sex, activity status and type of country of birth of foreign-born partner***Female developing country***

Activity status male	Activity status female					Total
	Employed	Unemployed	Non-active	Not elsewhere classified	Not reported	
Employed	927	134	610	9	0	1,681
Unemployed	58	24	33	0	0	114
Non-active	105	26	168	0	1	300
Not elsewhere classified	3	0	0	0	0	3
Not reported	2	0	0	0	0	2
Total	1,095	185	811	9	1	2,101

Female developed country

Activity status male	Activity status female					Total
	Employed	Unemployed	Non-active	Not elsewhere classified	Not reported	
Employed	319	15	146	3	0	483
Unemployed	9	2	3	0	0	15
Non-active	25	1	78	0	0	104
Not elsewhere classified	1	0	1	0	0	2
Not reported	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	355	18	228	3	0	604

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.26b shows Aruban women married to foreign-born men by activity status of both partners. The pattern is the same as in table 5.26a. Here too, for many couples both partners are employed. Remarkably, the largest group (33 percent) consists of non-active Aruban women married to a foreign-born men, compared to a small 15 percent in the case of the non-active Aruban men married to foreign-born women. Unlike the Aruban men, only 27 percent of these non-active women are retired; 84 percent are married to a retired foreign-born man.

Table 5.26b. Mixed marriages by sex, activity status and type of country of birth of foreign-born partner

<i>Male developing country</i>					
Activity status female	Activity status male				Total
	Employed	Unemployed	Non-active	Not elsewhere classified	
Employed	413	40	22	2	477
Unemployed	28	4	1	0	34
Non-active	127	6	79	0	212
Not elsewhere classified	2	0	1	0	3
Total	570	50	103	2	726

<i>Male developed country</i>					
Activity status female	Activity status male				Total
	Employed	Unemployed	Non-active	Not elsewhere classified	
Employed	396	18	56	0	469
Unemployed	22	1	6	0	29
Non-active	149	3	142	1	295
Not elsewhere classified	1	0	0	0	1
Total	568	22	204	1	795

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Tables 5.27a and 5.27b give an overview of the income differences between partners in mixed marriages. The lighter yellow represents a very low percentage and the darker red the highest percentage. The majority of these men have a higher to a much higher income than their partners. The largest group though is where both partners have very low incomes.

Table 5.27a. Aruban men married to a foreign-born partner by income category of partners

Female income category	Male income category (Afl.)									Total
	0 - 300	301 - 500	501 - 650	651 - 950	951 - 1250	1251 - 1500	1501 - 3000	3001 - 4500	> 4500	
Afl. 0-300	34.2	67.6	64.7	30.1	38.8	43.4	43.6	41.8	40.7	42
Afl. 301-500	4.0	16.2	5.9	5.3	4.5	0.6	1.3	2.3	0.8	2
Afl. 501-650	0.7	0.0	17.6	3.5	0.6	3.1	1.8	1.4	0.0	1
Afl. 651-950	5.4	5.4	5.9	28.3	8.7	3.1	4.2	4.0	3.0	6
Afl. 951-1250	28.9	2.7	0.0	24.8	34.9	27.7	22.8	11.1	5.5	20
Afl. 1251-1500	6.7	5.4	0.0	5.3	2.2	11.3	7.0	3.7	3.9	6
Afl. 1501-3000	14.1	2.7	5.9	1.8	9.3	8.2	15.2	20.5	17.5	14
Afl. 3001-4500	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.3	2.4	12.2	13.3	5
> 4500	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	1.3	1.7	3.1	15.2	4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

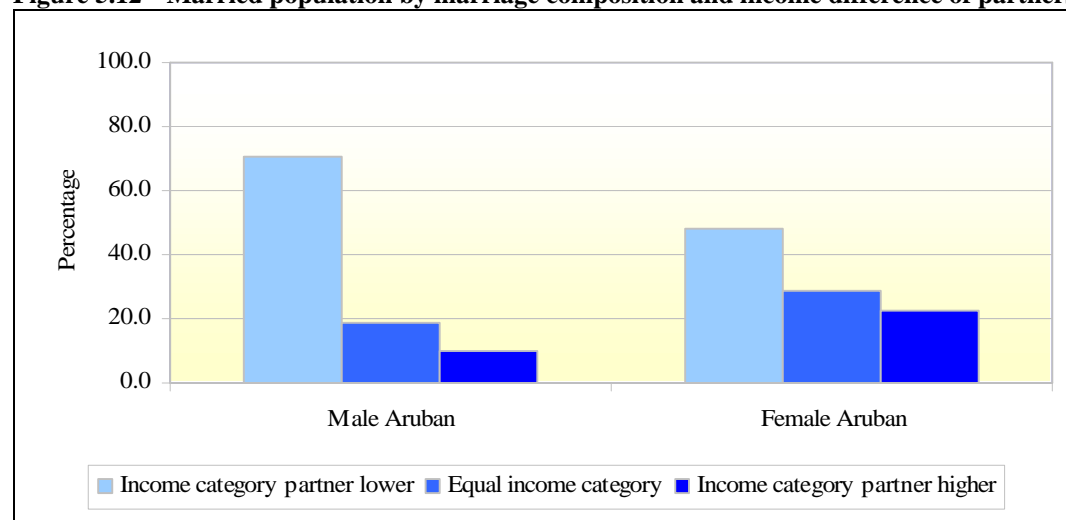
For Aruban women there seems to be no clear trend. It is remarkable that the largest group of Aruban women married to foreign-born men (41.9 percent) indicate they are in the same income category as their spouses. Looking at the overall picture, a total of 71 percent of Aruban men married to foreign-born women are in higher income categories than their partners, only 19 percent are in the same category and 10 percent are in a lower category. Aruban women, on the other hand, show less dramatic differences in income with their foreign-born spouses, 48 percent are in a higher income category, 29 percent are in the same category and 23 percent are in a lower category.

Table 5.27b. Aruban women married to a foreign-born partner by income category of partners

Female income category	Male income category (Afl.)									Total
	0 - 300	301 - 500	501 - 650	651 - 950	951 - 1250	1251 - 1500	1501 - 3000	3001 - 4500	> 4500	
Afl. 300 or less	12.7	20.0	25.0	25.7	23.8	33.0	26.4	29.4	29.0	26.2
Afl. 301 - 500	2.7	40.0	0.0	1.4	0.6	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	1.0
Afl. 501 - 650	1.8	10.0	25.0	2.7	1.2	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.4	1.0
Afl. 651 - 950	10.0	0.0	12.5	41.9	6.5	4.9	2.4	3.4	0.9	5.8
Afl. 951 - 1250	13.6	0.0	12.5	8.1	28.6	16.5	11.4	4.5	4.9	11.9
Afl. 1251 - 1500	5.5	0.0	0.0	4.1	3.0	12.6	6.0	4.5	1.3	4.9
Afl. 1501 - 3000	30.9	10.0	12.5	10.8	25.0	27.2	38.4	24.9	22.3	28.9
Afl. 3001 - 4500	10.9	0.0	12.5	2.7	6.5	3.9	10.1	23.7	16.5	11.6
> Afl. 4500	11.8	20.0	0.0	2.7	4.8	1.0	3.9	9.0	24.6	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Figure 5.12 Married population by marriage composition and income difference of partners



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Occasional abuse

Apart from the much told gossip story of the mamasitas there is little or no account of the success of mixed marriages on Aruba. One may assume that many, or even most, marriages between Aruban and foreign partners are solid unions which are based on mutual love and respect. It is certainly not the aim of the present authors to make these marriages appear in an unfavorable light. The analysis below should therefore be seen as a discussion of how these marriages, just as other marriages, can go wrong and lead to deplorable situations.

Because of differences in language and cultural background, norms and values in inter-cultural marriages are perhaps more prone to potential problems. The following case illustrates that discrimination can happen even within marriage.

Mercedes is a 39 year-old Colombian. She arrived on the island in June 2000. Now she is married to a 33 year-old Aruban. In her own words: 'We have to get used to the idea that we are foreigners. It's like we are a different class. It is true that the Colombians are doing no good here. But not everyone is the same. There are different kinds of people. And Colombians have the reputation of being bandits, prostitutes, etc., but not all Colombians are alike. Everywhere you will find good and bad people. Sometimes I have confrontations with my husband and he'll tell me 'You are with me because of the permit. You are married to me. And if I take that away from you, you will have to leave. You can stay only for three months.' That is no way to talk to me, as if I stay with him only for the permit. I always tell him I'm not married to him because of the papers. I married you because I wanted to marry you and if you think I'm only interested in the papers, I'd rather leave. I have to tolerate all that for some paper. No, I do not agree with that.'

Even though the above quote is from only one case in our study, discrimination and abuse within marriage is always a possibility. However, it should be clear that abuse can also be committed by both Aruban and foreign husbands against Aruban and foreign wives.

According to the figures from the Fundacion pa Hende Muher den Dificultad¹⁴³ for both 2002 and 2003, about half the complaints of marital abuse were from foreign-born women. The abuse ranged from verbal and physical abuse to plain power play. However, the numbers relate to the number of new cases reported to the foundation, and do not represent the total extent of partner abuses on the island. An in-depth interview was held with one of the social workers assisting the women at the foundation. She had the impression that the total number of cases is much larger than those reported. They read about cases in the local newspapers which were never reported to the foundation. The number of police interventions are not reported either. It is also possible that local women are less likely than foreign women to seek help from the foundation because they may have other assistance channels via family or friends, or they may be more reluctant to come forward with their problems because of the small scale of the island. Although the number of complaints about marital abuse is rather small, the issue is important enough to merit more study.

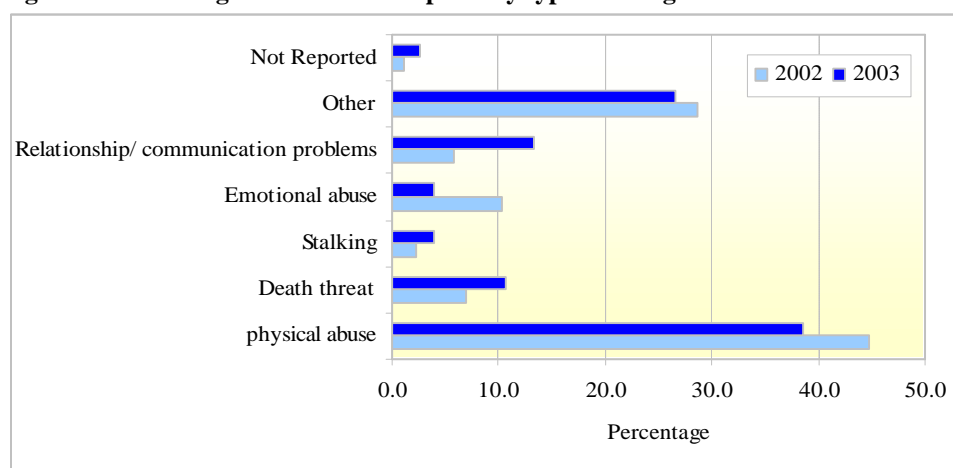
¹⁴³ Foundation for women in distress

Table 5.28. Reported new cases of women in distress by age and place of birth, 2002-2003

Age category	2002				2003			
	Place of birth		Place of birth		Place of birth		Place of birth	
	Aruba	Foreign-born	Aruba	Foreign-born	Aruba	Foreign-born	Aruba	Foreign-born
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
15-24	4	5.6	14	16.1	5	6.0	10	13.3
25-34	22	30.6	29	33.3	25	29.8	28	37.3
35-44	28	38.9	32	36.8	31	36.9	26	34.7
45-54	9	12.5	9	10.3	19	22.6	7	9.3
55-64	2	2.8	2	2.3	2	2.4	2	2.7
65+	4	5.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not Reported	3	4.2	1	1.1	2	2.4	2	2.7
Total	72	100.0	87	100.0	84	100.0	75	100.0
Row percentage	45.3		54.7		52.8		47.2	

Source: Fundacion Hende Muher den Dificultad, Aruba.

Figure 5.13 Foreign-born women reports by type of charge for 2002-2003



Source: Fundacion Hende Muher den Dificultad, Aruba.

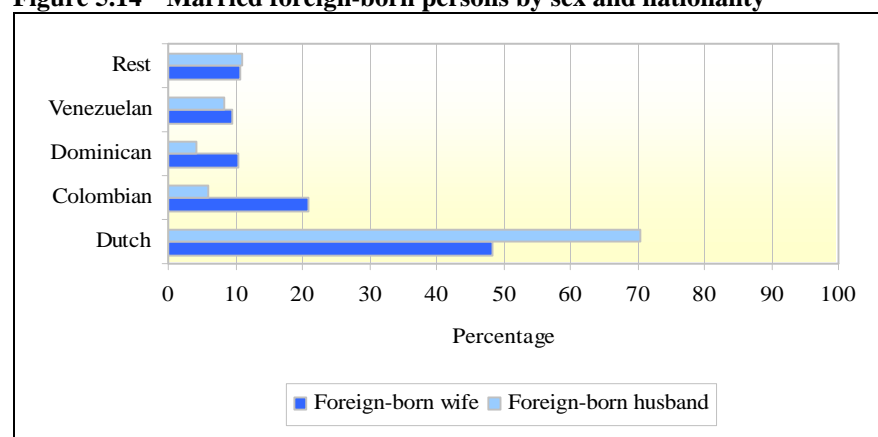
According to the social worker from the foundation, most of the cases where a foreign-born woman is involved are related to the women's position as a foreigner on the island. Most of the women have nowhere to go, no one to rely on for help and, mostly do not know their legal rights. Some spouses abuse their position to belittle these women in such a manner they become completely dependent, both economically and mentally. She recalled cases where the women's original documents were shredded by the husband. In some cases the man, knowing that the woman does not understand Dutch, translated her documents wrongly and so gained control over her. It is interesting to note that not all cases occur in the lower social segments of the community; men with higher educational levels have also been reported to the foundation. Also, men have reported being abused by their wives, although only in very few cases (only 8 cases in 2002). The kind of abuse reported by these men was mostly economic. They reported they were treated more like a workhorse than like a human being. They feel they are being used to provide for their wife and her family (including not only her children, but also other family members). Again, the total number of complaints made to the foundation by foreign women is rather low (75). The above is an illustration of how in some cases intercultural marriage between local and foreign partners can go wrong. The fact that the number is low indicates that these situations are much more the exception than the rule.

Going Dutch

As mentioned before, the Dutch nationality is one of the most pursued commodities by foreigners on Aruba. The following figure illustrates foreign-born persons married to Arubans and their respective nationalities. The year of settlement and year of marriage are not taken into consideration. Less than 50 percent of all foreign-born women married to Aruban men have the Dutch nationality, while about 70 percent of foreign-born men married to Aruban women have the Dutch nationality.

According to the results of the AMIS, 29.1 percent of couples consisted of Aruban men and foreign-born women, and 7.5 percent of Aruban women and foreign-born men. Of the group of foreign-born women with an Aruban husband, 18.2 percent had the Dutch nationality. Among those who did not yet have the Dutch nationality, 37.5 percent had already applied for it. About 62 percent had not yet applied, but 75 percent of these said they intended to apply, 7.5 percent said they would not apply and 17.5 percent said that they would perhaps apply. Of the small group of foreign-born men married to Aruban women, 45 percent already had the Dutch nationality and 27.3 of those who did not had already applied for it.

Figure 5.14 Married foreign-born persons by sex and nationality



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000

Table 5.29. Total married population by place of birth partners

	1991		2000	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Both partners Aruban	6,888	62.5	7,200	49.8
Male Aruban female Foreign-born	1,489	13.5	2,584	17.9
Female Aruban male Foreign-born	1,028	9.3	1,447	10.0
Both partners foreign-born	1,610	14.6	3,227	22.3
Total	11,015	100.0	14,457	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000

The following case illustrates why some people do not intend to apply for the Dutch nationality. *Isabel* is a Venezuelan woman who married an Aruban in 1999 and who preferred to hold on to her Venezuelan nationality.

‘¿Y no me case por permiso, no! Porque cuando yo lo conocí yo tenía mi permiso’.

‘I did not marry him for the permit, no! When we met I already had my permit.’ It is her husband who wants her to get a Dutch passport. She herself is not concerned about it. If she gets it, it is welcome. But she thinks her own Venezuelan passport is very important and she would not like to give it up. She says that maybe some day this passport may have a (more) important role. The situation may get better in Venezuela and that is where she was born.

Foreign-born couples

The results of the 1991 and the 2000 Population Censuses show that the group of local persons married to foreigners grew from 22.8 percent in 1991 to 27.9 percent in 2000. The group of couples consisting of two foreign-born partners grew from 14.6 percent to 22.3 percent in the same period. In this section we shall concentrate on couples consisting of two partners born outside Aruba.

Table 5.30a shows the number of married foreign-born women as a percentage of the country of birth of their husbands. From tables 5.30a and 5.30b we can see that the majority of foreign-born women are married to someone from their own country of birth. Female migrants from China and the Philippines have the highest rate of intra-group marriage: 95.8 percent of Chinese women and 96.0 percent of Philippine women are married to someone from their home country. The lowest percentage of women marrying with a partner from their own country is for those from the Dominican Republic (59.1 percent); 19.3 percent of the Dominican women are married to men from the Netherlands Antilles.

Table 5.30b shows the number of married foreign-born men as a percentage of the country of birth of their wives. Only 42.1 percent of the Antillean men indicated they were married to a woman from the Netherlands Antilles.

Figure 5.15 illustrates the marriages between foreign-born persons by type of country of birth. It shows that in about 60 percent of marriages between foreign-born partners both partners are from a developing country. Just over 20 percent of these couples are both from a developed country.

Table 5.30a. Foreign-born married partners by country of birth of partners (column percentage)

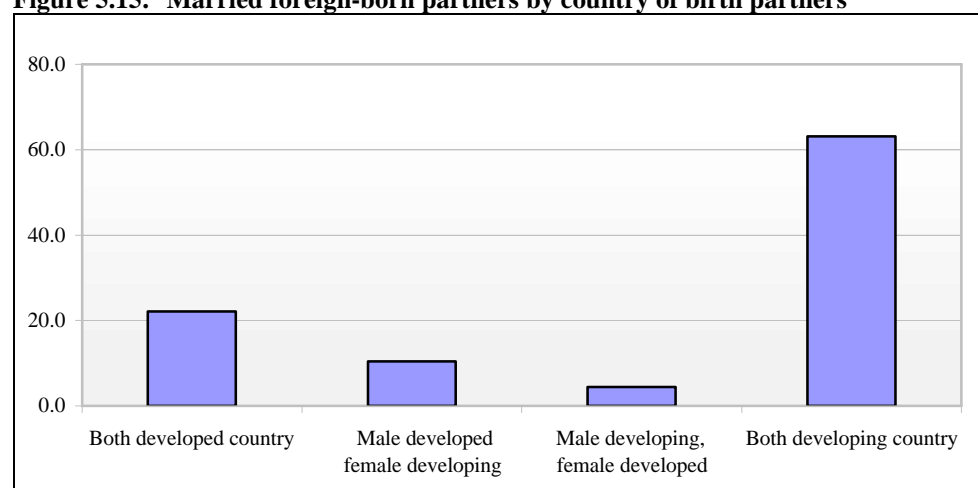
Country of birth husband	Country of birth wife													Total
	China	Colombia	Dom. Rep.	Haiti	Netherlands	Neth. Ant.	Peru	Phillipines	Suriname	USA	Venezuela	Other	Unknown	
China	95.8	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	4.7
Colombia	0.0	72.4	7.7	0.0	1.1	2.8	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.2	0.8	0.0	16.8
Dominican Rep.	0.7	2.0	59.1	0.0	0.3	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.1	1.2	0.6	4.2	6.5
Haiti	0.0	0.0	0.0	83.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.1	0.0	0.6	0.0	2.8
Netherlands	0.0	5.3	2.6	1.1	82.4	10.8	4.0	0.0	9.4	8.0	3.2	9.4	4.2	15.2
Neth. Antilles	0.0	6.1	19.3	11.6	5.8	60.2	0.8	0.0	6.8	4.5	4.0	10.4	8.3	11.6
Peru	0.0	1.9	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.4	85.6	1.6	0.0	1.1	1.6	0.6	0.0	4.3
Phillipines	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	96.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	4.1
Suriname	0.0	0.8	0.4	2.1	2.6	4.8	0.0	0.0	76.6	1.1	0.8	2.2	0.0	6.2
USA	0.0	0.8	0.4	0.0	1.6	1.2	0.0	1.6	0.0	69.3	1.6	2.0	0.0	3.0
Venezuela	0.7	8.0	5.8	1.1	1.3	1.6	4.0	0.8	0.5	3.4	75.2	2.4	0.0	9.4
Other	2.8	2.7	3.6	1.1	5.0	11.6	2.4	0.0	5.2	9.1	5.2	69.2	4.2	14.8
Unknown	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.4	79.2	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.30b. Foreign-born married partners by country of birth of partners (row percentage)

Country of birth husband	Country of birth wife													Total
	China	Colombia	Dom. Rep.	Haiti	Netherlands	Neth. Ant.	Peru	Philippines	Suriname	USA	Venezuela	Other	Unknown	
China	96.5	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.0	100.0
Colombia	0.0	89.2	4.1	0.0	0.8	1.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.8	0.0	100.0
Dominican Rep.	0.5	6.5	80.6	0.0	0.5	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	1.5	1.5	0.5	100.0
Haiti	0.0	0.0	0.0	92.9	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	1.2	1.2	0.0	3.5	0.0	100.0
Netherlands	0.0	7.3	1.5	0.2	67.0	5.8	1.1	0.0	3.9	1.5	1.7	9.9	0.2	100.0
Neth. Antilles	0.0	11.0	14.9	3.1	6.2	42.1	0.3	0.0	3.7	1.1	2.8	14.3	0.6	100.0
Peru	0.0	9.1	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.8	81.1	1.5	0.0	0.8	3.0	2.3	0.0	100.0
Philippines	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	96.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	100.0
Suriname	0.0	2.6	0.5	1.0	5.2	6.3	0.0	0.0	77.0	0.5	1.0	5.8	0.0	100.0
USA	0.0	5.4	1.1	0.0	6.5	3.3	0.0	2.2	0.0	66.3	4.3	10.9	0.0	100.0
Venezuela	0.3	17.7	5.6	0.3	1.7	1.4	1.7	0.3	0.3	1.0	65.3	4.2	0.0	100.0
Other	0.9	3.7	2.2	0.2	4.2	6.4	0.7	0.0	2.2	1.8	2.9	74.7	0.2	100.0
Unknown	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	9.1	86.4	100.0
Total	4.7	20.7	8.9	3.1	12.4	8.1	4.1	4.1	6.2	2.9	8.1	15.9	0.8	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Figure 5.15. Married foreign-born partners by country of birth partners

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Even though the share of men from developed countries married to women from developing countries is only 10.4 percent, it is interesting to look at the following case. It is a clear example of how life can bring people together from completely different places. It also shows that migration does not necessarily have to be a planned move based on economic or social motives.

Ana Maria is a 50 year-old Colombian married to Jan, a 44 year-old Dutch man. They met in Aruba about ten years ago. Ana Maria was on vacation to help with a wedding. She had plans to go to London with a friend after her vacation on Aruba. The man was also on vacation. He was offered a job for three months, liked it here and decided to stay on Aruba. They were introduced to each other by mutual friends and according to Ana Maria it was love at first sight. She even compares their lives with a romantic movie. Within three days of meeting, Jan proposed to her and she accepted. That was in 1993. She went back to Colombia to close her decoration business and to fix her papers. She recalls that in those days it was a lot easier to obtain permits. Both her husband and herself had their papers promptly arranged and they both had a job. After about three years of marriage they decided to migrate to Colombia. Jan wanted to experience life in a Latin American country as he has lived in many different countries before. They opened a restaurant in Colombia, but because of the insecurity

and crime there, they decided to leave Colombia. After evaluating where to go they chose to return to Aruba. On their return to Aruba they encountered many problems getting their permits. Jan, even though he is Dutch, had to wait eight to nine months for his permits. Ana Maria does not have her permits yet, only proof of payment.

Marriage and integration

As mentioned before, the mixed marriage percentage increased from 14.6 percent in 1991 to 22.3 percent in 2000. Table 5.31 gives the results for some questions in the AMIS related to integration and assimilation of migrants through marriage. The perception of migrants on these matters can give an indication of the effect of intercultural marriage on integration.

The results show that there is some difference between foreign-born persons married to Arubans and foreign-born persons married to each other. For instance, with respect to the ability to speak Papiamentu, 85.1 percent of migrant women indicated they can speak Papiamentu, while 78.4 percent of foreign women married to foreign men do so. Remarkably men married to Aruban women seem to have a slightly lower percentage of proficiency in Papiamentu than the other groups. Even though rather a small group had made an extra effort to learn Papiamentu (less than 30 percent for all groups), it is clear that more than 75 percent of foreign men and women indicate they can speak Papiamentu.

Both men and women with foreign spouses feel more discriminated than persons married to an Aruban. Overall, married men reported lower levels of discrimination than women. They also say they have very few problems integrating. Among migrant women married to Aruban men, 24.1 percent report that it is difficult to integrate in Aruban society, against only 4.2 percent of men married to Aruban women. These women have also less knowledge about Aruba. Both groups watch Aruban programs on television quite frequently. Lastly, foreign women married to Aruban men score lower in terms of their level of happiness compared to before; 65.5 percent feel happier now than before they came to Aruba. Foreign men married to Aruban women are happiest (83.3 percent) and the majority want to settle in Aruba.

The results are not much evidence that intercultural marriage on Aruba leads to more integration or assimilation for women who marry Aruban men. However, for foreign men who marry Aruban wives our results suggest that their marriage indeed had a positive effect on their integration. The reason may be that they suffer less from the stigma which is sometimes given to Latino women, i.e. that they come to Aruba for the good life and to 'steal' Aruban men. It will be interesting to see how the integration of these women and men evolves in the future.

Table 5.31. Married population by country of birth partners and some indicators of integration.

	Aruban female, foreign-born male	Aruban male, foreign-born female	Both partners foreign- born	
			Male	Female
Able to speak Papiamentu	75.0	85.1	76.8	78.4
Able to speak Papiamentu and followed course	22.2	29.7	22.6	23.5
Wants to settle in Aruba	91.3	85.1	68.6	77.0
Happier person in Aruba than before	83.3	65.5	73.5	71.5
<u>Respondent feels discriminated?</u>				
Never discriminated	66.7	43.7	48.9	36.6
Sometimes discriminated	20.8	42.5	40.9	48.8
Often discriminated	12.5	13.8	10.2	14.6
<u>Difficult to integrate?</u>				
Difficult to integrate	4.2	24.1	14.0	15.3
Not so difficult to integrate	95.8	74.7	85.3	84.7
Not interested to integrate	0.0	1.1	0.7	0.0
<u>Knowledge about Aruba</u>				
Highest hill on Aruba	37.5	29.9	41.2	31.5
Parties in parlement	66.7	62.1	65.4	58.1
National anthem	79.2	65.5	72.8	73.4
<u>How often watched Aruban programs on television</u>				
On a daily basis	58.3	57.5	57.4	54.8
Once or twice a week	20.8	21.8	18.4	24.2
Three to five times a week	12.5	12.6	15.4	15.3
Never watches Aruban programs	4.2	6.9	2.9	4.0
Other	4.2	1.1	2.2	0.8

Source: AMIS 2003.

5.6. LIVING ON ARUBA

Susan is a 36 year old Haitian who had lived in Haiti her whole life. She managed to get her high school diploma and was working in a factory that made hardware for electronic equipment such as radios and TV's. She enjoyed working there, but unfortunately the political instability in Haiti became very precarious. Susan was terrified of men walking in the streets with guns and heard about killings and the shootings. Susan's sister had left for Aruba a few years earlier where she got a job as a domestic worker. Her sister encouraged Susan to come to Aruba. Susan wanted to do the same work she was accustomed to. But on her arrival in Aruba she quickly learned that there were no factories and that she would have to settle for less. She has now worked for different families as a housemaid.

She is currently living in a one-room apartment. She moved there about seven years ago with her boyfriend. They had been dating for three years and decided to live together in his apartment. The apartment consists of only one room. The bathroom has to be shared with other tenants living in other 'rooms' in the yard. The kitchen consists of a stove in the yard. Privacy is very limited. There is no dining room or living room. The bedroom is used as a TV room, living room and dining room. The yard is often dirty. The rent is Afl. 250 a month, and does not include water or electricity. "The living conditions here seem very much like to those in Haiti, except for the political stability here in Aruba." The situation which Susan is in right now is a constant reminder for her that she needs to look for ways to improve her life.

Like Susan, many other migrants arrive on the island and discover that not everything is as rosy as they expected. The work and living conditions are sometimes very different from those anticipated. In this

section we shall look into the living and housing conditions of migrants. We start with the migrants' own assessment of their living situation compared to those in their country of origin.

In contrast to popular belief on Aruba, not all migrants live in slums back home, come to Aruba and live happily ever after. The results in table 5.32 show that the majority of migrants, 77.7 percent, describe their old neighborhood as middle class. The perception of one's living environment is obviously a subjective matter. A middle class neighborhood in the eyes of a Venezuelan may be poor in the eyes of an Aruban, and in turn be seen as a slum in the eyes of an American. Only 16.9 percent of migrants described their old neighborhood as being poor or very poor. A small group of migrants (5.5 percent) say they came from a high class neighborhood. Of the MMAs coming from a poor or very poor neighborhood, 87.7 percent said their current residence is better. Of the persons indicating that their current residence was worse than their old neighborhood (11.5 percent of all MMAs), 83.3 percent came from a middle class neighborhood, 12.8 percent from a high class neighborhood and 3.8 percent from a poor neighborhood.

Figure 5.16 shows the relative number of migrants by country of birth and their perception of the neighborhood they lived in their country of origin. The migrants from Colombia come from all types of neighborhoods. The migrants from the Netherlands on the other hand are mostly from higher class neighborhoods. The survey counted no migrants from either the Dominican Republic or Peru indicating they lived in a high class neighborhood. Only 14 migrants indicated their neighborhoods were very poor. These migrants came predominantly from the Dominican Republic, Colombia and Haiti.

Table 5.32. Migrants' perception of current residence and old neighborhood

Old neighbourhood	This place is worse		This place is equal		This place is better		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Very poor	0	0.0	1	0.4	13	4.0	14	2.1
Poor	3	3.8	10	3.7	87	26.4	100	14.8
Middle class	65	83.3	239	88.8	221	67.2	525	77.7
High class	10	12.8	19	7.1	8	2.4	37	5.5
Total	78	100.0	269	100.0	329	100.0	676	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

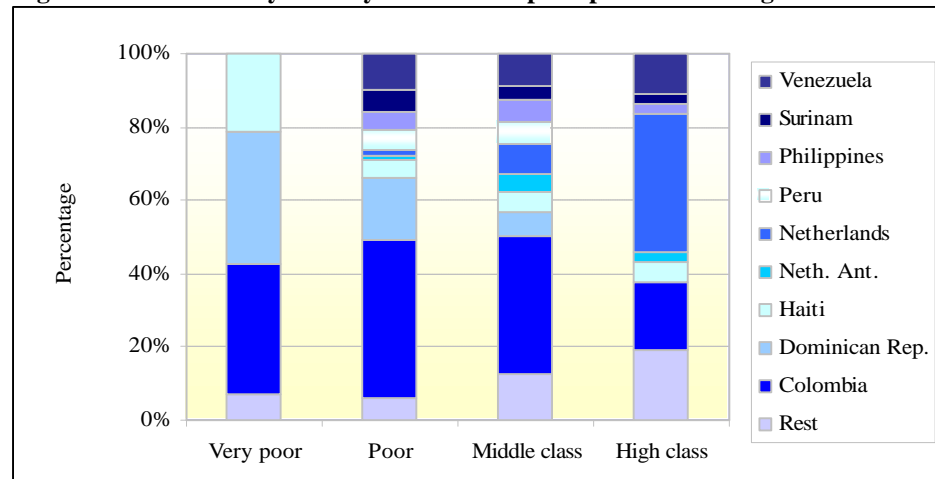
Figure 5.17 depicts the distribution of foreign-born persons on the island at the time of the 2000 Census¹⁴⁴. About 42 percent of all persons living in Oranjestad (East and West) and 36 percent of people living in San Nicolas (North and South) were foreign-born. Foreign-born people seem to be most densely concentrated in these four regions of the island. Zones where more than 50 percent of residents were not born in Aruba were Eagle/Paardenbaai, Socotoro/Rancho, Nassaustraat, Klip/Mon Plaisir, Village, van de Veen Zeppenfeldstraat and Seroe Colorado. Regions with the least foreign-born persons (fewer than 20 percent) are Ayo, Cashero, Urataca and Jara/Seroe Alejandro.

Table 5.33 and figure 5.18 present the distribution of foreign-born persons on Aruba by place of birth. Colombians account for more than 20 percent of all foreign-born persons in almost all regions of Aruba. Only in San Nicolas do they represent no more than 12.5 percent of the total foreign population. The majority of foreign-born persons living in San Nicolas are from the Netherlands Antilles, Jamaica, China, Guyana, Grenada and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. In the district of Paradera, both Colombians and Dutch form the largest foreign-born population, respectively 26.2 percent and 21.1 percent.

¹⁴⁴ The maps are based on the Geographical Address Classification which was developed by the Central Bureau of Statistics. More information about this system can be found in: Central Bureau of Statistics (2003), GAC 2003. Geografische Adresclassificatie Aruba 2003. Oranjestad, Aruba and in Central Bureau of Statistics (2003) Mapping Census 2000: Social-Demographic Diversity on Aruba. Census 2000 Reports. Oranjestad, Aruba.

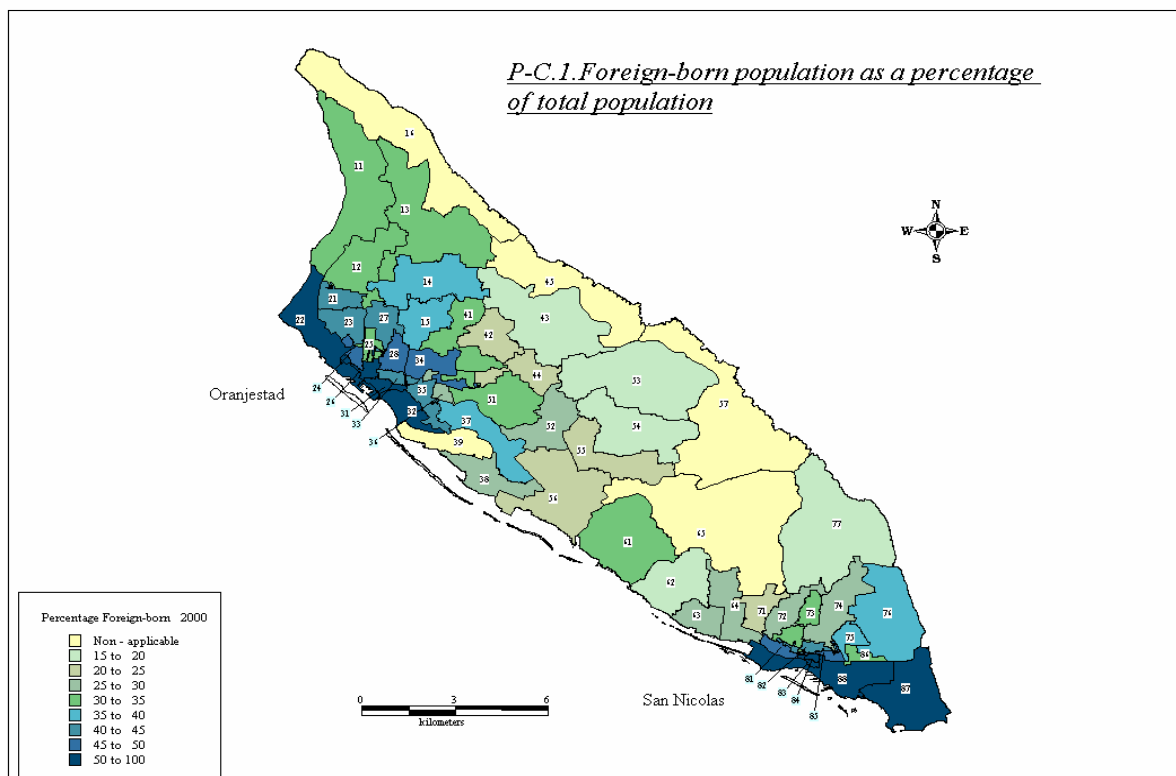
Mixed households in our study comprise of families of foreign-born parents with children born in Aruba, Arubans whose partners are foreign-born and foreign-born live-in maids who are considered to be members of an Aruban household. A total 52.3 percent of the respondents in AMIS indicated they live in mixed households. Tables 5.33 and 5.34 show the number of persons by type of household, together with the average size of these households.

Figure 5.16. MMAs by country of birth and perception of old neighborhood



Source: AMIS 2003

Figure 5.17. Foreign-born population as a percentage of total population



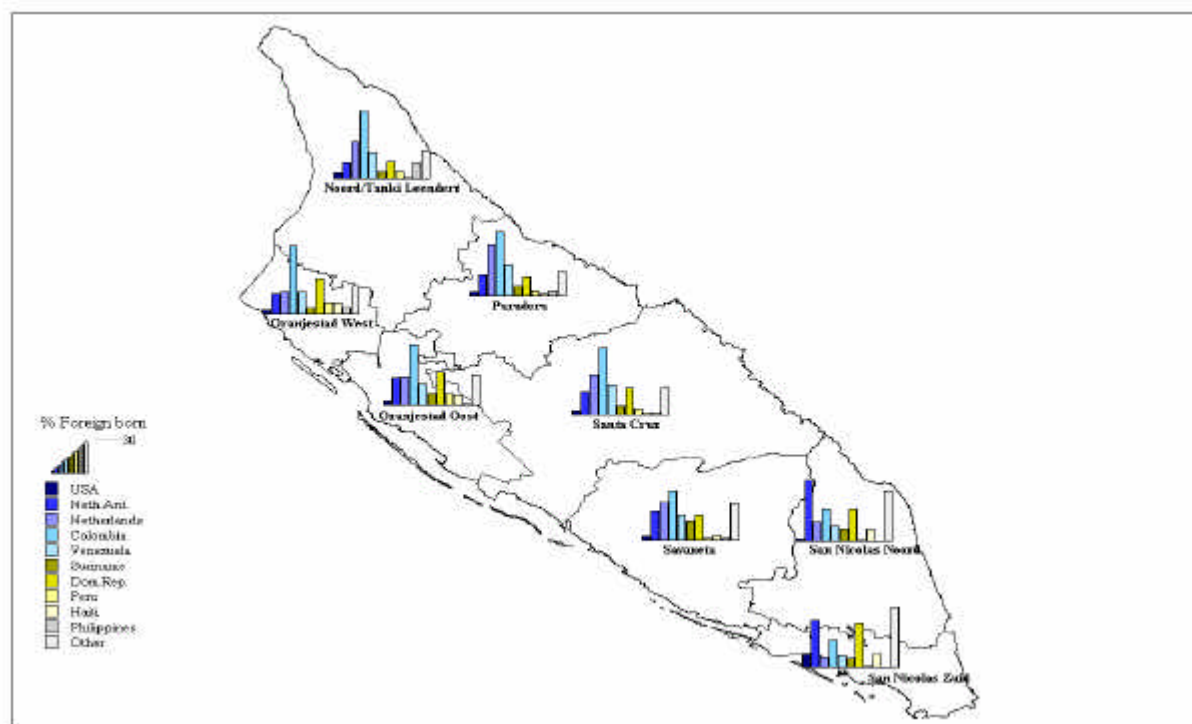
Source: Mapping Census 2000: Social-Demographic diversity on Aruba, Census 2000 Reports, January 2003, CBS.

Table 5.33. Foreign-born persons by current place of residence

	Noord/ Tanki Leendert	Oranjestad	Paradera	Santa Cruz	Savaneta	San Nicolas	Total
USA	3.2	1.8	2.0	1.6	1.8	3.2	2.3
Neth. Ant.	7.0	9.9	9.1	10.1	12.1	22.6	11.8
Netherlands	15.5	10.6	21.1	16.5	15.5	6.3	12.5
Colombia	28.2	26.7	26.2	27.9	20.3	12.5	23.9
Venezuela	11.2	9.2	13.1	12.6	10.7	5.7	9.7
Suriname	3.5	3.8	4.6	3.9	8.1	4.6	4.3
Dom. Rep.	7.6	14.3	8.0	11.1	10.9	15.9	12.3
Peru	3.4	5.0	2.2	2.6	1.4	0.8	3.2
Haiti	1.4	4.6	1.5	1.4	2.2	5.4	3.4
Philippines	7.1	1.8	2.1	1.2	1.6	0.6	2.5
Other	11.9	12.3	10.2	11.1	15.4	22.6	14.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Figure 5.18. Foreign-born population by place of birth (percentage)



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.35 shows the average household size and average family size. Households are defined as a person or group of persons who make common provisions for food or other essentials for living. A family, on the other hand, is a more restricted concept: it consists only of persons related through marriage to each other together with their children¹⁴⁵. Mixed households consist of 3.9 persons on average and have an average of 2.8 persons per family. On the other hand, households that consist entirely of foreigners have an average 2.1 persons and an average 1.7 persons per family within the household. Table 5.34 shows there are large groups (more than 7 persons per household) in all types of households and that the proportion of large households is less than 6 percent. Controlling for the relationships within a household, extended or composite households differ from type of household composition. For the Aruban households 52 percent are nuclear households, 18 percent are extended

¹⁴⁵ For a complete definition of household and family see Annex 2.

households and 10 percent are composite households. For foreign households, 30 percent are nuclear households, 7 percent extended households and 22 percent are composite households.

Table 5.34. Population by household composition, household type and number of persons in the household

	Total persons									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
<i>Members are Aruban/ foreign-born</i>										
House	0	58	138	148	100	36	49	8	9	546
Apartment	0	28	72	52	10	6	7	0	0	175
Separate room in house	0	6	12	20	15	0	0	0	0	53
Trailer/container	0	4	15	24	0	0	0	0	0	43
Cuarto	0	6	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	13
Total	0	102	240	248	125	42	56	8	9	830
<i>All members are foreign-born</i>										
House	36	68	78	81	45	24	0	8	0	340
Apartment	80	90	45	56	15	6	0	0	0	292
Separate room in house	17	8	3	0	10	0	0	0	0	38
Trailer/container	2	14	15	12	0	0	0	0	0	43
Cuarto	8	8	21	4	0	0	0	0	0	41
Total	143	188	162	153	70	30	0	8	0	754
<i>Total</i>										
House	45	124	216	229	145	60	42	16	9	886
Apartment	82	116	117	108	25	12	7	0	0	467
Separate room in house	17	14	15	20	25	0	0	0	0	91
Trailer/container	2	18	30	36	0	0	0	0	0	86
Cuarto	8	14	24	8	0	0	0	0	0	54
Total	154	286	402	401	195	72	49	16	9	1584

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.35. Population by household composition and average size of the households and families

	Number of households	Population	Average size of households	Average family size
All Aruban household	12,747	39,347	3.1	2.4
All Foreign household	7,284	15,427	2.1	1.7
Mixed household	8,902	34,378	3.9	2.8
Unknown	312	839	2.7	1.8
Total	29,245	89,990	3.1	2.4

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000

Table 5.36. Population by household composition and type of dwelling

	Members are Aruban		Members are Aruban/ Foreign-born		Members are all foreign-born		Unknown		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
House	11,344	89.0	7,541	84.7	3,630	49.8	142	45.5	22,657	77.5
Apartment	988	7.8	1,053	11.8	2,755	37.8	42	13.5	4,838	16.5
Separate room in house	65	0.5	56	0.6	281	3.9	7	2.4	410	1.4
Trailer/container	158	1.2	141	1.6	251	3.4	6	2.0	555	1.9
Cuarto	166	1.3	90	1.0	322	4.4	12	3.7	590	2.0
Other type of normal living quarters	14	0.1	16	0.2	29	0.4	2	0.7	61	0.2
Not reported	13	0.1	5	0.1	15	0.2	101	32.3	133	0.5
Total	12,747	100.0	8,902	100.0	7,284	100.0	312	100.0	29,245	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000

Most people (77.5 percent) living on Aruba live in a house, 16.5 percent live in an apartment and about 5 percent live in another type of normal living quarters. Broken down by household composition: 89 percent of all-Aruban households live in a house and 7.8 percent in an apartment; 49.8 percent of foreign households live in a house and 37.8 percent in an apartment.

Table 5.37. Households by household composition and ownership of dwelling

	Members are Aruban		Members are Aruban/ Foreign-born		Members are all foreign-born		Unknown		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Owned, ground owned as well	3,257	25.6	2,239	25.1	999	13.7	25	8.1	6,519	22.3
Owned, ground leased	6,427	50.4	3,795	42.6	1,081	14.8	63	20.2	11,366	38.9
Owned, on rented ground	811	6.4	216	2.4	41	0.6	6	2.0	1,074	3.7
Lived in free by members of hh	382	3.0	207	2.3	302	4.2	3	1.0	895	3.1
Rented, furnished	375	2.9	471	5.3	1,860	25.5	27	8.8	2,733	9.3
Rented, not furnished	1,451	11.4	1,930	21.7	2,914	40.0	61	19.5	6,356	21.7
Rented by subtenant (onderhuur)	29	0.2	30	0.3	69	1.0	3	1.0	132	0.5
Not Reported	15	0.1	14	0.2	18	0.2	123	39.4	169	0.6
Total	12,747	100.0	8,902	100.0	7,284	100.0	312	100.0	29,245	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Table 5.38. Household composition, type and ownership of dwelling

Type and ownership of dwelling	Members are Aruban		Members are Aruban/ Foreign-born		Members are all foreign-born		Unknown		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
<i>House</i>										
Owned, ground owned as well	3,056	26.9	2,094	27.8	844	23.3	25	17.8	6,019	26.6
Owned, ground leased	6,053	53.4	3,557	47.2	909	25.1	55	38.5	10,575	46.7
Owned, on rented ground	792	7.0	211	2.8	38	1.0	6	4.4	1,047	4.6
Lived in free by members of the household	184	1.6	104	1.4	85	2.3	2	1.5	375	1.7
Rented, furnished	103	0.9	161	2.1	370	10.2	8	5.9	642	2.8
Rented, not furnished	1,140	10.1	1,388	18.4	1,357	37.4	30	21.5	3,915	17.3
Rented by subtenant (onderhuur)	13	0.1	23	0.3	23	0.6	0	0.0	59	0.3
Not Reported	4	0.0	3	0.0	4	0.1	15	10.4	26	0.1
Total	11,344	100.0	7,541	100.0	3,630	100.0	142	100.0	22,657	100.0
<i>Apartment</i>										
Owned, ground owned as well	124	12.5	94	9.0	109	4.0	0	0.0	328	6.8
Owned, ground leased	213	21.6	131	12.5	99	3.6	4	10.0	447	9.2
Owned, on rented ground	15	1.5	4	0.4	1	0.0	0	0.0	20	0.4
Lived in free by members of the household	105	10.6	66	6.3	102	3.7	1	2.5	274	5.7
Rented, furnished	248	25.1	286	27.1	1,258	45.7	15	35.0	1,806	37.3
Rented, not furnished	273	27.6	465	44.2	1,164	42.3	15	35.0	1,917	39.6
Rented by subtenant (onderhuur)	9	1.0	3	0.3	20	0.7	0	0.0	33	0.7
Not Reported	1	0.1	3	0.3	2	0.1	7	17.5	14	0.3
Total	988	100.0	1,053	100.0	2,755	100.0	42	100.0	4,838	100.0
<i>Separate room in house</i>										
Owned, ground owned as well	4	6.5	5	9.4	6	2.2	0	0.0	16	3.8
Owned, ground leased	11	16.1	6	11.3	8	3.0	0	0.0	25	6.2
Owned, on rented ground	3	4.8	0	0.0	1	0.4	0	0.0	4	1.0
Lived in free by members of the household	29	45.2	11	18.9	14	4.9	0	0.0	54	13.1
Rented, furnished	7	11.3	7	13.2	89	31.7	1	14.3	105	25.6
Rented, not furnished	8	12.9	23	41.5	142	50.4	4	57.1	177	43.3
Rented by subtenant (onderhuur)	1	1.6	2	3.8	19	6.7	2	28.6	24	5.9
Not Reported	1	1.6	1	1.9	2	0.7	0	0.0	4	1.0
Total	65	100.0	56	100.0	281	100.0	7	100.0	410	100.0
<i>Trailer/container</i>										
Owned, ground owned as well	44	28.0	27	19.4	25	10.0	0	0.0	97	17.4
Owned, ground leased	78	49.3	60	42.5	40	15.9	3	50.0	181	32.5
Owned, on rented ground	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Lived in free by members of the household	15	9.3	13	9.0	54	21.3	0	0.0	81	14.6
Rented, furnished	9	6.0	12	8.2	65	25.9	2	33.3	88	15.9
Rented, not furnished	12	7.3	27	19.4	66	26.4	1	16.7	106	19.1
Rented by subtenant (onderhuur)	0	0.0	1	0.7	1	0.4	0	0.0	2	0.4
Not Reported	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2
Total	158	100.0	141	100.0	251	100.0	6	100.0	555	100.0
<i>Cuarto</i>										
Owned, ground owned as well	29	17.7	15	16.3	11	3.3	0	0.0	55	9.3
Owned, ground leased	63	38.0	34	37.2	19	5.9	0	0.0	116	19.6
Owned, on rented ground	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2
Lived in free by members of the household	43	25.9	12	12.8	41	12.7	0	0.0	96	16.2
Rented, furnished	6	3.8	5	5.8	73	22.8	1	9.1	86	14.6
Rented, not furnished	17	10.1	24	26.7	171	53.1	7	63.6	219	37.2
Rented by subtenant (onderhuur)	6	3.8	1	1.2	6	2.0	1	9.1	15	2.5
Not Reported	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.3	2	18.2	3	0.5
Total	166	100.0	90	100.0	322	100.0	12	100.0	590	100.0
<i>Other type of normal living quarters</i>										
Owned, ground owned as well	0	0.0	3	20.0	2	7.1	0	0.0	5	8.6
Owned, ground leased	7	53.8	6	40.0	3	10.7	0	0.0	17	27.6
Owned, on rented ground	0	0.0	1	6.7	1	3.6	0	0.0	2	3.4
Lived in free by members of the household	4	30.8	2	13.3	7	25.0	0	0.0	14	22.4
Rented, furnished	1	7.7	1	6.7	4	14.3	0	0.0	6	10.3
Rented, not furnished	1	7.7	1	6.7	11	35.7	1	50.0	14	22.4
Rented by subtenant (onderhuur)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not Reported	0	0.0	1	6.7	1	3.6	1	50.0	3	5.2
Total	14	100.0	16	100.0	29	100.0	2	100.0	61	100.0
<i>Not reported</i>										
Owned, ground owned as well	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.1	0	0.0	1	0.8
Owned, ground leased	2	16.7	0	0.0	3	21.4	1	1.0	6	4.7
Owned, on rented ground	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Lived in free by members of the household	2	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.6
Rented, furnished	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Rented, not furnished	0	0.0	1	20.0	3	21.4	2	2.1	6	4.7
Rented by subtenant (onderhuur)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not Reported	8	66.7	4	80.0	7	50.0	98	96.9	118	88.2
Total	13	100.0	5	100.0	15	100.0	101	100.0	133	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

With respect to the ownership of the living quarters, table 5.37 indicates that 66.5 percent of all-migrant households rent or contribute to the rent of their living quarters; 60.2 percent of these people rent the dwelling unfurnished. Only 4.2 percent of households in which all members are foreign-born inhabit a dwelling free of charge, 14.8 percent own their own dwelling on leased ground and 13.7 percent indicated they own the property and the land as well. Table 5.38 gives a more detailed breakdown of the type of dwelling and ownership. This table is based on the 2000 Population and Housing Census. The most reported dwelling type by foreign households is a house (49.8 percent). Another 37.8 percent live in an apartment. Of all migrant households living in a house, 37.4 percent rent it unfurnished and 49.1 percent own it. Of those who own their own house, about 47 percent own the house as well as the land. Of all migrant households who rent an apartment, 45.7 percent rent it furnished, and of those who live in a separate room in a house, about 50 percent rent the room without furnishings.

Table 5.39 shows that the common belief that foreigners live together in groups to reduce housing costs is only partially true. The majority of migrants in both mixed and foreign households indicate that their quarters are only occupied by their own family. However, it is true that more foreign households share their living quarters with persons not belonging to their family unit (38.3 percent) than mixed households (29.0 percent). A more detailed analysis shows that 128 of the 236 migrants who shared their dwelling with non-family unit members said they share it with non-relatives; 75 percent of these are all-foreign households and 25 percent shared the dwelling with Arubans. More than 50 percent of persons sharing living quarters with Arubans are live-in maids.

Table 5.39. MMAs by household and family-unit composition and type of the living quarter

	Only occupied by his/her family - no other residents		Other people, not belonging to family unit live in here too		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Mixed households						
House	113	61.4	49	65.3	162	62.5
Apartment	48	26.1	11	14.7	59	22.8
Separate room in house	7	3.8	12	16.0	19	7.3
Trailer/container	11	6.0	3	4.0	14	5.4
Cuarto	5	2.7	0	0.0	5	1.9
Total	184	100.0	75	100.0	259	100.0
Row percentage		71.0		29.0		
Foreign households						
House	96	37.1	58	36.0	154	36.7
Apartment	124	47.9	66	41.0	190	45.2
Separate room in house	15	5.8	11	6.8	26	6.2
Trailer/container	9	3.5	14	8.7	23	5.5
Cuarto	15	5.8	12	7.5	27	6.4
Total	259	100.0	161	100.0	420	100.0
Row percentage		61.7		38.3		

Source: AMIS 2003.

Table 5.40 shows the situation of MMAs who share at least one facility with persons not belonging to their own family unit. In most cases, migrants share a bathroom and kitchen with non-relatives. Of those who share the bedroom with non-relatives, 69 percent say they are not married but are currently living together with a partner, which explains the relationship with the non-relative the bedroom is shared with.

Table 5.40. MMAs by facilities shared in living quarters and people shared with

	Share bedroom		Share bathroom		Share kitchen	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Only members of own family unit/only him- or herself	93	39.4	38	16.1	4	1.7
Also shared with other relatives	15	6.4	31	13.1	38	16.1
Shared with non-relatives	84	35.6	97	41.1	115	48.7
Shared with relatives and non-relatives	44	18.6	70	29.7	79	33.5
Total	236	100.0	236	100.0	236	100.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

Migrants interviewed for the AMIS paid an average Afl. 851 to rent a house, Afl. 571 for an apartment, Afl. 359 for a separate room in a house, Afl. 454 for a trailer/container and Afl. 352 for a cuarto. Table 5.40 gives a more detailed overview of the rent paid for the living quarters and the amenities included in the rent. The table shows that for most migrants who rent a house, not much is included in the rent paid. Those renting an apartment are better off: for most of them the rent includes most amenities. For the majority of migrants renting a trailer/container, the rent does not include water and electricity. Only a very small percentage have anything included at all. The following is an observation by Carmela, who is probably one of the lucky migrants who rented a house on a full board basis.

Table 5.41. MMAs by type of living quarters, rent paid and amenities included in the rent

Type of living quarter and rent paid	Electricity	Rent includes			
		Water	Cable	Furniture	Appliances
<i>House</i>					
0-499	28.6	28.6	31.4	42.9	31.4
500-999	8.5	8.5	10.2	15.3	5.1
More than 1000	2.1	2.1	2.1	6.3	16.7
Not reported	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	11.0	11.0	12.3	18.5	15.1
<i>Apartment</i>					
0-499	56.3	59.2	32.4	35.2	31.0
500-999	52.8	60.4	55.7	53.8	51.9
More than 1000	22.2	50.0	72.2	61.1	55.6
Not reported	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	51.0	58.7	48.5	47.4	44.4
<i>Separate room in house</i>					
0-499	100.0	100.0	69.2	53.8	15.4
500-999	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
More than 1000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not reported	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	93.3	93.3	60.0	46.7	13.3
<i>Trailer/container</i>					
0-499	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
500-999	20.0	30.0	50.0	60.0	40.0
More than 1000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not reported	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	11.1	16.7	27.8	33.3	22.2
<i>Cuarto</i>					
0-499	72.2	66.7	27.8	44.4	27.8
500-999	33.3	33.3	33.3	50.0	16.7
More than 1000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not reported	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	62.5	58.3	29.2	45.8	25.0

Source: AMIS 2003.

Carmela is Colombian and is married to Fernando, who was born in Aruba and lived in Colombia for a while. Because of the unsafe situation in Colombia and financial difficulties, they decided to migrate to Aruba with their three children.

"The facilities one has in Aruba are incomparable to those in Colombia, a microwave, television, washing machine, etc. These are too expensive in Colombia and here most of these appliances are included in the rent of the house. The maintenance of a car is also expensive in Colombia, but is doable here."

During the fieldwork of the AMIS 2003, interviewers were asked to categorize the quality of the living quarters according to some CBS guidelines¹⁴⁶. Table 5.42 presents the evaluation of the living quarters by the interviewer and compares it with whether the migrant is satisfied with the property. According to the interviewers more than 50 percent of the dwellings were in good condition, 31 percent were sufficient, 11.6 percent poor and 4.3 percent very poor. Most of the latter category were cuartos and separate rooms in a house. In spite of the assessment of the interviewers, the majority of migrants indicated they were satisfied with their living conditions. Only 36 percent of the MMAs living in the 108 dwellings that interviewers classed as poor or very poor were not satisfied with their living conditions. The majority of MMAs not satisfied with their living conditions lived in an apartment.

¹⁴⁶ For a complete definition of quality of construction see annex 2.

Table 5.42. MMAs by type and condition of the living quarters and their satisfaction with them

	Satisfied with living conditions dwelling				Total Abs.
	Yes Abs.	%	No Abs.	%	
<i>House</i>					
Good	195	93.3	14	6.7	209
Sufficient	73	90.1	8	9.9	81
Poor	21	67.7	10	32.3	31
Very poor	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Total	290	90.1	32	9.9	322
<i>Apartment</i>					
Good	109	91.6	10	8.4	119
Sufficient	74	82.2	16	17.8	90
Poor	22	66.7	11	33.3	33
Very poor	3	42.9	4	57.1	7
Total	208	83.5	41	16.5	249
<i>Separate room in house</i>					
Good	19	100.0	0	0.0	19
Sufficient	9	81.8	2	18.2	11
Poor	2	100.0	0	0.0	2
Very poor	4	40.0	6	60.0	10
Total	34	81.0	8	19.0	42
<i>Trailer/container</i>					
Good	9	100.0	0	0.0	9
Sufficient	15	75.0	5	25.0	20
Poor	5	71.4	2	28.6	7
Very poor	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Total	30	81.1	7	18.9	37
<i>Cuarto</i>					
Good	4	80.0	1	20.0	5
Sufficient	6	75.0	2	25.0	8
Poor	3	50.0	3	50.0	6
Very poor	7	70.0	3	30.0	10
Total	20	69.0	9	31.0	29

Source: AMIS 2003.

Another important indicator of the living condition of migrants on Aruba is the kind of possessions they have. During the AMIS they were asked to indicate ownership of certain basic appliances needed in the home together with some luxuries. Unsurprisingly, table 5.42 shows that migrants from developed countries score much higher on a number of appliances. MMAs from developing countries score high on ownership of fan, radio and cell phone; 9.8 percent of migrants from developed countries have no car, compared with 49.2 percent of migrants from developing countries. About two-thirds of all MMAs from developed countries own at least one PC; this compares with only 31 percent of those from developing countries.

In its recent past, Aruba has attracted migrants from all walks of life. Some of its new residents came from the richest and some came from the poorest countries on earth. Their living conditions vary enormously depending on their socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Although some people who have come to the island have ended up in difficulty, a large proportion of migrants who came to Aruba have been able to improve their standard of living and have taken serious steps to become an integral part of Aruban society.

Table 5.43. MMAs by ownership of appliances and luxuries

	Developed country	Developing country	Total
Own refrigerator	83.5	65.8	68.6
Own stove	77.3	60.4	63.0
Own washing machine	80.4	54.2	58.2
Own microwave	54.6	47.2	48.3
Own air conditioner	70.8	38.1	43.1
Own fan	72.2	74.9	74.5
Own sewing machine	35.4	17.9	20.6
Own radio	88.7	85.1	85.6
Own VCR/DVD	81.4	60.9	64.1
Own cellular phone	89.7	88.7	88.8
Own bycycle	37.5	17.7	20.8
Own motorcycle	4.2	1.7	2.1
No car	9.8	49.2	43.3
1 car	65.7	38.8	42.8
2 cars	19.6	10.3	11.7
3 cars	4.9	1.6	2.1
4 cars	0.0	0.2	0.1
No PC's	33.3	77.4	70.8
1 PC	50.0	19.8	24.4
2 PC's	14.7	1.6	3.5
3 PC's	2.0	0.9	1.0
7 PC's	0.0	0.2	0.1
No television	10.8	15.0	14.3
1 television	43.1	52.5	51.1
2 televisions	33.3	23.8	25.3
3 televisions	9.8	6.4	6.9
4 televisions	2.9	1.6	1.8
5 televisions	0.0	0.2	0.1
7 televisions	0.0	0.3	0.3

Source: AMIS 2003.

ANNEX 1

Double or Quits; a study on recent migration to Aruba 1993 - 2003



Aruba Migration & Integration Study

Teldistrict	Telblok	Volnummer adres	Huishoud nummer	Familie nummer	Persoons nummer

Long Form

A1 Indicate the sex of the MMA
☐ Male ☐ Female

A2 What is your date of birth?
 Month Year

A3 In what country were you born?
Refer to household roster

A4 What is your nationality?
Refer to household roster
☐ Dutch
☐ Other, specify:

A5 When did you get the Dutch nationality?
☐ At birth
If Dutch nationality was not obtained at birth, specify the year in which it was obtained:
 Year **GO TO A8**

Other nationality:

A6 Have you applied for Dutch citizenship?
☐ Yes **GO TO A8**
☐ No **A7 Do you intend to apply for Dutch citizenship?**
☐ Yes ☐ Perhaps
☐ No ☐ No opinion

A8 What is your religion?
☐ Roman Catholic ☐ Protestant/reformed ☐ Jewish ☐ Other religion
☐ Methodist ☐ Anglican ☐ Adventist ☐ No religion
☐ Jehovah witness ☐ Evangelical ☐ Muslim

A9 Do you have a physical or mental handicap?
Check definition "handicap"
☐ Yes ☐ No

A10 What type of handicap do you have?
Mark all applicable boxes
☐ Motor dysfunction (moving) ☐ Visual handicap (seeing)
☐ Auditory handicap (hearing) ☐ Organ handicap
☐ Moderate mental handicap ☐ Other handicap
☐ Severe mental handicap

A11 In what language can you speak with other persons about daily matters?
Mark as many boxes as applicable
☐ Papiamentu ☐ Spanish ☐ German
☐ Dutch ☐ English ☐ Sranan Tongo
☐ Portuguese ☐ Chinese ☐ Other language:
☐ French ☐ Creole (Patois)
Note one other language the person speaks

A12 Did you follow any courses to learn Papiamentu?
☐ Yes ☐ No

A13 Are you able to read a simple text and to write a letter in any language?
☐ Yes, can read and write
☐ No, can not read and write



A. Personal characteristics MMA



A14 Do you attend a school or follow regular education (e.g. FPB, MAVO, HAVO, EPI, evening school)?
Refer to household roster
☐ Yes ☐ No

A15 What type of education do you follow?
Crèche also, no courses
 Type of education:
 Field of study:

A16 What grade are you (he/she) in?
☐ Not Applicable (crèche)
☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8

A17 What is the highest diploma you ever received from a regular educational institute?
 (e.g. primary education, High School, Associate Degree, Bachelor,...)
Give a concise description of the type of diploma and the field of study. Refer to household roster
☐ No diploma **GO TO REMARK after A18**
 Type of diploma:
 Field of study:
No courses
Diplomas from abroad are different of those from Aruba; be clear as to the level of the diploma

A18 In which country did you obtain this diploma?

REMARK
 If the MMA is a child younger than 17 who is currently not attending school and who did not receive a diploma of MAVO, FPB or an equivalent education, the household will probably be revisited for an in-depth interview.
In this case, check whether the family agrees with such a visit. Indicate their willingness below.
☐ Family agrees with an in-depth interview
☐ Family objects to an in-depth interview

CHECK 1
 Person is younger than 14 years ☐
GO TO Section B
 Person is 14 years or older ☐
GO TO A19

A19 What is your marital status?
☐ Never married **GO TO A27**
☐ Married **GO TO A21**
☐ Legally divorced **GO TO A20**
☐ Legally separated from bed and board **GO TO A20**
☐ Widowed **GO TO A20**

A20 What was the date the marriage ended due to divorce, separation or spouse's death?
 Year Month



A. Personal characteristics MMA



- A21 What was the date of your (last) wedding? **+**
- Year
- Month
- A22 In what country was the (last) wedding conducted?
-
- A23 In what country was your (former or late) spouse born?
-
- A24 In what country does your (former) spouse live?
1 Not applicable for widows/widowers
-
- A25 How did you meet your (former or late - in case of widowhood) spouse?
- ☐ At work ☐ Through friends/family/neighbours
- ☐ As a student/at school ☐ Arranged marriage
- ☐ While going out/party ☐ Other way
- A26 How many times have you been married? **+**
- ☐ once
- ☐ 2 times
- ☐ 3 times
- ☐ 4 or more times
- A27 Are you currently living together on a daily basis with a life partner or your spouse in this household?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No **→ GO TO Section B**
- A28 Are you married to this person?
- ☐ Yes, married to him/her **→ GO TO A30**
- ☐ No, not married to him/her **→**
- A29 In what country was your partner born?
-
- A30 Did you meet this person on Aruba or abroad?
- ☐ On Aruba
- ☐ Abroad

+

681



B. Migration History MMA



B1-B4 Please list all the successive countries, provinces, cities or villages where you have lived. Please start with your current residence and go back in time. If more than ten places, limit yourself to the last ten places. 1 Do not consider changes of residence the migrant made in Aruba		B5 When did you arrive there?	B6 When did you leave there?	B7 How long did you stay there? 1 If in B5 or B6 only year is given, ask: See codes below	B8 Why did you leave? 1 See codes below	
B1 Country	B2 Province /district	B3 What kind of community was this: urban or rural?	B4 Name Village/ town/city	Year	Month	Years + Months
1 ARUBA		Urban <input type="checkbox"/> Rural <input type="checkbox"/>	+	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
3		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
4		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
5		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
6		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
7		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
8		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
9		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
10		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Codes for B8:

01. Job transfer
 02. End of contract
 03. Other economic reasons or work
 04. Retirement
 05. Sent back by authorities
 06. Going to school/study
 07. End of school

Codes for B7:

08. Marriage
 09. Divorce
 10. Family related
 11. Homesickness
 12. Fear of war/civil conflict/persecution
 13. Natural disaster
 14. Military service
 15. Other

+





C. Economic activities of the MMA

10+



C1

+

Have you been employed on Aruba, either in a paid job or in your own or family business?

☐ Yes ☐ No →

C2 Did you ever look for work on Aruba?

☐ Yes → **GO TO C5**
☐ No

C3 Why not?

❶ Give most important reason

- ☐ Not necessary, spouse/partner had job
☐ Partner did not allow it
☐ Housewife/homemaker
☐ Necessary to take care of family members
☐ Retired/private means/lives of AOV
☐ Had no work permit
☐ Health reasons
☐ Pupil/student
☐ Other, specify:

GO TO C30

C4

Do you have a job where you worked 4 hours or more in the past week (or would have worked if you had not been absent due to vacation, illness, pregnancy, or a labor dispute, etc.)?

❶ Family members working in the family business are considered as being employed

☐ Yes ☐ No →

C5 How much, in total, do you receive from unemployment benefits, disablement benefits, pension, A.O.V. welfare, insurance, interest, dividends, rent of property and other forms of income per month?

Afl.

❶ Fill in "00000" for a person without an income

C6 Have you actively been looking for work in the past month or were you busy trying to start your own business?

☐ Yes → **GO TO C29**
☐ No

C7 Why are you not looking for a job right now?

- ☐ Not necessary, spouse/partner has job
☐ Partner does not allow this
☐ Housewife/homemaker
☐ Has to take care of family members
☐ Pensioned/private means/lives of AOV
☐ Has no work permit
☐ Health reasons
☐ Pupil/student
☐ Other, specify:

GO TO C30

C8

Do you have a written employment contract for this job?

☐ Yes
☐ No

C9

What type of work did you mainly perform at this job during the past week?

Name of the job:

Description of your activities:

C. Economic activities of the MMA

10+



C10

+

Where did you work in the past week?

a. Type of activity of company/employer:

Name of company:

b. Work address:

❶ If work at home, write home address

C11

How long have you been working there?

❶ If less than one month than fill in
 Years = '00' and Months = '00'

 Years

 Months

C12

Is the termination date for this job clearly stipulated by the employer?

☐ Yes
☐ No

C13 How long were you told you could work at this place?

❶ If less than one month than fill in Years = '00' and Months = '00'

 Years

 Months

C14

How much longer do you expect to work at this place?

❶ If expectation is less than one month than fill in Years = '00' and Months = '00'

 Years

 Months

☐ Until retirement

☐ As long as possible

☐ Unclear

C15

How many hours did you work in the past week (or would have worked if you had not been absent due to vacation, illness, pregnancy, or a labor dispute)?

 Hours

C16

In the past week did you work more hours than agreed?

☐ Yes, worked more hours
☐ No, did not work more hours

C17 In the past week, how many extra hours did you work more than agreed?

 Hours

C18 Are your overtime hours compensated by pay and/or time-back?

☐ Yes, compensated
☐ No, not compensated

C19

What was your gross income from your main job in the past month?

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Did not receive income | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 651 - 950 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 3001 - 4500 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 1 - 300 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 951 - 1250 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 4501 - 6000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 301 - 500 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 1251 - 1500 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 6001 - 7500 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 501 - 650 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 1501 - 3000 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 7500 + |



C. Economic activities of the MMA

10+



C20 Do you have the impression you are paid less than, equal to, or more than Arubans who do the same work you do?

+

- ☐ Paid less than Arubans
- ☐ Paid same amount as Arubans
- ☐ Paid more than Arubans

+

C21 When you are absent from work due to illness, do you receive full, partial or no payment?

- ☐ Full payment
- ☐ Partial payment
- ☐ No payment
- ☐ Payment received under restricted conditions, specify:

C22 Many people in Aruba have a second job or carry out activities through which they earn extra money.
Did you have a second job or did you perform activities in the past month, through which you earned extra money?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

C23 Can you describe the work you are doing in addition to your main job?

Name of the job:

Description of activities:

i If respondent has more than 1 extra job indicate the most important one

C24 Where is your second job?

Type of activity of company/employer and name of company:

i If works at home, write 'home'

C25 How many hours did you work in the past week (or would have worked if you had not been absent due to vacation, illness, pregnancy, or a labor dispute) with reference to a second job or additional activities?

 Hours

C26 What was your gross income from all your side-jobs in the past month?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Did not receive income | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 1501 - 3000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 1 - 300 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 3001 - 4500 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 301 - 650 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 4501 - 6000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 651 - 950 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 6001 - 7500 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 951 - 1500 | <input type="checkbox"/> Afl. 7500 + |

C27 Are you currently looking for a new job (or a second job) on Aruba?

- ☐ Yes, looking for a new job **GO TO C28**
- ☐ Yes, looking for a (new) second job **GO TO C28**
- ☐ No (not yet or not anymore) **GO TO C30**
- ☐ No, already found a new (second) job, but have not started yet **GO TO C30**



C. Economic activities of the MMA

10+



C28 What is the most important reason that you are looking for a(nother) job?

+

- ☐ Does not currently have a job
- ☐ Will probably lose this job/company may close down
- ☐ Wants to earn more/earn extra
- ☐ Wants better working conditions
- ☐ Health related reasons
- ☐ Wants to work part-time/fewer hours
- ☐ Considers present job as temporary
- ☐ Problems at present job
- ☐ Other reasons, specify:

C29 How many months have you been looking for work on Aruba?

i "96" = 8 years or longer, "00" = less than 1 month

 Months

C30 Do you have any kind of health insurance?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No **GO TO C32**

C31 What kind of health insurance do you have?

i Mark most important

- ☐ AZV
- ☐ Other health insurance on Aruba
- ☐ Other health insurance abroad

C32 What type of retirement plan do you have?

i Mark every applicable box

- ☐ Does not have any retirement plan
- ☐ AOV
- ☐ Private retirement plan here on Aruba
- ☐ Private retirement plan abroad
- ☐ Public pension fund here on Aruba
- ☐ Public pension fund abroad

C33 Do you own property such as a house or land (not ground lease) on Aruba?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

C34 Do you own property such as a house or land outside Aruba?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

C35 Do you have a personal bank account here on Aruba?

- ☐ Yes, has a bank account
- ☐ No, does not have a bank account

C36 Do you send money regularly to family or friends in other countries?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No **GO TO CHECK 2, after C41**



C. Economic activities of the MMA

10+



C37 How often do you send money to family/friends?

+

- ☐ Every week ☐ 3-4 times a year
☐ Every 2 weeks ☐ Twice a year
☐ Once a month ☐ Once a year
☐ Every 2 months

C38 How did you send the money?

① Mark most important way

- ☐ Via a bank on Aruba (bank transfer)
☐ Via friends/relatives who go abroad
☐ Via mail
☐ Via private money transfer service (e.g. Western Union)
☐ Other, specify:

C39 For whom was the money intended?

① Mark most important

- ☐ Mother/father
☐ Spouse
☐ Children
☐ Other relatives
☐ Friends
☐ Own bank/savings account

C40 How much money (Afl.) did you send last month?

① If no money send fill '00000'

Afl.

C41 Could you tell me in what ways the money you sent in the past twelve months was spent?

Was it used (READ categories):

① Mark all boxes which are mentioned

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> To buy/build/renovate a house | <input type="checkbox"/> To buy consumer goods (TV, radio, refrigerator, etc.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> To buy land | <input type="checkbox"/> To pay medical bills |
| <input type="checkbox"/> To invest in/start a business | <input type="checkbox"/> To repay the cost of migrating abroad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> To buy fertilizer, seeds, animals, or other things for a farm | <input type="checkbox"/> To repay other debts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> To save (on bank account) | <input type="checkbox"/> To pay the costs of new migration abroad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> To buy a car | <input type="checkbox"/> To finance marriage of family member |
| <input type="checkbox"/> To finance the education of a household member | <input type="checkbox"/> To finance other family/ religious celebrations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> To pay for daily household expenses (food, clothing, rent,...) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: <input type="text"/> |

CHECK 2

 Person has no income ☐
 GO TO C42

 Person has income ☐
 GO TO Section D

+

+



C. Economic activities of the MMA

10+



C42 Who in this household mainly provides for the money to pay for your expenses?

+

- ☐ Nobody
☐ Spouse/partner
☐ Father/mother
☐ Brother/sister
☐ Other relative
☐ Friend
☐ Other person

C43 How do you get money to pay for your expenses?

① Mark most important source

- ☐ Welfare system
☐ Own savings
☐ Loan/borrow
☐ Family in Aruba
☐ Aruban friends
☐ Friends from my own country living in Aruba
☐ Friends from other countries living in Aruba
☐ Family/friends living in my home country
☐ Does little jobs here and there
☐ Some way or another I get along

C44 How much money did you spend last month in total?

Afl.

+

+



D. Recruitment and situation around migration

D1 What was the most important information source that influenced your decision to come to Aruba, the last time you came? **+**

Mark most important information source

<input type="checkbox"/> I have been here before	<input type="checkbox"/> Recruitment agent/institutes/organizations in Aruba
<input type="checkbox"/> Family/relatives/friends already living in Aruba	<input type="checkbox"/> Recruitment agent/institutes/organizations abroad
<input type="checkbox"/> Family/relatives/friends in country other than Aruba	<input type="checkbox"/> Employer in Aruba +
<input type="checkbox"/> Television/radio/internet	<input type="checkbox"/> Employer abroad
<input type="checkbox"/> Newspapers/books/magazines	<input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: <input type="text"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> School/college/university	

D2 Why did you choose to come to Aruba? **+**

Mark main reason

<input type="checkbox"/> Good salary and/or work	<input type="checkbox"/> Medical facilities/ health insurance
<input type="checkbox"/> Strong economy	<input type="checkbox"/> Hopes to get Dutch nationality
<input type="checkbox"/> Posted here by employer	<input type="checkbox"/> Better schooling for myself or for children
<input type="checkbox"/> Already knew some people/relatives here	<input type="checkbox"/> Climate
<input type="checkbox"/> Family reunification	<input type="checkbox"/> Stable political situation and low criminality
<input type="checkbox"/> Marriage	<input type="checkbox"/> Good social system
<input type="checkbox"/> Good living conditions	<input type="checkbox"/> Other reason: <input type="text"/>

D3 Which of the following applies to you: **+**

<input type="checkbox"/> I came to Aruba to work	GO TO D4
<input type="checkbox"/> I did not come to Aruba to work and have never worked here	GO TO D14
<input type="checkbox"/> I did not come to Aruba to work but eventually I started working	GO TO D8

D4 When you came to Aruba did you already have a job offer here?

☐ Yes **→** **D5** How did you get this job offer?

☐ No **→** **D8** How long did it take you to find your first job or start your own business?

D5 How did you get this job offer?

<input type="checkbox"/> Through friends/relatives in Aruba
<input type="checkbox"/> Through recruitment agency
<input type="checkbox"/> Applied directly to employer
<input type="checkbox"/> Was contacted by employer
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: <input type="text"/>

D6 Did you have to pay anybody to help you secure this job?

☐ Yes

☐ No **→** **GO TO D10**

D7 How much did you pay?

Afl.

GO TO D10

D8 How long did it take you to find your first job or start your own business?

Months

☐ Has not found a job yet **→** **GO TO D14**

D9 How did you get your first job on the island?

<input type="checkbox"/> Through friends/relatives in Aruba
<input type="checkbox"/> Through recruitment agency
<input type="checkbox"/> Applied directly to employer
<input type="checkbox"/> Was contacted by employer
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: <input type="text"/>

+



D. Recruitment and situation around migration



D1 What was the most important information source that influenced your decision to come to Aruba, the last time you came? **+**

Mark most important information source

<input type="checkbox"/> I have been here before	<input type="checkbox"/> Recruitment agent/institutes/organizations in Aruba
<input type="checkbox"/> Family/relatives/friends already living in Aruba	<input type="checkbox"/> Recruitment agent/institutes/organizations abroad
<input type="checkbox"/> Family/relatives/friends in country other than Aruba	<input type="checkbox"/> Employer in Aruba +
<input type="checkbox"/> Television/radio/internet	<input type="checkbox"/> Employer abroad
<input type="checkbox"/> Newspapers/books/magazines	<input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: <input type="text"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> School/college/university	

D2 Why did you choose to come to Aruba? **+**

Mark main reason

<input type="checkbox"/> Good salary and/or work	<input type="checkbox"/> Medical facilities/ health insurance
<input type="checkbox"/> Strong economy	<input type="checkbox"/> Hopes to get Dutch nationality
<input type="checkbox"/> Posted here by employer	<input type="checkbox"/> Better schooling for myself or for children
<input type="checkbox"/> Already knew some people/relatives here	<input type="checkbox"/> Climate
<input type="checkbox"/> Family reunification	<input type="checkbox"/> Stable political situation and low criminality
<input type="checkbox"/> Marriage	<input type="checkbox"/> Good social system
<input type="checkbox"/> Good living conditions	<input type="checkbox"/> Other reason: <input type="text"/>

D3 Which of the following applies to you: **+**

<input type="checkbox"/> I came to Aruba to work	GO TO D4
<input type="checkbox"/> I did not come to Aruba to work and have never worked here	GO TO D14
<input type="checkbox"/> I did not come to Aruba to work but eventually I started working	GO TO D8

D4 When you came to Aruba did you already have a job offer here?

☐ Yes **→** **D5** How did you get this job offer?

☐ No **→** **D8** How long did it take you to find your first job or start your own business?

D5 How did you get this job offer?

<input type="checkbox"/> Through friends/relatives in Aruba
<input type="checkbox"/> Through recruitment agency
<input type="checkbox"/> Applied directly to employer
<input type="checkbox"/> Was contacted by employer
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: <input type="text"/>

D6 Did you have to pay anybody to help you secure this job?

☐ Yes

☐ No **→** **GO TO D10**

D7 How much did you pay?

Afl.

GO TO D10

D8 How long did it take you to find your first job or start your own business?

Months

☐ Has not found a job yet **→** **GO TO D14**

D9 How did you get your first job on the island?

<input type="checkbox"/> Through friends/relatives in Aruba
<input type="checkbox"/> Through recruitment agency
<input type="checkbox"/> Applied directly to employer
<input type="checkbox"/> Was contacted by employer
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: <input type="text"/>

+

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D. Recruitment and situation around migration

D20 How adequate were your household finances to cover all its basic needs at the time you left?
☐ More than sufficient ☐ Barely sufficient
☐ Sufficient ☐ Insufficient

D21 How would you describe the neighbourhood where you had lived before you came to Aruba?
☐ Very poor ☐ Poor ☐ Middle class ☐ High class

D22 Are the conditions of this place where you are living, worse, equal to or better than the place where you lived before you came to Aruba?
☐ This place is worse ☐ This place is equal ☐ This place is better

D23 Before you came to live here, did you have any family members, relatives or friends in Aruba, whom you knew from your home country?
☐ Yes ☐ No
GO TO D29

D24 Which of the following persons were already living here before you arrived?
READ categories, mark as many as applicable
☐ Spouse/partner
☐ Own child(ren)/spouse's child(ren)
☐ Parent(s)/parent(s)-in-law
☐ Brother(s)/sister(s)/brother(s)-in-law/sister(s)-in-law
☐ Grandparent(s)/grandparent(s) of spouse
☐ Other relative(s)/other in-law(s)
☐ Friends/non-relatives

D25 When moving to Aruba, did you expect to receive help from one or more of the persons you mentioned? Please also include your spouse (partner) if he/she came here before you.
☐ Yes ☐ No

D26 Did they help you in any way to come to Aruba or to get settled?
☐ Yes ☐ No **GO TO D29**

D27 Who helped you the most? Please also include your spouse (partner(s)) if he/she came here before you.
Mark only one box
☐ Spouse/partner
☐ Own child(ren)/spouse's child(ren)
☐ Parent(s)/parent(s)-in-law
☐ Brother(s)/sister(s)/brother(s)-in-law/sister(s)-in-law
☐ Grandparent(s)/grandparent(s) of spouse
☐ Other relative(s)/other in-law(s)
☐ Friends/non-relatives

D28 In what way(s) did they help you before you moved to Aruba?
Read the categories, mark as many as applicable
☐ Provide financial support/travel ticket
☐ Find housing for you
☐ Find a job with an employer
☐ Offer you to live with them
☐ Offer you a job in their family business
☐ Give information concerning admission regulations
☐ Arrange necessary work permit or residence permit
☐ Other, specify:



D. Recruitment and situation around migration



D29 How much money did you spend in total (Afl.) for yourself to come to Aruba?
Including: tickets, preparation costs, paperwork, fees, departure tax, medical tests
 Afl.

D30 How much did you pay a broker for handling fees for him to assist you in obtaining a work and/or residence permit?
Write '00000' if no fee was paid.
 Afl.

D31 Where did you get the money to pay for your expenses to come to Aruba?
If more than one is mentioned, ask for the one from whom most money has been received
☐ Did not have to pay anything for coming to Aruba ☐ Received help from employer
☐ Own money/savings ☐ Loaned from a bank
☐ Received help from relatives/friends ☐ Loaned from a private money lender
☐ Received help from community ☐ Other, specify:

D32 Who paid for the following items:
Mark most important for each item

	Ticket	Departure tax	Medical costs	Work permit	Deposit	Travelling items
Did not need to pay (yet)		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Paid for it him-/herself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Employer. Does not have to pay it back	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Employer. Has to pay it back partially	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Employer. Has to pay it back completely	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contractor, recruitment agent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spouse/family/friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other person	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D33 How many times did you visit your home country since you (last) came to Aruba?
☐ 0 ☐ 6 times
☐ 1 time ☐ 7 times
☐ 2 times ☐ 8 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 9 times
☐ 4 times ☐ 10 times or more
☐ 5 times



D. Recruitment and situation around migration



- D20 How adequate were your household finances to cover all its basic needs at the time you left?
☐ More than sufficient ☐ Barely sufficient
☐ Sufficient ☐ Insufficient
- D21 How would you describe the neighbourhood where you had lived before you came to Aruba?
☐ Very poor ☐ Poor ☐ Middle class ☐ High class
- D22 Are the conditions of this place where you are living, worse, equal to or better than the place where you lived before you came to Aruba?
☐ This place is worse ☐ This place is equal ☐ This place is better
- D23 Before you came to live here, did you have any family members, relatives or friends in Aruba, whom you knew from your home country?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
 ↓
GO TO D29
- D24 Which of the following persons were already living here before you arrived?
 READ categories, mark as many as applicable
☐ Spouse/partner
☐ Own child(ren)/spouse's child(ren)
☐ Parent(s)/parent(s)-in-law
☐ Brother(s)/sister(s)/brother(s)-in-law/sister(s)-in-law
☐ Grandparent(s)/grandparent(s) of spouse
☐ Other relative(s)/other in-law(s)
☐ Friends/non-relatives

- D25 When moving to Aruba, did you expect to receive help from one or more of the persons you mentioned? Please also include your spouse (partner) if he/she came here before you.
☐ Yes ☐ No

- D26 Did they help you in any way to come to Aruba or to get settled?
☐ Yes ☐ No **GO TO D29**

- D27 Who helped you the most? Please also include your spouse (partner(s)) if he/she came here before you.
 Mark only one box
☐ Spouse/partner
☐ Own child(ren)/spouse's child(ren)
☐ Parent(s)/parent(s)-in-law
☐ Brother(s)/sister(s)/brother(s)-in-law/sister(s)-in-law
☐ Grandparent(s)/grandparent(s) of spouse
☐ Other relative(s)/other in-law(s)
☐ Friends/non-relatives

- D28 In what way(s) did they help you before you moved to Aruba?
 Read the categories, mark as many as applicable
☐ Provide financial support/travel ticket
☐ Find housing for you
☐ Find a job with an employer
☐ Offer you to live with them
☐ Offer you a job in their family business
☐ Give information concerning admission regulations
☐ Arrange necessary work permit or residence permit
☐ Other, specify:



D. Recruitment and situation around migration



- D29 How much money did you spend in total (Afl.) for yourself to come to Aruba?
 Including: tickets, preparation costs, paperwork, fees, departure tax, medical tests

Afl.

- D30 How much did you pay a broker for handling fees for him to assist you in obtaining a work and/or residence permit?
 Write '00000' if no fee was paid.

Afl.

- D31 Where did you get the money to pay for your expenses to come to Aruba?
 If more than one is mentioned, ask for the one from whom most money has been received/received

- ☐ Did not have to pay anything for coming to Aruba
☐ Own money/savings
☐ Received help from relatives/friends
☐ Received help from community
☐ Received help from employer
☐ Loaned from a bank
☐ Loaned from a private money lender
☐ Other, specify:

- D32 Who paid for the following items:

Mark most important for each item

Did not need to pay (yet)

Paid for it him-/herself

Employer. Does not have to pay it back

Employer. Has to pay it back partially

Employer. Has to pay it back completely

Contractor, recruitment agent

Spouse/family/friends

Other person

Ticket	Departure tax	Medical costs	Work permit	Deposit	Travelling items
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- D33 How many times did you visit your home country since you (last) came to Aruba?

- ☐ 0 ☐ 6 times
☐ 1 time ☐ 7 times
☐ 2 times ☐ 8 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 9 times
☐ 4 times ☐ 10 times or more
☐ 5 times



E. Intentions, knowledge and opinions of migrant on Aruba



E1 If you were asked to give advice to somebody living in your home country about moving or not, what would it be? +

- ☐ Advise him/her to move to Aruba +
- ☐ Advise him/her to move to another country
- ☐ Advise him/her not to move at all
- ☐ Would neither advise him/her to move, nor advise against it

E2 Do you ultimately intend to:

➊ Read the categories

- ☐ Return to your home country → GO TO E3
- ☐ Settle in this country → GO TO E4
- ☐ Migrate to another country → GO TO E5

E3 Why do you intend to return to your home country?

➋ Mark all spontaneously mentioned answers

Economic reasons:

- ☐ Laid off by employer/end of contract
- ☐ Job transfer
- ☐ To take care of business at home
- ☐ Cannot find work +
- ☐ Does not like the job/work
- ☐ Earns too little here/cannot save enough
- ☐ Retirement
- ☐ Saved enough money
- ☐ To start business after return
- ☐ Inherited property and/or land
- ☐ Life is too expensive in Aruba

Other reasons:

- ☐ Does not like the way of life here
- ☐ Bad health
- ☐ Cannot get a permit/difficult to get a permit
- ☐ Permit expired
- ☐ Homesickness
- ☐ Got a diploma/completed education
- ☐ People discriminate foreigners
- ☐ Too lonely here
- ☐ Other, specify:

Family related reasons:

- ☐ Parents and/or spouse want me to return
- ☐ To accompany spouse/parents
- ☐ Spouse and children live there
- ☐ To join the family
- ☐ Problems raising children here
- ☐ School problems of children
- ☐ Other family reasons
- ☐ Has to take care of family at home
- ☐ To get married in your home country

GO TO E7



E. Intentions, knowledge and opinions of migrant on Aruba



E4 Why do you intend to settle here? +

➌ Mark all spontaneously mentioned answers

Economic reasons:

- ☐ Has satisfactory job/work
- ☐ Has enough money/income
- ☐ Has business or property here
- ☐ Wants to save more money

Other reasons:

- ☐ Partner is from Aruba
- ☐ Friends live here
- ☐ Likes it here
- ☐ Old age/too old to move back
- ☐ Good health insurance, pension system here

Family reasons:

- ☐ Family lives here
- ☐ Family in home country does not want me to return
- ☐ Children go to school here

- ☐ Conditions in home country too bad

Other, specify:

GO TO E7

E5 To what country do you intend to move in the future?

E6 Why do you intend to go to that country? +

➍ Mark all spontaneously mentioned answers

Economic reasons:

- ☐ Has no job/cannot find job
- ☐ Can earn more money there
- ☐ Hopes to find better work there
- ☐ To seek job and/or income
- ☐ Job transfer
- ☐ Hopes to save more money there
- ☐ Better medical insurance system there
- ☐ No opportunities to save money here

Other reasons:

- ☐ To get education
- ☐ To finance children's education
- ☐ That country is better to live in
- ☐ Permit easier to get
- ☐ Adventure
- ☐ Does not like living here
- ☐ Likes to live abroad
- ☐ Other, specify:

Family reasons:

- ☐ Better situation for children
- ☐ Family members do not like it here
- ☐ To get married/just married
- ☐ To accompany/follow spouse
- ☐ To accompany/follow parent(s)
- ☐ To escape family problems (e.g. conflict with parents, divorce)

E7 How much longer do you intend to stay in Aruba?

Years Months

- ☐ Wants to stay indefinitely



E. Intentions, knowledge and opinions of migrant on Aruba



- + We now want to know your opinion about certain aspects of your life in general and here on Aruba. +**
- E8 Is your financial situation now better, worse or the same as before you came to Aruba? ☐ Better ☐ Worse ☐ The same
- E9 In general, do you feel yourself a happier person than before, now that you live on Aruba? ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ The same
- E10 Is your family in your home country financially better, worse or the same because of your coming to Aruba? ☐ Better ☐ Worse ☐ The same
- E11 Would you say that people of your home country are treated with much respect in Aruba? ☐ True ☐ Not true ☐ No opinion
- E12 Do you think people from your home country who live in Aruba deserve to be treated with more respect than they get here on Aruba? ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Satisfied with respect they get
- E13 Do you sometimes feel discriminated as a foreigner in Aruba? ☐ Never ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often
- E14 Do you think foreigners are being treated fairly in Aruba by the government? ☐ Treated fairly ☐ Not treated fairly ☐ No opinion
- E15 Do you find it difficult to integrate with the Aruban community? ☐ Difficult to integrate ☐ Not so difficult to integrate ☐ Not interested to integrate
- E16 If you could earn the salary in your home country that you earn here would you still prefer to live in Aruba? ☐ Prefer to live in Aruba ☐ Prefer to live in my own country

Now we would like to ask a couple of questions about your knowledge of Aruba.

Ⓜ Make sure the respondent answers the questions without any help from other members of the household

- E17 What is the highest hill on Aruba? **+** ☐ Correct answer ☐ Does not know or wrong answer
- E18 Can you mention the parties which currently have a seat in parliament? ☐ Correct answer ☐ Does not know or wrong answer
- E19 Do you know the name of Aruba's national anthem? ☐ Correct answer ☐ Does not know or wrong answer
- E20 Do you watch Aruban programs on television regularly? How often? ☐ On a daily basis ☐ Once or twice a week ☐ Three to five times a week ☐ Never watches Aruban programs ☐ Other ☐ Has no television/never watch television

Now we would like to ask some questions about your family situation when you came to Aruba.

- E21 Were you married at the time you moved to Aruba for the last time? ☐ Yes ☐ No → **GO TO E25**
- E22 At the time you came to Aruba, did your spouse follow you shortly afterwards or did he/she stay in your home country? ☐ Spouse came with MMA → **GO TO E23** ☐ Spouse joined MMA later → **GO TO E23** ☐ Spouse is still in home country → **GO TO E24** **+**



E. Intentions, knowledge and opinions of migrant on Aruba



- E23 What was the most important reason for bringing your spouse along to Aruba? **+**
- ☐ It was too expensive to maintain two households
- ☐ Spouse also got a job in Aruba
- ☐ Spouse could look for a job here in Aruba
- ☐ Emotionally too difficult to live separately
- ☐ It was better for the children to have the family together
- ☐ It was more practical to run the household together
- ☐ Other, specify:

GO TO E25

- E24 What was the most important reason for your spouse to stay in your home country?
- ☐ It was too expensive to bring spouse (and children) along
- ☐ Spouse did not have a permit
- ☐ Can save more money by living alone
- ☐ Family farm/family business needed to be maintained
- ☐ It was better for the children to grow up with their mother/father in their home country
- ☐ Material living conditions here are not expected to be good for living with the family (e.g. housing, income)
- ☐ Social environment was not good for living with the family (e.g. discrimination, hostility)
- ☐ Couple already living apart at the time of the migration
- ☐ Other, specify: **+**

- E25 How many children do you have?

Ⓜ Only take own children in account

Ⓜ If answer is more than '00' →

E26 How many of your children were born abroad?

E27 How many of these children have come to live here on Aruba?

E28 How many of your children live with you here on Aruba?

E29	From the following persons, how many:	a. Came to Aruba together with you	b. Came to Aruba because of you	c. Do you intend to bring in the future?
	Spouse			<input type="text" value="0"/>
	Children	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
	Parents/parents in law	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
	Brothers/sisters	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
	Other relatives	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
	Friends	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
	Others	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>



F. Family Form



F1 Indicate the type of dwelling the family lives in: +

+ ☐ House
☐ Apartment
☐ Separate room in house
☐ Trailer/container
☐ Cuarto
☐ Other type

F2 How many years/months have you been living in this home?
 ⚠ If less than one month then fill in Years - '00' and Months - '00'

Years Months

F3 Are the living quarters occupied only by your family unit?
☐ Only occupied by his/her family - no other residents ——— GO TO F6
☐ Other people, who do not belong to his/her family unit live in these living quarters as well

F4 How many of these co-residents are relatives and how many are non-relatives?
 Relatives Non-relatives

+ F5 Which of the following facilities do you have to share with other people who are no members of your family unit?
 1. Bedroom ☐ Only members of own family unit/only him- or herself
☐ Also shared with other relatives
☐ Shared with non-relatives
☐ Shared with relatives and non-relatives
 2. Bathroom ☐ Only members of own family unit/only him- or herself
☐ Also shared with other relatives
☐ Shared with non-relatives
☐ Shared with relatives and non-relatives
 3. Kitchen ☐ Only members of own family unit/only him- or herself
☐ Also shared with other relatives
☐ Shared with non-relatives
☐ Shared with relatives and non-relatives

F6 Is this dwelling owned, rented, or inhabited for free by members of your family unit?
☐ Owned ——— GO TO F7
☐ Rented/contribute to rent ——— GO TO F9
☐ Inhabited for free ——— GO TO F11
☐ Other arrangement ——— GO TO F11

F7 In what year did your family unit come to own this dwelling?
 ⚠ Note, house has to be owned by one or more members of this family unit, not by a relative or somebody else in the household

Year

+ +



F. Family Form



F8 How did your family come to own this dwelling? +

+ ☐ Built it
☐ Bought it
☐ Inherited it
☐ Other way

GO TO F11

F9 What is the monthly rent your family has to pay (or has to contribute to the total rent)?
 Af. → F10 Does the rent include?

a. Electricity ☐ Yes ☐ No
 b. Water ☐ Yes ☐ No
 c. Cable ☐ Yes ☐ No
 d. Furniture ☐ Yes ☐ No
 e. Appliances ☐ Yes ☐ No

F11 How many rooms of the total number of rooms in this housing unit are occupied by your family unit?
 ⚠ include bedrooms, kitchen, enclosed patio and room for receiving guests!
 exclude bathroom, toilet, hall, veranda, porch or rooms exclusively intended for business purposes, i.e. making or selling products or services.

Number of rooms +

F12 How many rooms are there in total in this housing unit?
 ⚠ include bedrooms, kitchen, enclosed patio and room for receiving guests!
 exclude bathroom, toilet, hall, veranda, porch or rooms exclusively intended for business purposes, i.e. making or selling products or services.

Number of rooms

⚠ If all rooms of the housing unit are occupied by only this family, write the same number as in F11

F13 Indicate the quality of the place where the family lives
 ⚠ Do not ask this question! Consult the help card on this

☐ Good
☐ Sufficient
☐ Poor
☐ Very poor

F14 Are you satisfied with the living conditions in this house?
☐ Yes ——— GO TO F16
☐ No ———

F15 Why not?
 ⚠ Mark all answers mentioned spontaneously by the respondent

☐ Too hot, no airco ☐ Neighbourhood is unsafe
☐ Too expensive ☐ Does not like the owner
☐ Too crowded ☐ Not happy with other residents
☐ Not hygienic/dirty ☐ No opinion
☐ Condition of the place is bad ☐ Other reason

F16 Are you planning to move to another place here on Aruba within the next six months?
☐ Yes
☐ No

+ +



END OF FORM
*CBS thanks you for
your co-operation*

	F17 Which of the following items are available in this dwelling and owned by any member of this family unit (who is living here in these living quarters here on Aruba)?	F18 Did any of these members buy one in the past twelve months?
	<p>Owned Not owned</p> <p>a. Refrigerator <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>b. Stove <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>c. Washing machine <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>d. Microwave <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>e. Air conditioner <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>f. Fan <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>g. Sewing machine <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>h. Radio <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>i. VCR/DVD <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>j. Cellular phone <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>k. Bicycle <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>l. Motorcycle <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>Yes No</p> <p>a. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>b. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>c. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>d. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>e. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>f. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>g. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>h. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>i. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>j. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>k. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>l. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p>
F19	How many of the following items do members of your family unit own here on Aruba?	
	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div><input type="text"/> Car(s)</div> <div><input type="text"/> Personal Computer(s)</div> <div><input type="text"/> Television(s)</div> </div>	
F20	Does any member of this family unit own any business in Aruba?	
	<div style="display: flex;"> <div style="width: 20%;"> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No </div> <div style="width: 80%;"> <p>F21 Can you describe the type of business this family owns?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 40px; margin-bottom: 10px;"></div> <p>Type of activity of business</p> <p>F22 How many paid employees work in this business? <small>Do not count owner of the business</small></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 25px; margin-bottom: 10px;"></div> <p>F23 How many unpaid family members work in this business?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 25px;"></div> </div> </div>	
F24	Does any member of this family unit own any business abroad?	
	<div style="display: flex;"> <div style="width: 20%;"> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No </div> <div style="width: 80%;"> <p>F25 Can you describe the type of business this family owns abroad?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 40px; margin-bottom: 10px;"></div> <p>Type of activity of business</p> <p>F26 How many paid employees work in the business abroad? <small>Do not count owner of the business</small></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 25px; margin-bottom: 10px;"></div> <p>F27 How many unpaid family members work in the business abroad?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 25px;"></div> </div> </div>	
	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>REMARK</p> <p>Indicate if the family agrees to participate with an in-depth interview.</p> <div style="display: flex;"> <input type="checkbox"/> Family agrees with an in-depth interview <input type="checkbox"/> Family objects to an in-depth interview </div> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>END OF FORM</p> <p><small>CBS thanks you for your co-operation</small></p> </div> </div>	

ANNEX 2

Developed countries

All countries of Europe and North America, and Japan, Netherlands Antilles, Australia and New Zealand.

Developing countries

All countries outside Aruba which do not belong to the developed countries.

Duration of settlement

The duration of settlement is the interval of time between the date of the study and the date the person arrived on the island. The duration of time is expressed in completed years; one year thus means, between one and two years on the island.

Family

- Formal approach
The formal approach examines the legal bonds that group persons together in conjugal families. Only legal bonds through marriage, blood, or adoption are considered.

A conjugal family nucleus consists of one the following types:

- a legally married couple without children;
 - a legally married couple with never-married children (biological or adopted);
 - a father with one or more never-married children (biological or adopted) or
 - a mother with one or more never-married children (biological or adopted).
- Sociological approach
In the sociological approach, both legal and consensual bonds between persons within the household are considered. Here the concept of sociological family nucleus is used. This type of family consists of both legally married persons (with or without children) as well as persons who are living together on a durable basis, without being married to each other (again with or without children).

The following categories of sociological family nuclei are distinguished:

- Conjugal family nucleus: this type includes the same categories as indicated above. However, the conjugal family formed by a single-parent, as mentioned under the 'formal approach', who lives together with a partner to whom he or she is not married is not contained in this category of sociological family nucleus. The nucleus formed by the single-parent, the partner, and the child/children is included in the group below.
- Consensual family nucleus consists of one of the following types:
 - ◆ couple, not married to each other, without children, and living together on a durable basis, or
 - ◆ a couple, not married to each other, with children (biological or adopted), and living together on a durable basis; the children of the couple should be never-married and not living together with a partner.

Handicap

Handicapped persons are persons with a physical or a mental disorder. The handicap is formed by the limitations of the personal abilities due to the disorder.

'Handicapped persons' do not include individuals who are recovering from an illness or an accident and who will be cured within a limited period. Their perspective is, after all, to be completely healed.

Type of handicap

A relatively crude distinction is made between the various types of handicaps, due to the restrictions which a population census poses to investigate a topic like this. The following types of physical and mental handicaps are discerned:

- Physical handicaps
 - Motor handicap: This kind of handicap is a consequence of a dysfunction of the limbs. Examples of causes of this impairment are: Parkinson's disease, polio, and spasticity.
 - Visual handicap: This includes blindness and very poor eyesight.
 - Auditory handicap: This includes deafness and serious hearing impairments .
 - Organ handicap: This kind of handicap is the result of organ disorders such as asthma, diabetes, stoma, etc.
- Mental handicaps

Mental handicaps are disorders caused by a failure in intellectual development that results in social incompetence, and is considered to be the result of a defective central nervous system. The disorders have often originated around the time of birth. In some cases mental handicaps can also originate from an accident or a disease. Mostly a distinction is made according to the degree of intellectual limitations:

 - Idiocy: i.e. a very deep, mental handicap. The disabled person leads a very passive, sometimes vegetating life.
 - Imbecility: i.e. a very serious mental disorder. Independent functioning is impossible for the handicapped person.
 - Moronity: i.e. a light mental handicap. The mentally retarded person can function moderately independently.

Household

A household may either be

- a) a one-person household, i.e. a person who makes provision for his or her own food or other essentials for living, without combining with any other person to form part of a multi- person household or
- b) a multi-person household, i.e. a group of two or more persons living together who make common provision for food or other essentials for living.

One way to determine whether persons belong to the same household is to establish whether they use a common room. Another important indicator is whether they share meals. In this respect, we must note that a live-in housemaid sometimes belongs to the household where she works but sometimes not. It depends on whether or not she has her own quarters where she lives, separately and almost independently, after her daily work.

Type of household

Households are classified by type, according to the number of family nuclei and unattached persons they comprise. The relationship, if any, between the members of the household is also taken into account. Some tables are based on conjugal family nuclei and unattached persons, using the formal approach. Where possible, the definition of consensual family nuclei is used.

The types of household distinguished are:

- Collective household

A collective household is defined as a household of more than ten persons without any family relation to each other. Often these households can be found in institutions such as homes for the elderly, orphanages, prisons, etc.

- Non-collective household

- a) One-person household.

- b) Nuclear household, defined as a household consisting entirely of a single conjugal family nucleus.

- c) Extended household, consisting of persons related to each other, but not comprising a nuclear household. An extended household is further subdivided into the following categories:

- i. one conjugal family nucleus and at least one unattached person, all related to each other;

- ii. two or more conjugal family nuclei and at least one unattached person, all related to each other;

- iii. two or more conjugal family nuclei, related to each other, without any other persons;

- iv. two or more persons related to each other, but none of whom forms part of a conjugal family nucleus.

- d) Composite household, consisting of persons not all related to each other. A composite household is further subdivided into the following categories:

- i. one conjugal family nucleus and at least one unattached person, not related to the conjugal family nucleus;

- ii. two or more conjugal family nuclei and at least one unattached person; not all related to each other;

- iii. two or more conjugal family nuclei, without unattached persons; not all related to each other;

- iv. two or more unattached persons, without any family relations.

Income

In the migration survey, 'income' refers to gross income in the month preceding the survey. All data on income are presented in Aruban florins (= Aruban guilders). The Aruban florin (Afl.) is pegged to the US dollar at an exchange rate of 1.79 Afl. per 1 US\$. The income includes salaries and wages from employment, profits from businesses, pension, social benefits, alimony, etc.

ISCED

The *International Standard Classification of Education* (ISCED) is an instrument for presenting statistics on education. ISCED is basically a three-stage classification system, providing successive subdivisions from level of education to field of study to program group. The ISCED level of program used in several tables in the report incorporates seven categories. A residual category for education not definable by level is added. The levels of programs used in the ISCED system are:

- *Level 0:* Education preceding the first level usually begins at age 3, 4 or 5 (sometimes earlier) and lasts from one to three years. School types that fall under this level are: crèche, day nursery, play-school, and kindergarten.
- *Level 1:* Education at the first level usually begins at age 5, 6, or 7 and lasts for about five or six years. School types at this level are primary school and special primary schools.
- *Level 2:* Education at the second level, first stage begins at about age 11 or 12 and lasts for about three years. For instance: general programs such as MAVO, HAVO 1-3, VWO 1-3; lower levels of vocational training (EPB, LHNO, ETAO, AHS-lbo, AHS-llw).

- *Level 3:* Education at the second level, second stage begins at age 14 or 15 and lasts for about three years. At this level we find general programs (HAVO 4-5, VWO 4-6) and vocational schooling, intermediate level, such as EPI 1-2, MHNO 1-2, MAO 1-2, Associate degree AHS 1-2, Police school, MOVAA 1-2, and nursing program (first two years).
- *Level 5:* Education at the third level, first stage, of the type that leads to an award not equivalent to a first university degree begins at age 17 or 18 and lasts for about three years. Thus, at about ages 20 or 21, the students who have progressed through the regular school system to complete these programs are usually ready to enter employment. Programs included are vocational education, intermediate level, final year(s) of e.g., EPI, MHNO, MAO, AHS (Associate degree), MOVAA, and nursing program (final year).
- *Level 6:* Education at the third level, first stage, of the type that leads to a first university degree or equivalent also begins at age 17 or 18 and lasts for about four years. Thus, students who have progressed through the school system to complete their first degree are usually ready for employment or for postgraduate study at about age 21 or 22. It includes programs leading to the usual first degrees such as Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, 'kandidaatsdiploma', 'HBO diploma'.
- *Level 7:* Education at the third level, second stage, of the type that leads to a postgraduate university degree or equivalent includes all education beyond level 6. The degrees Level 0 Education preceding the first level usually begins at age 3, 4 or 5 (sometimes earlier) and lasts from one to three years. School types that fall under this level are: crèche, day nursery, play-school, and kindergarten.

ISCO

Occupation refers to the kind of work done, during the week preceding the survey, by the person employed (or the type of work done previously, if unemployed). The *International Standard Classification of Occupation* (ISCO-88) was used to classify the data on occupation. The ISCO provides a systematic classification structure that encompasses all occupations of the economically active population. The classification structure consists of four levels: major groups, sub-major groups, minor groups, and unit groups. There are ten major groups.

1. Legislators, senior officials, and managers

This major group consists of occupations in which policy-making and high level management play a primary role. These functions can be executed in the private and in the public sector. Managers at a lower level do not belong to this category.

2. Professionals

This major group includes occupations whose main tasks require a high level of professional knowledge and experience in the fields of physical and life sciences, or social sciences and humanities. The tasks of the members of this group consist of increasing the knowledge and experience, applying scientific concepts and theories to the solution of problems, and teaching the foregoing in a systematic manner.

3. Technicians and associated professionals

This major group requires technical knowledge and experience in one or more fields of physical and life sciences, or social sciences and humanities. The main tasks consist of carrying out technical work connected with the applications of concepts and operational methods in the above-mentioned fields, and in teaching at certain educational levels.

4. Clerks

Occupations with main tasks consisting of secretarial duties, operating word processors and other office machines, recording and computing numerical data, and performing a number of customer-oriented clerical duties, mostly in connection with mail services, money-handling operations, and appointments.

5. *Service workers and shop and market sales workers*
This major group consists of occupations with main tasks consisting of providing services related to travel, house-keeping, catering, personal care, protection of individuals and property, and to maintain law and order, or selling goods in shops or on the market.
6. *Skilled agricultural and fishery workers*
The main responsibilities of this group consist of growing crops, breeding or hunting animals, catching or cultivating fish, conserving and exploiting forests and, especially in the case of market-oriented agricultural and fishery workers, selling products to purchasers, marketing organizations, or at markets.
7. *Craft and related trade workers*
The main tasks of these occupations consist of extracting raw materials, constructing buildings and other structures, and making various products as well as handicraft goods.
8. *Plant and machine operators and assemblers*
The occupations within this major group are involved in operating and monitoring mining, processing, and production machinery and equipment, as well as driving vehicles and operating mobile plants, or assembling products from component parts. These occupations require the knowledge and the experience to operate this machinery.
9. *Elementary occupations*
This major group covers occupations that require the knowledge and experience to perform mostly simple and routine tasks involving the use of hand-held tools and, in some cases, considerable physical effort. Only in a few cases do these occupations require personal initiative and judgment. The main tasks consist of selling goods in the street, door keeping and property watching, as well as cleaning, washing, and pressing, and working as laborers in the fields of mining, agriculture and fishing, construction and manufacturing.
0. *Armed forces*
Members of the armed forces are those personnel who are currently serving in the armed forces, including auxiliary services, whether on a voluntary or compulsory basis, and who are not free to accept civilian employment. It includes conscripts enrolled for military training or other services for a specified period.

ISIC

Branch of industry refers to the economic activity of the establishment in which an employed person worked during the week preceding the survey or in which the person last worked, if unemployed. The *Aruban Standard Industrial Classification of Economic Activities* (ISICAruba 99-first revision) was used for the classification of industrial and business activities in Aruba, based on the *International Standard Industrial Classification of Economic Activities* (ISICUN 90, third revision). The level of detail has become much greater than ISICUN third revision, in order to be more compatible with the economic structure of Aruba.

The ISIC system uses a four-digit code -as did the ISCO- to classify the economic activities of businesses and other economically active organizations in a country. The hierarchy in the classifications of the branch of industry is made up of divisions (2-digit codes), major groups (3-digit codes), and groups (4-digit codes).

ISIC Aruba-99 tabulation categories are given below

1. Agriculture, hunting and forestry
2. Fishing
3. Mining and quarrying
4. Manufacturing
5. Electricity, gas and water supply
6. Construction
7. Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles and personal and household goods
8. Hotels and restaurants
9. Transport, storage and communications
10. Financial intermediation
11. Real estate activities
12. Public administration and defense; compulsory social security

13. Education
14. Health and social work
15. Other community, social and personal services
16. Other service activities
17. Extraterritorial organizations and bodies

Language

The language data collected during the migration survey refer to language knowledge of the respondent. The following languages were discerned:

- Papiamentu;
- English;
- Dutch;
- Spanish;
- Portuguese;
- French
- Chinese
- Patois
- German
- Sranan Tongo
- Other language(s).

Living together on a durable basis

The survey also provides information on consensual bonds between two persons. These persons may be married, but not to each other.

Main Migration Actor (MMA)

The member of the family (in a migrant household), who:

- was born outside Aruba, and has been living on the island for one year or longer. If the person has been living on the island for less than one year, he/she intends to remain on the island for one year or more;
- did not arrive on Aruba more than 10 years before the moment of the interview, thus migrated to Aruba after April 30 1993;
- if more than one person was eligible to be the MMA, the person who arrived on Aruba first. If there was still more than one candidate, the oldest was chosen.

Marital status

There are five categories of marital status of a person:

- Never-married;
- Married;
- Divorced;
- Legally separated;
- Widowed.

Note that these categories indicate the legal status of the person. If a man is married, but is no longer living together with his wife, his marital status remains 'married'. A clear distinction should be made between 'divorced' and 'legally separated'.

Divorced: Refers to the situation where the marriage has been terminated through a legal verdict.

Legally separated: According to the Civil Code (art.154, par.1) married persons are compelled to live together. If, for one reason or the other, the couple are no longer able to live together, they can request the court of law for either a formal divorce, or a legal separation. Under a legal separation, the spouses are exempted from their obligation to live together. However, the legal bond between the spouses remains unaltered.

Migrant

A migrant (also recent migrant) is a person not born on Aruba who came to live on the island in the ten years directly preceding the survey, i.e. after April 30 1993.

Interesting for this study is the Main Migration Actor (MMA) (see above).

Migrant household

- **Migrant household:**
A migrant household is defined as a household in which at least one member is foreign-born and who came to live on the island in the ten years directly preceding the survey, i.e. after April 30 1993.
- **Non-migrant household:**
A household that consists only of persons born on Aruba, or of foreign-born persons who had been living on the island for 10 years or more on the date of the survey.

Nationality

Arubans have the Dutch nationality. Arubans are persons born on the island who possess the Dutch nationality. In the migration survey, persons with more than one nationality were classified under the nationality they considered the most important.

Native and foreign-born population

'Native population' refers to the persons born on Aruba. 'Foreign-born population' refers to the persons born outside Aruba. Note that the country of birth is not necessarily the country of nationality. Information about country of birth is given according to national boundaries existing at the time of the survey. Also, the country of birth is only separately stated in the tables if the total number of persons from that country is considerable. Other countries are grouped into regional rest categories.

Non-migrant household

A household consisting of all persons born on Aruba, or all foreign-born persons who had been living on the island for more than 10 years at the time of the survey.

Quality of construction

Quality of construction of the living quarters stands for the overall condition of the building, or part of the building, where the living quarters are located. The quality of construction of the living quarters was evaluated by the enumerator. To ascertain the quality of construction of the living quarters, the enumerators were asked to assess the condition of five major elements of the building, or part of the building, of the living quarters:

- the roof;
- the walls;
- the floor;
- the ceiling, and
- the doors, windows, and frames.

The condition of every single element is determined to be good, sufficient, poor, or very poor:

- Good: the element is in good condition;
- Sufficient: the element shows small deficiencies which can be repaired by normal maintenance;
- Poor: the element shows major deficiencies which cannot be repaired by maintenance;
- Very poor: significant parts of the element show very serious deficiencies which cannot be repaired anymore, but have to be replaced.

Reference person

The reference person is the member of the household who is either:

- the legal owner of the housing unit, or
- the person responsible for paying the rent.

Where no or more than one reference persons in one housing unit can be determined, the oldest household members is taken as the reference person. This occurs, for instance, in cases of combined ownership and rent-free housing units.

The reference person is s the focal point to whom the relationship of all other members of the household is established. The following kinds of relationships are distinguished:

- Reference person;
- Spouse of reference person;
- Child of reference person or of spouse of reference person;
- Parent of reference person;
- Parent-in-law of reference person;
- Brother or sister of reference person;
- Brother- or sister-in-law of reference person;
- Son- or daughter-in-law of reference person;
- Grandchild or great grandchild of reference person;
- Other relative of reference person;
- Domestic servant;
- Other person not related to reference person

Remittances

Remittances are the proportion of the migrant's income that is sent abroad.

School-attending population

The school-attending population consists of persons enrolled in a regular education program. A regular program normally spans a period of more than one year and leads to an accredited diploma.

The program can be attended during the day or in the evening hours. A regular program can normally be considered to be full-time education.

A few examples of regular programs on Aruba are: primary school, ETAO, International School, VWO, IPA, LTO, MAO, University of Aruba, Police school, MOVAA.

Various data users are interested in information about kindergartens, play-schools, and day nurseries. Therefore, children attending pre-primary schools were also considered to be in regular education.

Status in employment

Status in employment refers to the status of an economically active person with respect to his or her employment. The following categories are distinguished:

- *Employer:*
A person who, as an owner, directs a business and employs three or more persons. It should be clear that a household is not a business. A housewife who has three housemaids is not an employer. The director of a foundation, an incorporated business, or government organization is also not an employer.
- *Own account worker/small employer:*
An 'own account worker' or a 'small employer' is an independent, economically active person who employs fewer than three persons. A carpenter, for instance, who works on his own without any employees is a 'small employer/own account worker'.
- *Employee:*
An employee is a person who works for a public or private employer and receives remuneration in wages, salary, commission, tips, piece-rates, or pay in kind. A distinction is made between 'Employee with a permanent job' and 'Employee with a temporary job'. 'Employees with a permanent job' consist of those persons who, by written or verbal contract, have been hired for a period of six months or longer. 'Employees with a temporary job' include those employees who are hired for less than six months, with or without a contract. A person who does odd jobs for several days at a time, is also classified under this category.
- *Unpaid family worker:*
An 'unpaid family worker' is usually a person who works without pay in an economic enterprise operated by a related person living in the same household.
- *Other:*
This category consists of workers such as members of producers' cooperatives.

Type of housing unit

Housing units are divided into five categories:

1. House: a building consisting of a suite of rooms and its accessories.
2. Apartment/room: An apartment in Aruba is generally considered to be either one of several housing units in a larger building or an annex or small construction in the garden which is used separately by a household.
3. A room within a house may also be occupied by a separate household. For instance, a housemaid not belonging to the household of the employer may in some cases occupy a segregated room in the house.
4. Trailer/container: The most important characteristic of a trailer is that it is built on a chassis. The wheels of the trailer may have been removed, but having a chassis on which wheels can be mounted is essential. In a few cases, containers normally used for the shipment of goods have been converted to serve as a small housing unit.
5. Cuarto: a cuarto usually has the following characteristics:

- mostly made of wood or metal sheets and not movable;
 - separated from the main building;
 - often no facilities such as water and electricity;
 - mostly one room only, sometimes with an improvised section used as a kitchen or bedroom;
 - usually intended for temporary habitation.
6. Other: Any kind of housing unit, not included in one of the four previous categories.

Unattached persons

An unattached person is defined as someone who does not form part of a family nucleus. Depending on which approach is used a more specific definition can be given of an unattached person:

- Formal approach
An unattached person is someone with no spouse and no never-married children in the household. An unattached person does not fall under any of the types of conjugal family nuclei mentioned under the 'formal approach'.
- Sociological approach
An unattached person here has the same characteristics as in the formal approach. In addition, the person should not be living together on a durable basis with a partner and should not have children in the same household who are living together with a companion.

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