

Occupational Status Attainment and Intergenerational Occupation Reproduction among Surinamese in Suriname and Surinamese abroad

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Previous presentation / papers

- Presentations

- Utrecht (NSV Dag van de Sociologie), May 12, 2012 [Dutch version]
- Charlotte (VI), August 15, 2012.
- Milano IT, August 29, 2017
- Cambridge Stratification Seminar, Cambridge UK, September 7, 2018
- NSV Dag van de Sociologie, online, June 8, 2021.
- SILC Seminar VU University, online, June 22, 2021.

- Papers:

- Dewki, V. (2019). Sociale Mobiliteit en Statusverwerving van Surinamers in Suriname en Surinamers in Nederland [*BA Thesis*]. Opleiding Sociologie Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.
- Ganzeboom, H. B., & Sno, T. E. (2012). Sociale mobiliteit en statusverwerving van Surinamers in Suriname en Surinamers in Nederland. [*Working paper*]. Department of Sociology VU University.

Suriname in South-America



Suriname



Suriname and the Netherlands

- Colony until 1975 (since 1667)
- Surinamese are now one of the largest migrant groups
- 350.000 inhabitants of Surinamese descent
 - 175.000 second generation
- Population of SR now: 590.000

Suriname

- Colonial history with NL (1667 – 1975)
- Plantation economy: slavery, contract labor → Ethnic diversity
- Common language: Dutch (education, media, politics)
- Independence in 1975
- 1980-1992 military regime (“Sergeants’ coup”)
- Since Independent the Suriname economy has been consistently in decline
- Enormous out-migration
 - Major outflow before and around Independence
 - Continues to this date
 - About half of people of Surinamese descent (including 2nd and 3rd generation) lives abroad, some 80% (??) in the Netherlands)

Ethnicity

- Multiple ethnicities in SR
 - Creole (afro-caribbeans)
 - Hindustani (Indo-caribbeans)
 - Javanese (Indonesia)
 - Maroon
 - Chinese
 - Native
 - Mixed

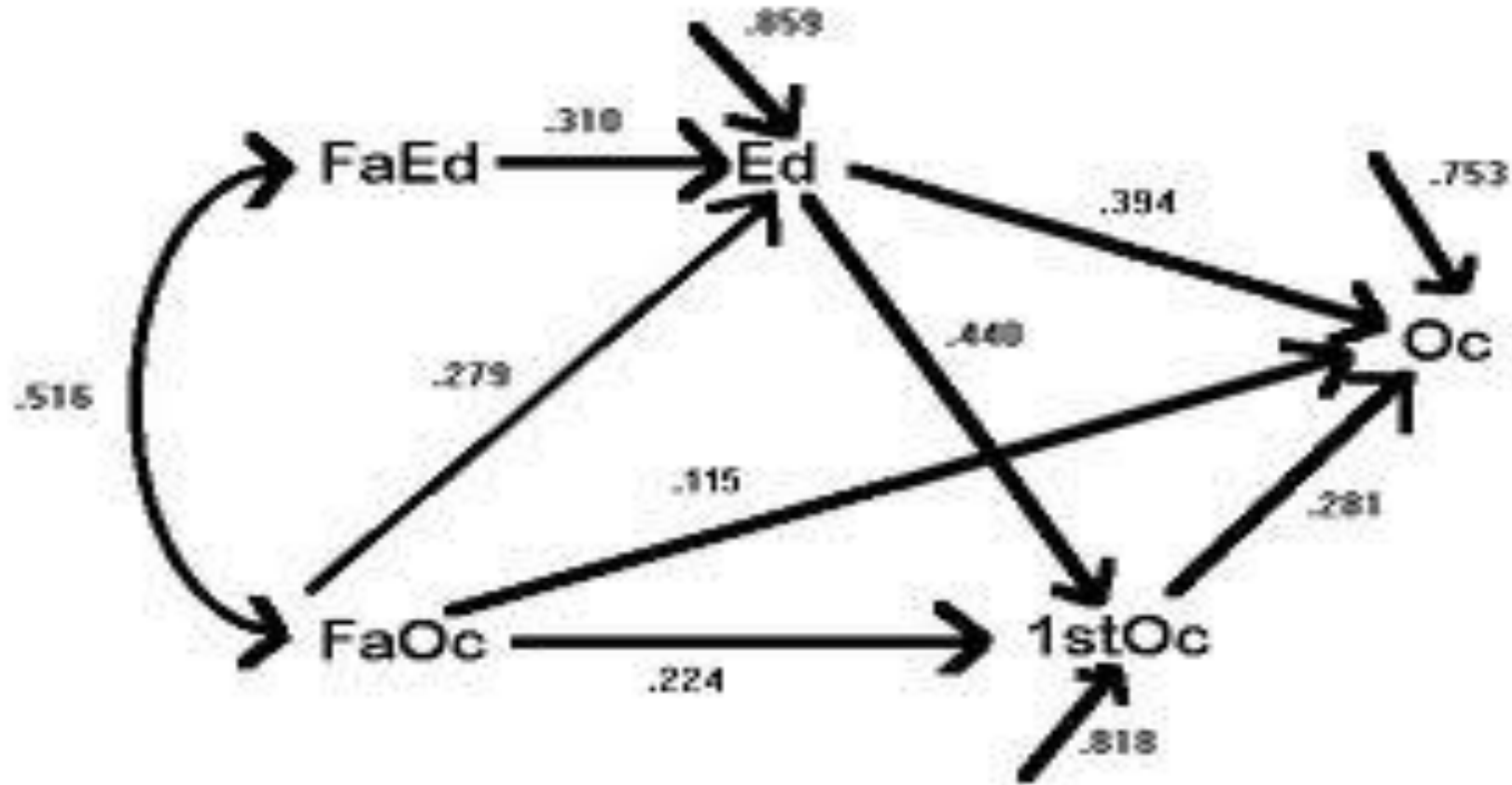




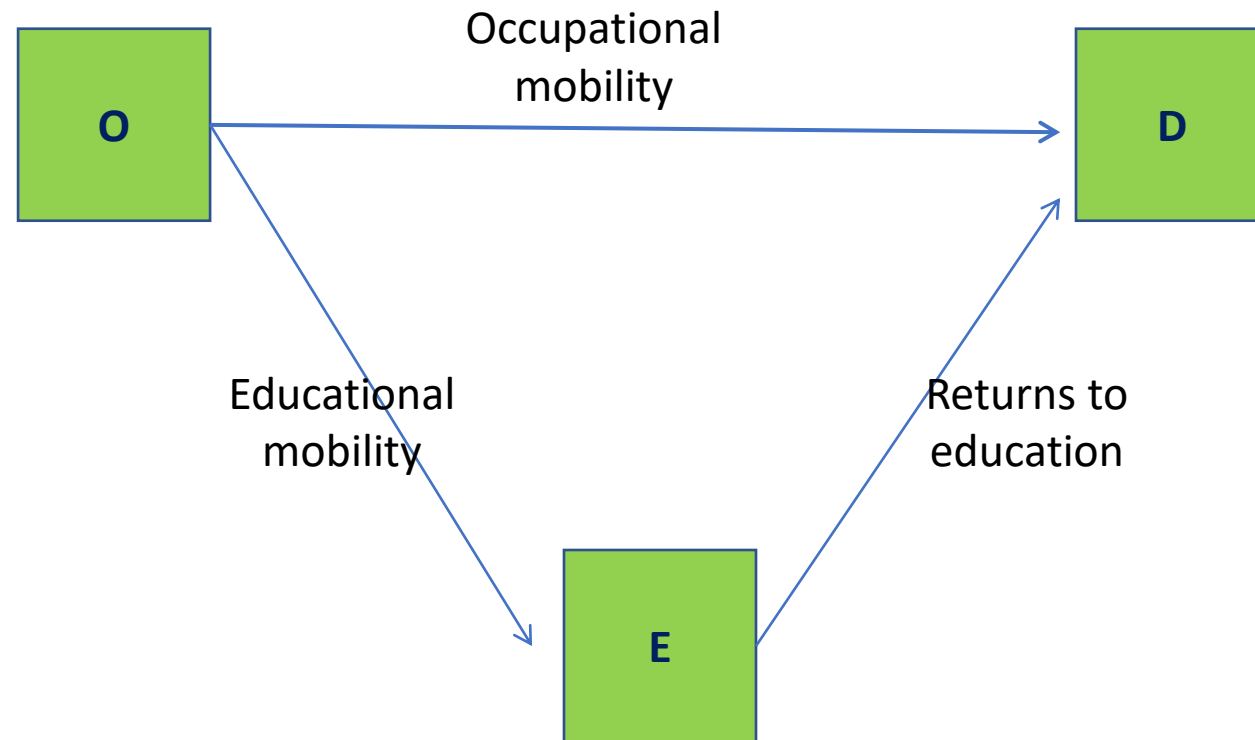
Dewki, Ganzeboom, Sno - Migration of Surinamese

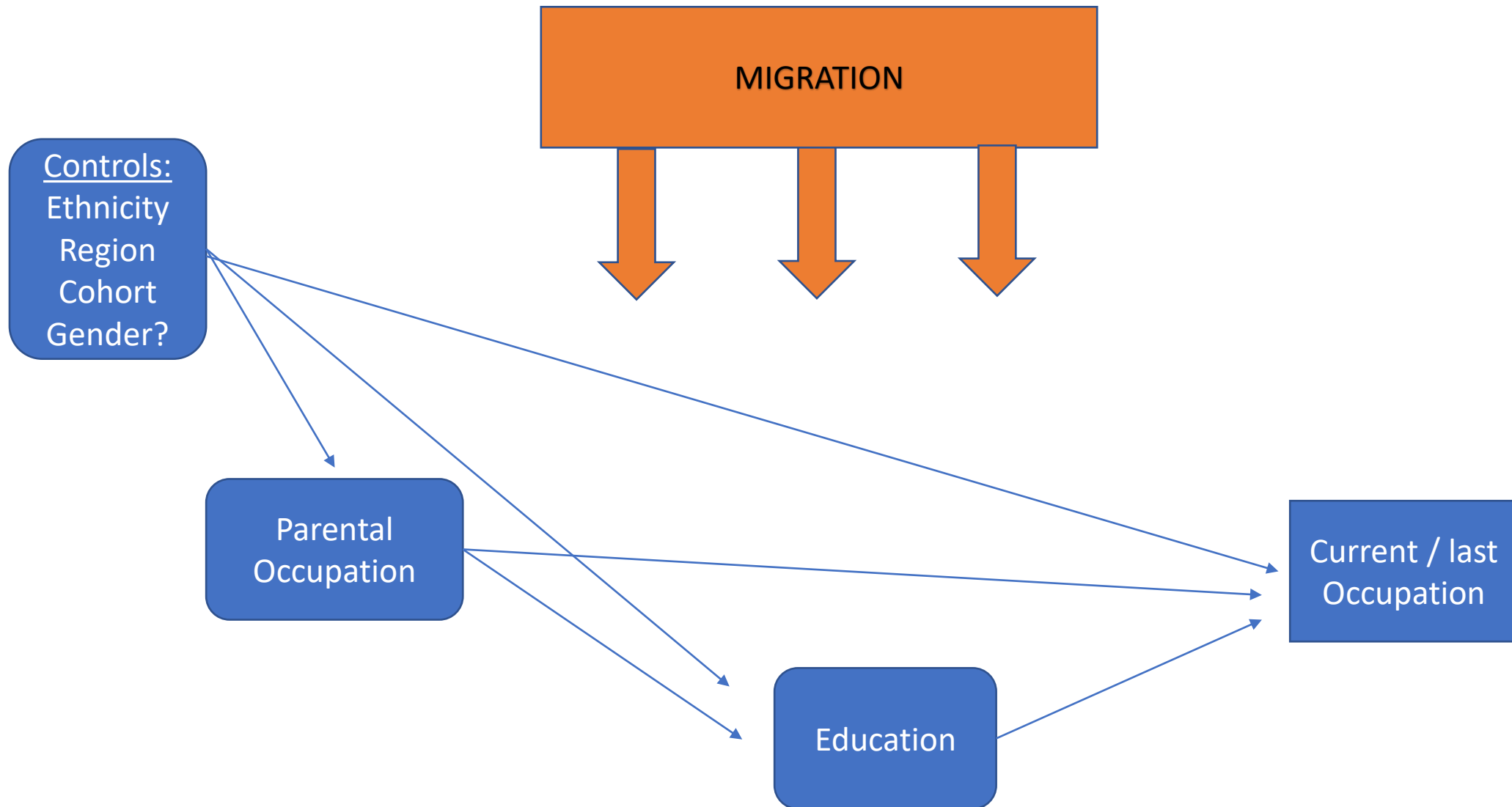
Occupational status attainment and intergenerational occupational reproduction

Blau & Duncan, US men 1962

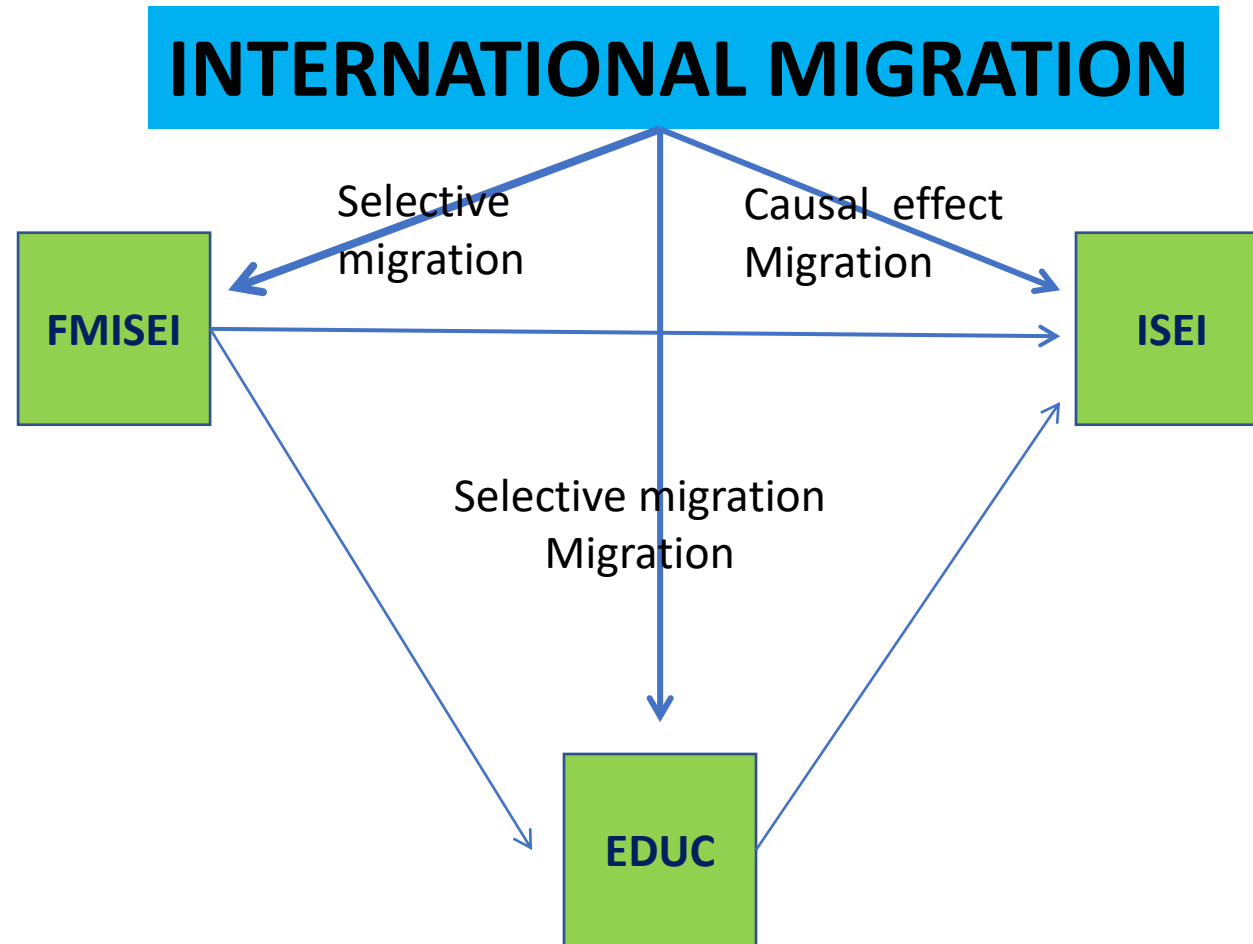


OED: simplified SAT model



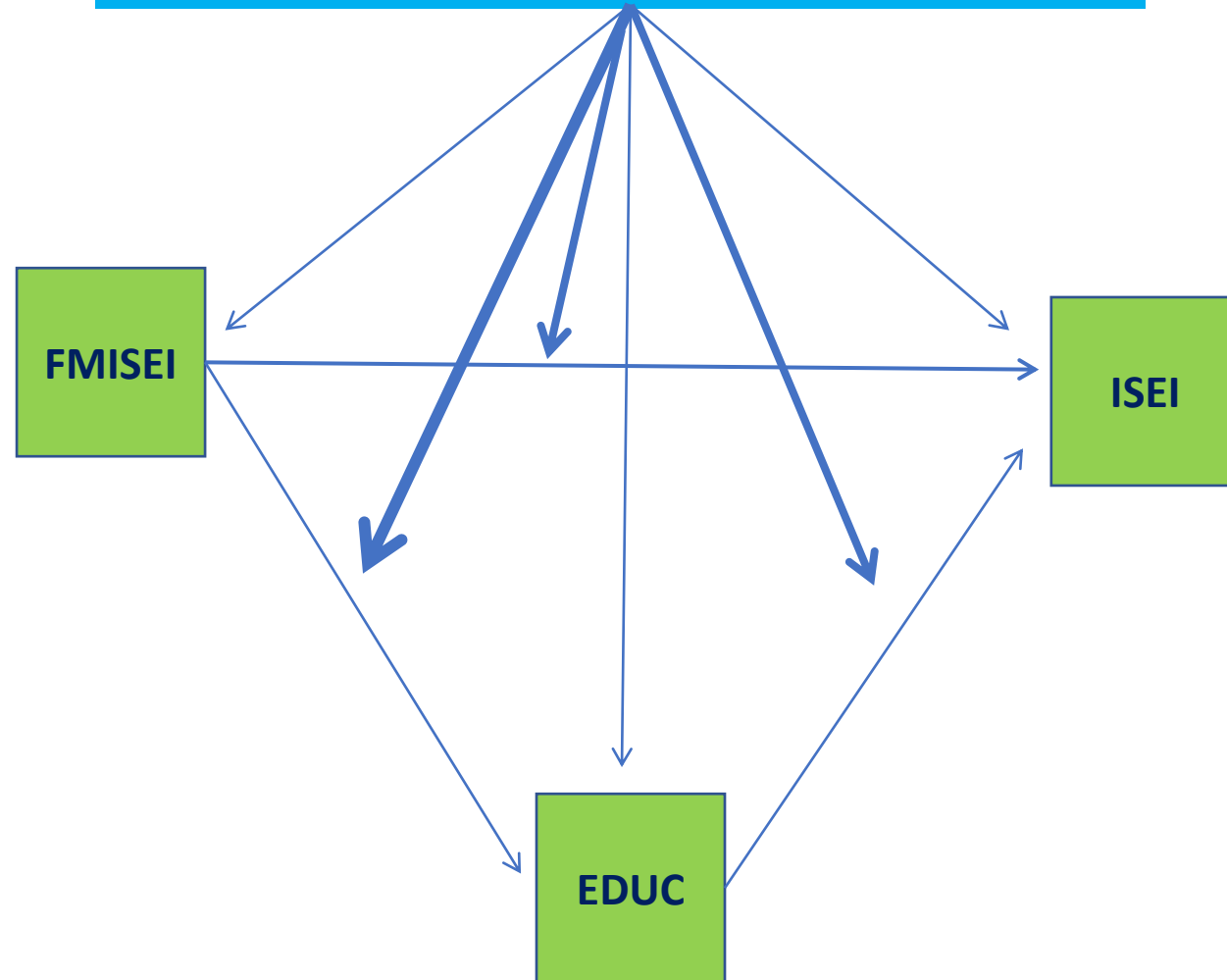


Effects on Status attainment



Intergenerational occupational reproduction
(= intergenerational occupational mobility)

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION



Structural and relative mobility

- Observed mobility = relationship between origin and destination status
- Social mobility is commonly understood as upward mobility. No attention to downward mobility, or the distinction between structural and relative mobility.
- Stratification research separates observed mobility:
 - Structural (or: collective) mobility – the **differences** between origin and destination distributions.
 - Relative (or: individual mobility) – the **association** between origins and destinations.
- In mobility table analysis, the distinction is also known as marginal mobility and social fluidity.

Structural and relative mobility in OLS

- McClendon, McKee J. 1977. “Structural and Exchange Components of Vertical Mobility.” *American Sociological Review* 42 (1): 56–74.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2117731>.
- When seen from a linear regression perspective, the distinction between structural and relative mobility arises as the **difference** between the **averages** of the origin and destinations [and is observed in the **intercept / main effects**] and the [standardized] **slope** of the linear equation

Theory – standard expectations

- ***Migration causes mobility:***
 - **Upward** structural (collective) mobility: migrants move because they expect to be better off in the destination than in the origin country.
 - **More** relative (individual) mobility: migrants become disconnected from their resources and restrictions at origins.
- Possible criticism:
 - How can you separate causal and selection effects?
 - Expectation on upward structural mobility applies better to income than to occupations.
 - Expectation on structural mobility applies better to next generation than to the migrant generation (migrants move because of the future of their children)

Standard hypotheses on the effect of international migration on OED model

On the main effects of international migration:

- Selective migration:
 - (O) higher status background leads to migration; migrant have higher backgrounds than non-migrants
- Migration leads to higher status attainment
 - (D) Migrants achieve a better (paid) occupation/job than they would have had if they had stayed in the country of origin
- Migration leads to social mobility
 - (O → D) The occupational status of migrants is less strong associated with the occupational status of the parents. International migration leads to a weaker direct influence of parental status on the attained/achieved occupation.

Standard hypotheses (continued)

On the indirect effect:

- The indirect effect ($O \rightarrow E \rightarrow D$) will be weaker for migrants:
 - We expect more educational mobility ($O \rightarrow E$) amongst migrants than on those who stayed behind. (??).
 - Education is less valuable ($E \rightarrow D$) in the country of destination than in the country of origin.

Research questions

- Does migration lead to a upward structural mobility, in particular with respect to occupation?
- Does migration lead to more relative mobility?
- How does occupational status attainment and intergenerational occupational reproductions differ between Afro- and Asian Surinamese?

Design: origins-of-migration

- Most migration research compares multiple migrant groups with each other.
 - = irrelevant from the migrant perspective.
- We compare Surinamese in NL vs. Surinamese in SR
 - Is it beneficial to migrate?
- Origins-of-migration design compares migrants to comparators 'left behind'.
- The idea is to create a counterfactual perspective as perceived by the migrants: *what would have happened to me when I had not migrated?*

Sibling design

- Of course, you cannot be a migrant and a non-migrant at the same time...
- But by taking a sibling design you can control origins to a high degree:
 - Observed measurement of all shared background (observed: parental socio-economic status, region, ethnicity; and unobserved)
 - Sibling fixed-effects to control for unobserved family

Origins of migration design with siblings – comparing migrants to their sibling who did not migrate

- Creates a counterfactual perspective on migration by comparing migrants to non-migrants in origin countries.
 - Selection on **observed** characteristics: education, parental status, region, ethnicity etc.
 - Selection on **unobserved** family characteristics: sibling fixed effects
- Natural perspective on multiple destinations: where did migrants go?
- Perspective on those who stayed behind: brain drain / gain, increase mobility to fill up the empty places.

Data: the five Surinamese Mobility surveys

- 5 nation-wide social mobility surveys held in Suriname
 - 1992 Ligeon survey (only urban)
 - 2012 SURMOB
 - 2018 SURMOB
 - 2020 SURMOB
 - 2023 SURMOB
- Proxy-info on siblings
 - Some live abroad

Data: origins of migration

- Data on migrants are obtained by proxy:
 - [Representative] Random sample of respondents in Suriname
 - Please identify your nearest sibling / four nearest siblings
 - Where (in which country) are these siblings located now?
 - Age and gender of sibling(s).
 - Education, first and current/last occupation of siblings.
 - Destination country
 - (Age of migration)
 - (Country of education)
 - (Country of first and current occupations)
- It is assumed that respondent and sibling(s) share the same parents.

Sibling information

- In 1993-2012 the sibling nearest in age.
- In 2018-2023 the four siblings nearest in age.
- Sibling information is always PROXY information.
- This makes that the best comparison probably is between siblings who migrated and siblings who did not migrate.
- Respondents are siblings who did not migrate, but have not been measured by proxy.

Complications of the design

- Complications:
 - No sibling
 - Sibling not born in SR
 - Respondents not born in SR
 - Sibling too old / too young
 - No (occupational) information / proxy information

Data imperfections

- Age of migration and country of education was asked in 2018 - 2023. **It can be approximated in 2012.**
- Exact country of first and current/last occupation was only asked in 2020 and 2023. In 1992-2018 it can be approximated.
- Education and occupation of sibling was asked in a crude way in 2018 and 2020.

How to measure origin status

How to measure origin status of migrants?

- We compare migrants and non-migrants between two contexts: Suriname and abroad (mostly NL).
- It has been argued in the migration literature that origin status ('pre-migration characteristics') must be measured sensitive to the origin context.
- (This argument has mainly been raised when comparing different migrant groups, or migrants and non-migrants).
- Does this apply to:
 - Comparing migrants (in NL) to non-migrants (in SR!)?
 - Comparing offspring (respondents and siblings) to their parents?

ISEI and SRSEI

- Sno & Ganzeboom (2017) have developed an SRSEI measure of occupational status as a country-specific alternative to ISEI.
- SRSEI and ISEI are strongly correlated (0.90), but not perfectly.
- SRSEI is argued to be a upto 5-10% better measure (attenuation of correlations / covariances).
- SRSEI strikingly differs from ISEI for some typical Surinamese occupations: subsistence farmer ('kostgrondbewerker'), goldminer, informal sales, and generally workers in the informal economy ('hosselaar').
- Notice that the relationship between SRSEI and ISEI is stronger outside Suriname, because such country-specific occupations do not exist abroad.

ISLED and SRLED

- ISLED (International Standard Level of Education) is a continuous comparative scale of educational stratification, based on detailed qualifications classified by ISCED [International Classification of Education]. Developed by Schröder & Ganzeboom (2014).
- SRLED is a country-specific scale of education, developed for Suriname by Sno & Ganzeboom (2023). It is very similar to ISLED, but in contrast sensitive to incomplete qualifications.

Pattern of migration

- 6500 primary respondents and 9500 siblings.
- 1583 to NL
- 500 to CARA: Guyana, French Guyana and Brazil (neighbours).
- 200 to US, Europe, NL Antillian islands
- 7000 siblings are confirmed non-migrants (in Suriname)
- 700 siblings uncertain

Selections

- 2300 migrants:
 - NOT: migrants to neighboring countries
 - Aged 25-64
 - Valid education and (first and/or) current occupation
- Comparators
 - Respondents
 - Non-migrant siblings
- Missing on parental occ
 - Substituted by mean parental occupation
 - + control for MV substitution

Groups to compare

- Migrating siblings
 - NL: Netherlands
 - US: US and other western countries
 - CARA: Caribbean and South-America
- Non-migrating siblings
- Respondents
 - With migrating siblings
 - With non-migration siblings

Table 2: Descriptive statistics by Migrant Groups & Year of Survey

YEAR		N of Cases	FEMALE	COHORT	AGE	SibMig-Age	FMEDUC	EDUC	FMISEI	ISEI1	ISEI
1993	0 Respondent	342	.49	1959.5	38.2		6.87	5.299	38.8	44.9	47.8
	1 Sib-NonMig	226	.46	1960.5	34.9		6.61	7.849	37.8		43.7
	2 Sib-Migrant	87	.47	1957.4	39.4		7.43	8.957	40.8		47.3
	Total	655	.48	1959.6	37.3		6.86	6.600	38.7	44.9	46.3
2012	0 Respondent	3929	.61	1970.8	43.1		4.54	6.110	29.0	35.0	37.2
	1 Sib-NonMig	2845	.50	1971.6	40.9		4.37	7.273	28.2	35.3	36.1
	2 Sib-Migrant	766	.52	1968.0	46.6		4.90	8.686	30.6	40.7	43.1
	Total	7540	.56	1970.8	42.6		4.51	6.765	28.8	35.6	37.3
2018	0 Respondent	1273	.57	1974.1	45.1		4.34	7.682	28.8	35.3	35.6
	1 Sib-NonMig	2252	.47	1974.9	43.3		3.88	6.800	26.7	35.0	36.0
	2 Sib-Migrant	708	.46	1970.2	52.8	24.8	5.07	8.696	33.2	44.6	46.2
	Total	4233	.50	1973.8	45.5	24.8	4.21	7.380	28.4	36.5	37.5
2020	0 Respondent	1044	.58	1975.0	44.8		4.75	8.320	30.8	37.3	37.6
	1 Sib-NonMig	1803	.49	1975.6	43.1		4.27	7.007	29.5	35.9	36.6
	2 Sib-Migrant	655	.45	1972.3	50.8	24.4	4.80	8.826	31.5	42.9	43.3
	Total	3502	.51	1974.8	45.1	24.4	4.51	7.750	30.3	37.6	38.1
2023	0 Respondent	1523	.57	1974.6	44.2		5.43	8.793	31.4	38.0	41.5
	1 Sib-NonMig	2459	.45	1975.3	43.3		4.87	7.173	29.1	36.6	38.2
	2 Sib-Migrant	503	.48	1972.0	51.8	24.1	6.02	9.054	33.0	45.8	48.6
	Total	4485	.49	1974.7	44.7	24.1	5.17	8.010	30.3	38.3	40.6
Total	0 Respondent	8111	.59	1972.1	43.6		4.77	7.103	30.0	36.3	38.2
	1 Sib-NonMig	9585	.48	1973.9	42.3		4.40	7.107	28.5	35.6	36.8
	2 Sib-Migrant	2719	.48	1970.1	50.0	24.5	5.19	8.793	32.3	43.1	44.9
	Total	20415	.52	1972.7	43.9	24.5	4.65	7.297	29.6	36.8	38.4

Missing values

- Missing values arise disproportionately in sibling, because it is proxy information
- Missing values are more frequent for occupation than for education
- We treat missing values by MLMV in SEM (=available information analysis).

Model: OLS

- Outcome: current or last occupation, measured in ISEI
- Focal causal variable: mean / highest occupation of father and mother, measured in SRSEI and ISEI.
- Mediator: Education
- Controls:
 - Ethnicity (8 categories)
 - Region of origin (4 categories)
 - Gender (2 categories)
 - (Birth) Cohorts (6 categories, scaled 0..1 in interactions.
 - Age and age**2.
- Moderator: asian vs. non-asian ethnicity (2 categories)
- Further selection:
 - Educated in Suriname
 - Migrated after age 18.

Sibling fixed-effects

- **Not yet implemented**
- Replaced by comparing:
 - MIGFAM (0/1) whether you belong to a family with at least one migrant
 - MIGRANT (0/1) whether you are a migrant yourself.
- (All migrants are sibling measure by proxy, not respondents.)

Sample

Table 1: Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample

	Sibling	FEMALE	AGE	zEDUC	zFMISEI	zISEI1	zISEI
	Non-Migrants (N=5500)						
Afro	46.5%	55.0%	42.1	-.001	.085	-.021	-.007
Asian	49.6%	53.7%	43.6	-.040	-.174	-.076	-.100
	Migrants (N=1500)						
Afro	100.0%	48.7%	46.1	.141	.338	.398	.409
Asian	100.0%	52.5%	48.3	.109	-.086	.222	.226

Patterns of migration

Pattern of migration

- Year of migration
- Destinations
- (Ethnic) origins
- Gender

Destination by Ethnicity

Migration per ethnic group (row-percentages)						
	Smigrant migration status sibling				Total	
	Non-Migrant	NL	US	CARA		
1 Creole	73.3%	22.4%	2.1%	2.2%	100.0%	719
2 Hindo	79.0%	19.4%	1.1%	0.4%	100.0%	902
3 Javanese	88.0%	10.0%	0.8%	1.2%	100.0%	510
4 Marroon	87.0%	6.0%	1.5%	5.5%	100.0%	585
5 Natives	80.0%	2.5%		17.5%	100.0%	80
6 Chinese	50.0%	42.9%	7.1%		100.0%	14
7 Mixed	72.2%	22.7%	1.9%	3.2%	100.0%	370
	79.7%	16.2%	1.4%	2.6%	100.0%	3180

EDUCATION

Table 1: Determinants of Education (Standardized)

	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>		<u>Model 4</u>		<u>Model 5</u>		<u>Model 6</u>	
	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t
CONSTANT	-0.071	3.4	-0.070	3.4	-0.070	3.4	-0.062	3.1	-0.062	3.1	-0.066	3.3
cAGE	-0.023	22.1	-0.023	22.3	-0.023	22.3	-0.020	19.3	-0.020	19.2	-0.020	19.5
FEMALE	-0.016	0.6	-0.017	0.7	-0.017	0.7	0.001	0.1	0.001	0.0	0.008	0.3
MIGFAM	0.402	10.6	0		0		0		0		0	
NL			0.473	12.1	0.384	8.9	0.312	7.6	0.313	7.5	0.300	7.2
US			0.608	4.2	0.515	3.5	0.434	3.2	0.435	3.2	0.421	3.1
CA			-0.124	1.1	-0.217	2.0	-0.251	2.6	-0.253	2.6	xx	
MIGRANT					0.196	4.6	0.196	4.6	0.202	4.7	0.235	5.1
zFMISEI							0.295	18.1	0.301	17.7	0.298	15.8
zFMISEI*MIGFAM									0.016	0.4	0.019	0.4
zFMISEI*MIGRANT									-0.061	1.4	-0.092	2.0
	11.2%		12.1%		12.4%		20.8%		20.8%		21.1%	

Findings 1: Selective Migration

- Who are more likely to migrate?
- Higher educated
- High SES family (parents with high occ.)
- Older cohorts
- Does migration from SR to NL differ from migration to other destination countries?

OCCUPATION

Table 5: Intergenerational Occupational Reproduction (Standardized)

	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>		<u>Model 4</u>		<u>Model 5</u>	
	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t
CONSTANT	-0.108	5.3	-0.107	5.2	-0.097	4.9	-0.097	4.9	-0.100	5
cAGE	-0.005	4.0	-0.005	4.1	-0.002	2.0	-0.002	2.0	-0.003	2.1
FEMALE	0.117	3.9	0.113	3.7	0.107	3.6	0.107	3.6	0.113	3.8
MIGFAM	0.273	6.4	0		0		0		0	
NL			0.253	5.0	0.195	3.9	0.202	3.9	0.213	4.1
US			0.446	2.9	0.358	2.4	0.371	2.5	0.385	2.6
CARA			-0.185	1.8	-0.237	2.4	-0.230	2.3		
MIGRANT			0.166	2.8	0.144	2.4	0.146	2.4	0.123	1.8
zFMISEI					0.247	14.7	0.261	13.6	0.261	13.5
zFMISEI*MIGFAM							-0.056	1.3	-0.069	1.5
zFMISEI*MIGRANT							0.004	0.1	0.012	0.2
	1.8%		2.6%		8.3%		8.4%		8.3%	

Table 6: Determinants of Occupation (Standardized)

	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>		<u>Model 4</u>		<u>Model 5</u>	
	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t
CONSTANT	-0.101	5.1	-0.077	4.5	-0.077	4.4	-0.077	4.4	-0.077	4.1
cAGE	-0.002	2.0	0.007	6.7	0.007	6.7	0.007	6.7	0.007	6.5
FEMALE	0.115	3.8	0.007	0.3	0.005	0,2	0.006	0.2	0.005	0.7
MIGFAM	0		0		0		0		0	
NL	0.203	4.0	0.052	1.2	0.057	1.3	0.052	1.3	0.052	1.1
US	0.368	2.5	0.113	1.0	0.130	1.1	0.121	1.1	0.119	0.9
CARA	-0.236	2.4	-0.086	1.0	-0.100	1.2	-0.099	1.2	-0.102	1.4
MIGRANT	0.206	2.6	0.053	0.8	0.081	1.1	0.086	1.1	0.042	0.7
MIGRANT*FEMALE	-0.116	1.1	-0.139	1.5	-0.128	1.4	-0.127	1.4	-0.012	0.4
zFMISEI	0.261	13.6	0.094	6.0	0.090	5.7	0.091	5.7	0.092	6.0
zFMISEI*MIGFAM	-0.056	1.3	-0.061	1.6	-0.054	1.3	-0.061	1.3	-0.061	1.7
zFMISEI*MIGRANT	0.005	0.1	0.057	1.2	0.078	1.5	0.084	1.5	0.066	1.3
zEDUC			0.470	24.2	0.481	22.9	0.477	22.9	0.469	38.1
zEDUC*FEMALE			0.191	7.5	0.192	7.6	0.192	7.6	0.209	7.9
zEDUC*MIGFAM					-0.029	0.7				
zEDUC*MIGRANT					-0.065	1.0	-0.089	1.7	0.023	1.8
zEDUC*MIGRANT*FEMALE									-0.228	2.4
	8.4%		35.8%		35.9%		35.8%		36.0%	

Findings 3: By Ethnicity

Table 3: Occupational attainment of Afro- and Asian Surinamese

	<u>All</u>		<u>Afro</u>		<u>Indo</u>		<u>Dif</u>
Parameter	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	t
Intercept	-.109	.011	-.087	.014	-.135	.016	2.2
ZAGE	.036	.010	.067	.014	-.001	.016	3.2
ZFMISEI	.131	.011	.135	.014	.115	.018	0.1
ZEDUC	.545	.012	.525	.016	.569	.019	1.6
migrant	.242	.032	.249	.044	.221	.049	0.5
ZFMISEI * migrant	.004	.029	.009	.036	-.028	.050	1.0
ZEDUC * migrant	-.201	.028	-.219	.035	-.158	.046	1.2

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Boodschappen Madrid

- Siblings zijn wel goed matches, maar niet perfect om select op familie-effecten te controleren. Er is ook zoiets als een familie-strategie over welke sibling er gestuurd zal worden: de slimste of juist de domste (Lucinda).
- Misschien kunnen we MV strategie doen met group() in SEM.
- Meer opzetten vanuit origins-of-migration:
 - % migranten per ethniciteit, cohort etc.
 - Multiple destinations.