

1a. Details of PhD student

- Name, title(s): Sno, Tamira (drs.)
- Male/female: Female
- University, Department (or institute):
VU University Amsterdam, Faculty of Social Sciences,
Department of Social Research Methodology
- Address for correspondence:
Tamira Sno
Carolina Mac Gillavrylaan 1742
1098 XE Amsterdam
- Telephone: 0637021982
- E-mail: T.Sno@fsw.vu.nl

1b. Title of research proposal

Status Attainment and Social Mobility in Suriname

(NL: Statusverwerving en sociale mobiliteit in Suriname)

1c Abstract

The aim of the proposed project is to analyze and explain patterns of social mobility among Surinamese in Suriname during the last 40 years by examining patterns of educational and occupational status attainment relative to social background, using a cohort perspective. Suriname represents a unique and important case for such a study for two main reasons. First, it is an ethnically differentiated society without apparent sharp social inequality. By contrast, many other ethnically differentiated societies (e.g. Brazil, India, South Africa) are strongly stratified, which leads to high levels of intergenerational reproduction. Our major explanatory question here is why this does not seem to generalize to Suriname? Secondly, as a result of political and socioeconomic developments, Suriname has experienced extreme flows of out-migration from the 1960s until the 1990s. The country has one of the world's largest populations of expatriate nationals, with almost 1/3 of its population residing abroad. The major questions of interest that arise here are on the effects of out-migration on the occupational status attainment of those who stay: who have filled the positions that became vacant as a result of this huge out-migration and how has this affected the quality of candidates? How have these developments affected social mobility in total?

In order to address these questions we will implement a large-scale nationwide survey of occupational and migration careers among approximately 4,000 to 5,000 respondents in Suriname.

1d MAGW discipline and max. 5 keywords

MAGW discipline codes:

- 41032 Race and class
- 41050 Stratification, mobility and inequality
- 44013 Migration patterns

Keywords: status attainment, social stratification, migration, social mobility

1e-1 Complete names dissertation supervision team

Prof. dr. Harry B. G. Ganzeboom promotor
Dr. John Schuster co-promotor

1e-1 Past performance supervisor on PHD's

Name of PhD student:	year of PhD ceremony
Damens, Marie-Louise	2010
Buis, Maarten	2010
Mooi-Reci, Irma	2008
Verhoeven, Willem-Jan	2007
Vermeij, Lotte	2006
Hansen, Johan	2005

Appointment and funding

2a. PhD (maximum 4 years 1.0 fte or 5 years 0.8 fte)

Number of years and fte
4 years, 1.0 fte/year

2b. Starting date PhD project

January 1st 2011

2c Funding

NUFFIC / Anton de Kom University of Suriname [ADEKUS]

2d Research costs

See budget for survey in appendix. The budget is partly covered by a NUFFIC fellowship and partly by other sources to be acquired by ADEKUS.

Research proposal

3. Description on the proposed research

The study of the transmission of socio-economic (dis)advantage from parents to offspring is one of the core problems in sociology (Ganzeboom, Treiman and Ultee, 1991). Social mobility (i.e. if family origin does not determine status destinations; the reversed pattern is often referred to as social reproduction) is traditionally seen as the main indicator of a society's openness and fairness. Patterns and trends in social mobility have been elaborately documented for a wide variety of countries, mostly in Europe, North-America and East-Asia, but also in Latin America, South Asia and Africa. We propose a large-scale study of status attainment and social mobility in Suriname, which is at present completely absent in

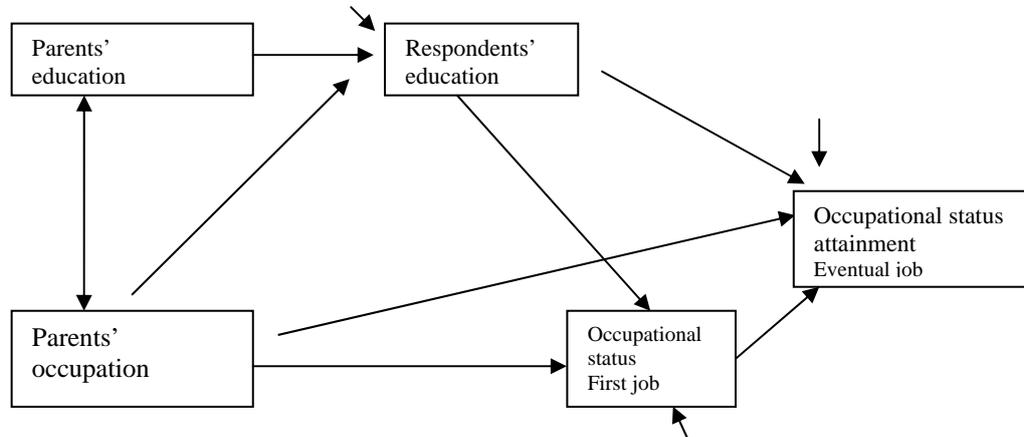
comparative studies, but would be an extremely relevant case to take into account in a comparative perspective for a number of reasons. First, international research in this field is clearly biased towards wealthy nations, and patterns of social mobility in developing nations are underdocumented, despite strong claims in the research literature that social and economic development conditions social mobility and would facilitate the transition from ascription- to achievement-driven mobility patterns. Second, Suriname represents an extreme example of an ethnically divided society that elsewhere have been found to be relatively closed and immobile, as ethnic divisions tend to consolidate with socio-economic divisions. Preliminary quantitative and qualitative evidence suggests that this has not been the case in Suriname, and that socio-economic divisions in fact crosscut with ethnic divisions. The proposed research will bring the first large scale quantitative evidence on this issue and assess historical trends. Third, and probably most importantly, Suriname is a unique example of an out-migration society. Due to social and political developments, some 30% of all Surinamese born have emigrated between the 1970's and the 1990's and have settled elsewhere, primarily in the Netherlands. The Surinamese level of out-migration has been claimed not to have any parallel in contemporary societies. Of course, much of this migration has taken the form of brain-drain, as the higher educated have moved. The scale of this phenomenon makes it possible to address the question what have been the consequences of mass out-migration on the social mobility of those who have stayed.

The history of social mobility research is commonly divided into three generations (Ganzeboom, Treiman & Ultee, 1992). Within each of these generations a number of paradigmatic studies have shifted the field of study. The paradigmatic studies of the first generation, that dealt primarily with social mobility using simple bivariate tabular analysis (Lipset & Bendix 1959, Miller, 1960) contained a well known study devoted to Puerto Rico (Tumin & Feldman, 1961). Together with the little known study of Graham (1973) on British Guiana (also clearly situated in the first generation of mobility studies) this elaborate monograph constitutes the last evidence on social mobility in Caribbean societies that is available to the international research community. Despite being on the least developed country in collection of mobility studies at the time, Puerto Rico was not found to be particularly immobile.

Most notable in the second generation was the milestone study of Blau & Duncan (1967) who were the first to propose how to decompose social mobility / social reproduction patterns with respect to occupational status into direct and indirect partial effects, using standardized regression coefficients among continuous measures of status positions. Blau & Duncan argued that occupations can be regarded as the single best indicator of status in society. In their basic occupational status attainment model, they examined how social reproduction works in modern societies: family background influences education and then schooling becomes the major factor to transmit family background into a person's initial and eventual occupational positions. However, next to this indirect effect of family background Blau & Duncan found considerable direct effects of parental occupation, both at entry into the labor market and in the further occupational career. In their theoretical account of social mobility patterns in the US, they proposed that the partial effects in the status attainment model can be meaningfully labeled as expressing Parsons (1954) ascription versus achievement principles of distributive processes. The main hypothesis on these principles is, that the industrial, economic and social development of societies weakens the ascriptive components of the status attainment process (such as the inequality of opportunity in education and the direct transfer of occupational status between parents and offspring) and increases achievement, in particular the connection between education and occupational attainment.

While research in the third generation has considerably criticized and modified the status attainment approach, the Blau/Duncan model remains an easily applicable tool to look at social reproduction and its main pathways in any society.

Figure 1: Blau and Duncan's basic status attainment model



Since Blau & Duncan many national studies have dealt with the question what constitutes status attainment. This literature shows that (A) educational attainment remains strongly determined by parental background, i.e. father's education and occupation (B) occupational attainment is also determined by parental occupation, but not by parental education, (C) parental effects weaken over the life course, i.e. between job at labor market entry and further occupations; (D) that the primary mechanism to transfer parental status into respondent's status is via education; education is the main source of social reproduction. In preliminary work on Suriname, using a small dataset (N=347) collected by Scheepers and associates in 1993 (see Hassankhan et al., 1995; Verberk et al. 1997), Sno & Ganzeboom (2010) find a fairly low correlation between father's occupation and respondent's first occupation (0.33) as well as between father's occupation and respondent's current occupation (0.29). (The same correlations for the US in 1962 were 0.40 and 0.41.) Unlike Blau & Duncan, Sno & Ganzeboom (2010) find that in Suriname father's direct effect is only substantial at labor market entry and not in the further career.

The main criticisms on the second-generation approach can be summarized as follows (see Ganzeboom et al. 1992; Treiman & Ganzeboom, 2000):

- Many second-generation studies deal exclusively with men, and leave out both mothers and women. Modern studies have repaired this omission, but most often with respect to women respondents: the role of mothers in the status attainment process remains largely undocumented, which is an important point for a social mobility study in Suriname, which country is characterized by many female dominated nuclear families.
- Despite offering an elementary perspective on occupational careers (between first and current jobs), the BD model does not allow for dynamic models, in which longitudinal analyses examine the influence of historical changes in the societal contexts or of life course events. Like many modern studies, for the proposed Surinamese study we will collect full occupational careers, as well as their correlates (in particular migration careers) and use either event-history models or panel models for dynamic analysis.
- The BD model assumes that continuous status measures and correlations among them can represent social structure. Newer, third-generation studies (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992) have convincingly shown that this is not so and that discrete representations of educational

and occupational structures offer a far more adequate – be it more complicated – picture of social mobility and its components. The discrete representation will be taken into account in our study.

The Surinamese context

The varied composition of the Surinamese population is unique in the world (wikipedia.org, www.landenspecials.nl, www.evd.nl). Due to its colonial past Suriname is an ethnically strongly differentiated society. The Amerindians are the original inhabitants but at present constitute only a small segment of the population (2%). Then came the blacks who were brought from Africa in the 17th and 18th century as slaves by the Dutch colonisers and subsequently split up in Maroons and Creoles (respectively 14.7% and 17.7%, 7th census 2004). Following the abolition of slavery in 1863, immigrants from British India (Hindustanis) and Indonesia (Javanese) were brought to Suriname as indentured labourers, presently making up 27.4 and 14.6% (7th census, 2004) of the population. These last four groups constitute the major ethnic divisions. Other ethnic groups include: the Chinese (also indentured laborers who arrived in small numbers from Hong Kong, South-China and Indonesia), whites (descendants from European immigrants), Lebanese and Portuguese (older economic migrants), Haitians and Brazilians (recent economic migrants). The ethnic diversity of the country is strongly visible in everyday life, as all these groups are separated by racial, language and religious boundaries, and intermarry only to a limited degree. The linguistic situation is particularly pertinent. Despite the existence of several Surinamese languages, Dutch remains the language of instruction, media and politics.

A strong differentiation of ethnic groups often gives rise to strongly stratified societies, which makes for high levels of intergenerational reproduction, as seen in South-Africa and Brazil (Van Niekerk, 2002). It is an open question whether this generalizes to Suriname. In fact, the country's uniqueness may very well be that strong ethnic differentiation has not led to ethnic inequality and ethnic stratification (Hassankhan et al. 1995). The social and political situation of Suriname is characterized by a system of power balances and exchanges between ethnic groups, that is rather reminiscent of the traditional social and political situation in the Netherlands, in which no religious faction had a clear majority and social order was maintained by exchange of power positions in politics and a strong isolation of groups in society ('pillarization' [verzuiling]). This explanation is in line with the theory of consociational democracies proposed by Lijphardt (1987)

The ethnic composition of Suriname leads to a specification of our research problems. Questions about status attainment and social reproduction in Suriname need to be asked against the background of the country's ethnic diversity. We will document (changes in) the relative positions of ethnic groups in educational and occupational hierarchies, as well as their success in reproducing parental statuses into the next generation. These comparisons of social mobility / reproduction will be made in view of differences in the role of nuclear families, occupational structures and migration patterns that characterize the main ethnic groups.

As a result of political and socioeconomic developments, Suriname has experienced major flows of outmigration from the 1960s till the 1990s (<http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Surinamers>). The country has one of the largest populations of expatriate nationals, with almost 1/3 of its population residing abroad. Out-migration has primarily been seen to the former motherland, the Netherlands. Other migration has been seen to some extent to the Netherlands Antilles and other parts of the Caribbean. Literature on Suriname regards the huge out-migration as heavy

brain drains on the economy and polity. It can be indeed safely assumed that mostly highly skilled and educated people have left the country.

A handful of studies have documented the lives and stories of Surinamese emigrants. Most of these studies have been done from the Dutch perspective in which an immigrant perspective is taken and either immigrant groups are compared to one another and/or to the native population. For instance, Liem (2000) and Van Niekerk (2002) conducted research on the two major groups of Surinamese immigrants in the Netherlands. They compared the socio-economic attainment of the Afro-Surinamese (Creoles) and the Indo-Surinamese (Hindustani) in the Netherlands. In contrast with the expectations, both authors find that there is very little difference in the socioeconomic attainment of both groups within the Netherlands. However, Liem (2002: 117) notice the particularly strong role of mothers in the status attainment of Creoles.

In an effort to complete this picture, the proposed research will examine the status attainment of Surinamese migrants from the outflow perspective: how do out-migrants compare to those who stayed? We will also study the frequently occurring phenomenon of return-migration, However, the major questions of interest that arise here are on the effects of out-migration on those who stay: who have filled the positions that became vacant as a result of this huge out migration and has this led to attainment by less qualified candidates? If so, has this led to a high level of social mobility? At the same time, using existing data that are available on Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands we will be able to compare the social mobility of stayers to those who moved, as well as those who moved initially and then re-emigrated to Suriname.

Research questions

The general question to be answered by the proposed research, can be summarized as follows

WHAT HAS BEEN THE PATTERN OF SOCIAL MOBILITY IN SURINAME OVER THE PAST 40 YEARS?

The logic of the status attainment model dictates to decompose this question into three parts:

- a. What are the differences in inequality of educational opportunities (IEO) for cohorts that were in education between 1970 and 2010?
- b. What has been the influence of parental background and education on occupation at entry in the labor market?
- c. How have the occupational careers of Surinamese developed over the life-course, in relationship to parental background, education and occupation at entry into the labor market?

Then two questions arise on how the specific Surinamese context conditions patterns of social mobility:

- A. How do patterns of social mobility vary between the major ethnic groups in Suriname and how are these variations related to occupational distributions, the economic positions and the family systems of these groups?
- B. What are the effects of the strong out-migration of Surinamese on occupational status attainment of the migrants and of the non-migrants?

3b Approach

We will study patterns of social mobility and status attainment among Surinamese in Suriname by organizing the country's first large-scale social mobility survey. We will follow international examples in collecting data on the following variables among a large representative sample of the Surinamese population:

- Educational and occupational careers
- Internal and international migration
- Ethnic background
- Parental (father & mother) educational, occupational and economic statuses
- Family composition of the parental family, as well as the elementary socio-economic career (education – first job – current job) the respondent's siblings.

A unique element in our data-collection will be that we will trace the effects of out-migration by asking respondents to report on the previous incumbent of their present occupational position. With this information we hope to trace the direct effects of emigration on job openings for the stayers.

We intend to interview a sample of 4000-5000 current inhabitants of the country. We expect that adequate sampling frame can be defined in collaboration with the General Bureau of Statistics Suriname [ABS], but will organize the survey ourselves. By interviewing people in a broad age range (21-74) we can assess long-term historical trends from a cohort perspective. Including elderly and retirees allows us to go back to the 1970-1980 period around Independence, at which time emigration peaked.

The survey will also be a pilot project for Surinamese participation in the International Social Survey Programme [ISSP], which will be held as a biannual survey. Anton de Kom University (Marten Schalkwijk, Jack Menke) intends to request membership of ISSP. Funding of the data collection will be requested at the International Development Bank.

The project has been prepared and will be conducted by drs. Tamira Sno, who is affiliated with Anton de Kom University of Suriname as a researcher and lecturer. Sno has spent the academic year 2009-2010 at the Department of Social Research Methodology of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, under the supervision of prof. dr. Harry B.G. Ganzeboom, who will continue to supervise her PhD research, together with dr. John Schuster (same department) and prof. dr. J. Marten W. Schalkwijk (ADEKUS). Ganzeboom's primary research interests are the comparative study of social stratification and social mobility attainment and the methodology of comparative measurement. Schuster studies Surinamese (re-)migration. Schalkwijk holds a chair in Social Change and Development Studies at ADEKUS.

In her year in Amsterdam, Sno has prepared her doctorate by acquiring expertise and skills in the theoretical and methodological background of migration and social mobility research. Together with Ganzeboom she has analyzed an existing small dataset on social mobility in Suriname and compares these to social mobility patterns of Surinamese in the Netherlands, as covered by existing mobility studies in the Netherlands. This provides an elementary view of the comparison between migrants and non-migrants that will also be followed in the dissertation study. Sno has also designed the data collection of the proposed project, in particular by preparing the questionnaire and the budget. For the future, she intends to conduct the project while being in Suriname, but staying in frequent contact with the VUA. She has submitted a NUFFIC proposal to fund the necessary travel and other costs.

3c. Literature reference

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3d. Time plan

2009-2010	Training/teaching	Research activity	Result
Month 10-12		Preliminary orientation on PhD project proposal	OBP submitted
Month 10-12	CCSS: Writing a PhD proposal. The life course and the labor market.		Course completed Course completed
2010			
Month 1-6	Key thinkers & issues in Social sciences Atlas.ti Multivariate analysis LISREL (structural equation modeling) 9 th month paper Article 1	Data analysis (existing data) Funding	Course completed Course completed Course completed Course completed Submission art.1 for publication Funds for research
Month 6-9	Summer school	Design questionnaire	Summer school completed Questionnaire designed
Month 10-12		Other preparations regarding survey	Survey plan
2011			
Month 1	Training data collectors Data analysis & reporting (dummy)		Data collectors trained Analyze & reporting plan
Month 2-5		Data collection in Suriname	Data collected
Month 3-5		Data analysis Draft article 2	Data analyzed Draft article
Month 6		Meeting Holland (art.2)	Feedback on art.2
Month 6-7		Finalize article 2	Article 2 submitted
Month 8-12		Draft article 3	Draft article
2012			
Month 1		Meeting Holland	Feedback on art.3

		(art.3)	
Month 1-2		Finalize article 3	Article 3 submitted
Month 2-8		Draft article 4	Draft article
Month 8-9		Meeting Holland (art.4)	Feedback on art.4
Month 9-10		Finalize article 4	Article 4 submitted
2012/2013			
Month 10-3		Draft article 5	Draft article
2013			
Month 3-4		Meeting Holland (art.5)	Feedback on art.5
Month 4-5		Finalize article 5 Introduction, Conclusions & discussion	Article 5 submitted Introduction & conclusions written
2014			
			Final dissertation

3e Setting within Research Group

The project will be part of the research programme «Social Inequality and the Life Course» [SILC] that is co-chaired by Ganzeboom. SILC (formerly CSR [Comparative Stratification Research]) brings together research by a group of 10 permanent staff in the Department, all of whom conduct substantive (i.e. not methodological!) research on social inequality and the life course. Despite the varied disciplinary background of its participants (which include next to sociology: psychology, economics, statistics and history), SILC research is solidly oriented towards sociology as a discipline. SILC (or rather its immediate predecessor CSR) was evaluated twice in 2007 (once compared to other research programmes in the VU Faculty of Social Sciences and once compared to other sociology programmes in the Netherlands) and obtained good grades (5-4.5-5-4 and 5-3.5-4-4).

3f Expected Output

The research project will cover the following topics which will be studied in independent research papers to be published in peer reviewed journals.

1. Status attainment in Suriname: a review of existing findings and a pilot study

This study reports on the structure of status attainment in a small but unique dataset collected in greater Paramaribo in 1993. The study reports on status attainment (education, first job, current job) of 343 interviewees and proxy reports on their closest sibling and their spouse. Using a classical status attainment approach estimated with OLS regression on metric variables we study differences in strengths of parameters with other countries, in particular the Netherlands. Provisional results show that the Surinamese pattern of social mobility is open to what has been found in other countries.

2. Educational attainment in Suriname: trends and ethnic differences

Exploiting a newly collected large-scale database on status attainment in Suriname, we explore whether changes have occurred in inequality of educational opportunities [IEO]

between cohorts that were in education between 1950 and 1995. We also ask how IEO varies between men and women in relationship to educational status of father and mother and the composition of the parental family (i.e. presence of father and mother). We examine how the prevalence of incomplete and female dominated families varies by ethnic groups and explore the consequences for educational attainment and educational reproduction.

3. Status attainment at labor market entry

This paper studies the status of occupations acquired at labor market entry in Suriname between 1970 and 2010. Using a cohort comparison we examine the validity of the standard modernization hypothesis that education (i.e. achievement) has become more important to occupational attainment, while ethnic and parental backgrounds (ascription) have become less important over time, as well as how the fate of labor market entrants depends upon the business cycle.

4. Migration and occupational careers of international migrants

Suriname is characterized by a high level of migration. Many Surinamese have been abroad for part of their life and careers. This paper examines how migration experiences affect individual status attainment during the occupational career. To what extent is it true that individual migration promotes status attainment? And to what extent does migration make people move away from social backgrounds and makes them more mobile than non-migrants? The study compares migration and mobility patterns between Surinamese in Suriname and Surinamese in the Netherlands.

5. Outmigration and occupational careers of stayers

Suriname is unique on the face of the earth by its high level of outmigration. Between 1970 and 1990 an annual average of 1% left the country, and about 30% of the Surinamese born population lives abroad. This paper asks how outmigration (of movers) affects the occupational career mobility of those who stay behind. The high prevalence of outmigration and the small size of the total population make it possible to inquire about the previous incumbent of the occupational position. We expect that outmigration promotes social mobility and in particular upward social mobility. Those who have left have opened up opportunities for lower qualified people.

3g. Scientific relevance

This study will make a novel contribution to the study of social stratification and/or international migration since Suriname has not been included in any internationally comparative study of this nature yet, and given the country's unique position in relevant macro-sociological indicators such as socio-economic development, international migration and ethnic differentiation. More specifically, Suriname offers a unique case in two respects:

- First of all Suriname appears to be an ethnically divided society without sharp social inequality. As far as we can tell, its regimes of social stratification and social mobility does not resemble South-American models (like Chile, Argentina or Brazil) that have quite high levels of social inequality and social reproduction).
- Second, the country is also an excellent case to study the effects of international migration on the social mobility of the migrant and also the effect of outmigration on stratification and social mobility of non-migrants. Here the question can be answered to what degree

the vacated positions (as far as they have not disappeared) are taken by mobile candidates that otherwise would not have obtained these positions.

3h. Societal relevance

Social inequality and social mobility are among the core problems of a society and yet little is known about it in Suriname. The project will add a new dimension to the debates of social stratification and international migration by including a country that previously has not been included in mobility studies. Suriname will be included in internationally comparative studies on social stratification and/or international migration. The study will provide important information on the openness/ closeness of the society as well as on the (in)equality of occupational changes of certain groups. This will give policymakers information whether e.g. their educational programs need to be improved

Appendix: Budget of the Survey on Social Mobility in Suriname

Post	Omschrijving	Eenh.	Tarief	Begroot	
				Aant.	\$ Bedrag
A	Onderzoeksplan				
1	Vooronderzoek	uur	44.00		0.00
2	Ontwerp	uur	44.00		0.00
3	Logistiekplan	uur	44.00		0.00
4	ontwerp enquete	uur	44.00		0.00
	Subtotaal				0.00
B	Datacollectie				
1	Teach in (face-to-face)	uur	44.00		0.00
2	Steekproeftrekking	adres	0.40	5500	2,200.00
3	Enqueteurs	enquete	8.50	5000	42,500.00
	huishoudens	enquete			0.00
4	Reiskosten (1)	auto	90	120	10,800.00
5	Reiskosten (2)	charter	1700	1	1,700.00
6	Brandstof (1 + 2)		0.6	5400	3,240.00
7	Voedingsgeld		7700.00	1	7,700.00
8	Chauffeur		65.00	135	8,775.00
9	Overnachting		25.00	350	8,750.00
10	Supervisie	dag	50.00	90	4,500.00
	Subtotaal				90,165.00
C	Dataverwerking				
1	Datacontrole	uur	15.00		0.00
2	Aanmaak databestand	uur	44.00		0.00
3	Datainvoer	enquete	1.50	5000	7,500.00
	Subtotaal				7,500.00
D	Analyse en rapport				
1	Data analyse	uur	44.00		0.00
2	Conceptrapport	uur	44.00		0.00
3	Eindrapport	uur	44.00		0.00
4	Presentatie	uur	44.00		0.00
	Subtotaal				0.00
E	Materiaalkosten				
1	Copieen	copie	0.15	25000	3,750.00
2	Printkosten	print	0.60	500	300.00
3	Telefoonkaarten	kaart	10.00	20	200.00
	Subtotaal				4,250.00
	Totaal				101,915.00
	materiaal overig				28895
	EINDTOTAAL (USD)				130,810.00
	EINDTOTAAL (EUR)				100,896.76