Occupational Status Attainment and Intergenerational Transmission of Occupational Status among Surinamese in Suriname and Surinamese abroad

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Abstract

This paper examines occupational status attainment and intergenerational occupational status transmission among 2,302 Surinamese men and women abroad (aged 25-64) as compared to their 14,310 brothers and sisters – nearest in age -- who have remained in Suriname. The research is an example of an origins-of-migration design – in which a comparison is made between migrants and non-migrants in the country of origin –, extended with a sibling-design, that can control measured and unmeasured origin family effects. The data are assembled from five general population sample surveys, collected between 1992 and 2023. International migration has caused substantial upward intergenerational mobility among Surinamese abroad. For men, the stronger upward mobility of migrants is entirely explained by educational selectivity, but not for women. Both men and women experience lower occupation returns on education abroad than in Suriname and this perverse effect of international migration is particularly sharp for women.

Keywords: Suriname, international_migration, OED_model, origins-of-migration, siblings

Logro de Estatus Ocupacional y Transmisión Intergeneracional del Estatus Ocupacional entre los Surinameses en Suriname y los Surinameses en el Extranjero

Resumen

Este artículo examina el logro de estatus ocupacional y la transmisión intergeneracional del estatus ocupacional entre 2.302 hombres y mujeres Surinameses en el extranjero (de 25 a 64 años) en comparación con sus 14.310 hermanos y hermanas —los más cercanos en edad— que permanecen en Suriname. La investigación es un ejemplo de un diseño de orígenes-de-migración, en el cual se realiza una comparación entre migrantes y no migrantes en el país de origen, extendido con un diseño de hermanos/as, lo que permite controlar los efectos familiares originarios medidos y no medidos. Los datos se recopilaron a partir de cinco encuestas representativas de la población general, realizadas entre 1992 y 2023. La migración internacional ha provocado una movilidad intergeneracional sustancialmente ascendente entre los Surinameses en el extranjero. Para los hombres, la movilidad ascendente más fuerte de los migrantes se explica completamente por la selectividad educativa, pero no ocurre lo mismo para las mujeres. Tanto hombres como mujeres experimentan menores rendimientos ocupacionales de la educación en el extranjero que en Suriname, y este efecto perverso de la migración internacional es particularmente pronunciado en el caso de las mujeres.

Occupational Status Attainment and Intergenerational Transmission of Occupational Status among Surinamese in Suriname and Surinamese Abroad

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the impact of international migration on occupational status attainment and the extent of intergenerational transmission of occupational status that occurs within this process. Migrants typically leave their country of origin to build a better life in the destination country, either in the short or long run. We therefore can expect internationally migrants to be more often upwardly mobile than non-migrants, but also hypothesize that social origin will be less strongly associated with occupation in the destination country compared to the situation had they stayed behind. To properly analyse this process, it is necessary to make a comparison with the situation in the country of origin. Much migration research focuses on the destination country; however, we conduct an origins-of-migration study (Guveli et al., 2017), allowing for a detailed comparison of the situation in the country of origin with that in the destination country. In addition to the standard setup of origins-of-migration research, we incorporate a sibling-design, comparing migrants with one or more of their brothers and sisters who stayed behind, in order to answer the counterfactual question that many migrants are likely to ask themselves: *What would have happened to me if I had not migrated?*

This question is answered through the study of international migrants from Suriname, a small, seemingly peripheral country in the Global South, from which nearly one-third of the population has emigrated since 1970, with the majority settling in the former colonial power, the Netherlands. Despite being peripheral in the global system and a developing economy, Suriname stands out as a hotspot in the globalization process, primarily due to its strong demographic and cultural ties with the Netherlands. At the same time, Suriname is a unique and unparalleled case due to its immense ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity, making it one of the most diverse countries in the world.

By way of introduction, we sketch the recent and historical political and economic context of Suriname that led to the mass migration that began in 1970. This sketch is based on general sources on the history of the country and the migration process such as Budding' (2016) and Gowricharn & Schuster (2001). We then discuss the process of intergenerational transmission of occupational status, drawing on the classical status attainment model (Blau & Duncan, 1967) and its simplified version, the OED model (Erikson & Jonsson, 1996), based on which we formulate expectations about how international migration conditions status attainment and intergenerational transmission of occupations. These expectations are tested using five datasets collected between 1992 and 2023, which allow for a comparison of 2,306 migrated Surinamese individuals with 14,310 of their siblings who remained behind.

BACKGROUND

Suriname

Suriname is located on the northern coast of South America. Together with its neighbouring countries—(British) Guyana and French Guyana—Suriname forms the so-called Guiana Shield, an area characterized by tropical rainforest intersected by large rivers, north of the (even larger) Brazilian Amazon Basin. Although Suriname is geographically part of the South American mainland, it is more appropriately considered part of the Caribbean islands. This is primarily due to its extreme isolation, as it lacks overland connections to neighbouring countries Guyana, French Guyana, and Brazil.

Suriname was a colony of the Netherlands almost continuously between 1667, when it was exchanged with a region in North America (Manhattan) as part of the Treaty of Breda, and 1975. The colonial history of Suriname shares strong parallels with that of the other Guyana's, which were colonized by the British and the French, respectively. Suriname gained independence in 1975, following British Guyana's earlier independence in 1966. French Guyana, by contrast, has been governed directly from France since 1946 and has been a *department-outre-mèr* of the European Union since 1974.

From the earliest European colonization onwards, Suriname has been a producer of sugar, cocoa, coffee, rubber, and other agricultural staple-products. The plantations that grew these products were established along the riverbanks in the coastal plains. Apart from these cultivated areas, the rest of Suriname's land was and remains covered by largely untouched and impenetrable tropical rainforest. The plantation economy began to decline at the end of the 19th century and disappeared before World War II. Since then, rice farming has become the only form of large-scale agriculture. In addition to fertile agricultural land, Suriname is also rich in other natural resources. Before and during World War II, the country was the leading producer of bauxite, the raw material used in aluminium production. Suriname also has substantial gold reserves, which have led to several gold rushes in its history. Timber extraction has remained an important sector of the economy, and very recent oil discoveries offshore have the potential to further impact the country's economic landscape.

Ethnic Diversity of the Surinamese Population

Despite its relatively small population (approximately 590,000 in 2023), Suriname is home to one of the most ethnically diverse populations in the world (Fearon, 2003). This diversity stems from the country's complex migration history, which over the course of 400 years has brought various groups from different parts of the world to Suriname. In terms of migration history, the following groups can be distinguished: Indigenous, Maroons, Creoles, Chinese, Hindustani, and Javanese. Table 1 provides an overview of the ethnic composition according to census data of 2004 and 2012.

Table 1: Surinamese Population by Ethnicity

Indigenous peoples identify themselves as the descendants of the pre-Columbian populations of the area. These communities lived in various tribal societies, remnants of which now inhabit the far interior of the country. Although small in number, they maintain their presence today in isolated villages where a variety of indigenous languages are spoken. In the 17th century, Indigenous peoples effectively resisted forced plantation labour.

Beginning in 1650, large numbers of African blacks, primarily from West Africa (Ghana) and South-West Africa (Angola), were forcefully brought to work on the plantations. Slavery formally ended in Suriname in 1863, with a practical end coming only in 1873. (In British Guyana, slavery was abolished in 1822, in French Guyana in 1794, and after a reintroduction, ultimately in 1848.) Two groups in Suriname trace their heritage to this enslaved population: Maroons and Creoles. Maroons are descendants of black slaves who escaped from the plantations and established their own communities and cultures in the inaccessible interior, with small-scale subsistence farming being their primary means of livelihood. Maroons fled the plantations in the coastal areas upstream along the rivers, and their social and cultural identities are shaped by the river basins. Maroons speak a variety of creole languages, which have English, Portuguese, and African languages as root vocabulary.

The second group tracing its roots to the slave populations of the plantations are the Creoles, who consider themselves descendants of African slaves who remained on the plantations and intermingled with the predominantly white European plantation controllers. After Emancipation in 1873, but also earlier when manumitted, Creoles settled in the capital city, Paramaribo, and began working in non-agricultural occupations.

On the plantations, black enslaved workers were fully replaced by indentured labourers, who were recruited to Suriname with fixed-term (5- or 10-year) contracts. At the end of their contract, they were offered the choice of either farming plots for themselves or returning to their country of origin. The first wave of contract laborers (beginning in 1853) consisted of Chinese workers recruited from southern China. Between 1874 and 1916, workers were recruited from British India, particularly from the hinterlands of Calcutta and Bengal. The migration of British Indians, referred to as Hindostani in Suriname, was part of a broader migration program that also saw these groups settle in the Guyana's, Trinidad, Jamaica, and other parts of the world, including South Africa, Kenya, Mauritius, Malaysia, and Fiji. The Hindostani migration to Suriname was closely linked to the migration to (British) Guyana.

Hindostani indentured laborers remained British subjects until 1927. When the flow of Hindostani labourers stopped, the Dutch colonial government established a recruitment line from their own Asian colony, the Dutch East Indies (present-day Indonesia), leading to a substantial influx of Javanese workers. Javanese migration ended in 1939 when the plantation economy also came to an end.

Hindostani and Javanese share as a common feature that large groups settled near or on the plantations after their contracts expired, continuing to work in agriculture. Hindostani farmers, in particular, set up the large-scale rice production in western Suriname (around Nickerie), where the flat polderlands are well-suited to this crop. During the colonial period, until the end of World War II, Hindostani and Javanese remained spatially separated, and as a result, distinct residential areas for each group have historically existed in the coastal plains of Suriname. The Chinese, on the other hand, took up small-scale retail and services in various locations: Suriname's visitors are often struck by the omnipresence of Chinese shops and eateries, which give the country an East-Asian feel. All three Asian groups maintain their own languages to this day, and in the case of Sarnami (Surinamese Hindi), this language is unique in the global Indian diaspora. Chinese, Hindostani, and Javanese Surinamese are generally considered to adhere to traditional patriarchal family and marital structures (Speckman, 1965), in contrast to Afro-Surinamese groups, who are thought to have looser family ties with a matriarchal influence (Van Niekerk, 1995).

In addition to these six visible ethnic groups, Suriname is home to a significant group of people who identify as "Mixed". Ethnic identification in Suriname is generally a straightforward and non-controversial issue, but there is no registration of these identities. Ultimately, ethnicity is a matter of self-identification, and individuals are free to adopt any label they choose. Ethnic self-identification has been surveyed in various census rounds, with different formulations of the question being used (Menke, 2016). The label "Mixed" was first prompted in the

2004 census (and again in 2012) and was chosen by approximately 13% of the population. The interpretation of this mixed identity is not entirely clear. Choenni (2020) used data from the 2012 census to investigate the ethnic backgrounds of those who identify as "Mixed". He found that the majority of those identifying as "Mixed" also identified as "Mixed" in terms of their ancestry, and that this group exhibits a significant degree of endogamy (marrying within the group). While the "Mixed" category does not have a specific migration history, it can be considered a distinct ethnic group in this context.

Apart from these seven primary ethnic groups, Suriname is also home to a variety of other smaller ethnic communities, including Lebanese, Portuguese, and Jewish groups, which together make up less than 1% of the population (Buddingh', 2016). Notice that, unlike many other countries in South America and the Caribbean, Suriname does not have a significant group that identifies as "European" or "white".

All ethnic groups in Suriname maintain their distinct identities, which are reflected in their languages, religions, clothing, cuisine, and strong endogamy (Sno, Ganzeboom & Schuster, 2023). Religious distinctions crosscut with ethnic origins. For example, Suriname is not only the largest Hindu country in the Western Hemisphere by percentage, but also the largest Muslim country in the region, due to significant Muslim populations among both the Javanese and Hindustani. Both Islam and Hinduism, however, have multiple denominations. Similarly, Christianity is diverse in Suriname, with Roman Catholicism being the largest denomination, but the Protestant Moravian Church EBG (originating from what is now the Czech Republic) and various evangelical groups also play a prominent role in the social and political life of the country.

Economic and Political Instability, and Mass Emigration

Since gaining independence in 1975, Suriname's economy has faced significant challenges, marked by persistent crises. The country's economic climate has been characterized by high unemployment (Figure 1a) and substantive inflation which has repeatedly culminated in episodes of hyperinflation, peaking at 350% in 1994 (Figure 1b and Figure 1c). The bauxite industry, which was once a major economic driver, saw a sharp decline after 1998 and effectively ended in 2015.

Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c: The Economy of Suriname

These economic crises are closely related to political instability. Five years after independence, the military took control of the country and ruled until 1992. Between 1986 and 1992, Suriname experienced a bloody Interior War, primarily affecting the Maroon communities in the east and Indigenous communities in the west. However, from 1992 onwards, Suriname returned to democratic governance, with regular free-and-fair elections. Remarkably, even former military leader Bouterse and his main adversary in the Interior War, Brunswijk, ascended to political prominence through these elections.

Despite (or perhaps due to) Suriname's isolation from other countries in South America and the Caribbean, it is at the same time a highly globalized society, with a strong orientation toward its former colonial power, the Netherlands. Dutch is the official language of Suriname and is used in media, politics, education, and the legal system. For approximately 35% of Surinamese people, Dutch is their first language. Because all education in Suriname is conducted in Dutch, it functions as a common language across the country and all groups. Although there are no formal political or economic ties, the Netherlands remains Suriname's primary connection to the Western world. This link is strong, also as Suriname's residents can watch Dutch news programs and other informational or entertainment content on multiple channels every evening. These connections have been further reinforced by the mass migration since 1970, which led to about a third of Suriname's population settling in the Netherlands (Rath, 2009).

The mass migration occurred primarily around the time of Suriname's independence in 1975, between 1970 and 1980. Before this, migration from Suriname to the Netherlands was mostly limited to students and a smaller group of (female) workers in healthcare. Leading up to independence, there was significant fear of ethnic conflict, similar to those that had erupted in neighbouring Guyana in 1966. Ironically, it was mainly westernized Creole Surinamese who supported independence, while Surinamese of Asian descent, feared for their future in an independent Suriname. In 1975, however, consensus emerged about the form and conditions of independence, both among Surinamese political parties and between Surinamese and Dutch governments, in part due to agreements on significant Dutch investments in the country's development. Nevertheless, many Surinamese were distrustful of their future in independent Suriname and took the opportunity to choose Dutch nationality and migrated to the Netherlands. This migration wave ended in 1981 when the Netherlands imposed visa requirements for Surinamese citizens, effectively restricting their possibilities to settle. However, migration continued also after 1981, due to family reunifications, political migration, student migration, and some targeted labour migration. According to the most recent estimates from the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2023), there are currently about 350,000 people of Surinamese origin residing in the Netherlands, which indeed amounts to about 1/3 of all Surinamese world-wide.

While the extent of Suriname's migration to the Netherlands is well-documented, many characteristics of this migration remain difficult to determine. Evidently, the Dutch administration only collects data on migration to the Netherlands, but Surinamese people also migrated to other countries in the Caribbean, Europe, and North America. The scope of these migrations is difficult to ascertain, and even more so the composition of the migrant groups. Surinamese migration is not officially tracked when people leave the country, so there is little data on the ethnicity, socio-economic backgrounds, and destinations of migrants from Surinamese official statistics. Surveys on migrants in the Netherlands often do not provide information on migrant group composition in terms comparable to Surinamese sources. One interesting issue is the ethnic composition of the migration waves. Both in Suriname and in the Netherlands, there are wildly varying assumptions about which groups—Creoles, Hindostani, or Javanese—have migrated the most, but the exact answer remains unknown. It is widely assumed that more highly educated individuals were more likely to migrate, but the scope of this (and the potential 'brain drain' resulting from it) is also largely unknown.

Intergenerational Occupational Mobility and the OED Status Attainment Model

Intergenerational occupational mobility is concerned with how an individual's occupational status is determined by their social background, particularly the occupation of their parents. Intergenerational occupational mobility is traditionally regarded as a key indicator of the openness of a society. In an open society, everyone, regardless of background, has equal opportunities to attain an (un)favourable social position. According to this perspective, an individual's accomplishments should only be determined by own efforts and abilities (achievement), rather than by the family they were born into (ascription). As a result, intergenerational occupational mobility and reproduction has remained a key topic of sociological research.

However, sociological research has long shown that the relationship between intergenerational mobility and societal openness is not as straightforward and simple as often assumed. In many popular and policy-oriented discussions, intergenerational mobility is equated with 'upward mobility' and is frequently confused with status attainment without relating this to origins – which defines mobility. By contrast, in sociological stratification research, a distinction is made between structural and relative mobility (McClendon, 1977). According to this distinction, the degree of intergenerational upward mobility primarily depends on the differences in occupational distributions between origins (parents) and destinations (offspring). Since parents had their occupations when their sons and daughters were growing up, economic developments play a significant role in shaping the differences in occupational status between generations. However, this says little about the relative chances of obtaining a higher or lower occupation, which sociologists define as 'social fluidity' or 'circulation mobility' and regard as a better measure of a society's openness. In a structurally mobile society, everyone can 'move up' without any change in the relative chances of doing so.

There are various methods for distinguishing between structural and relative mobility. A simple but effective way to characterize structural mobility, which will also be used in our analyses, is to first consider the average increase or decrease in occupational status between parents and offspring and to define relative mobility as the deviation from these means. This idea can be easily operationalized using a linear regression model, where structural differences are represented in the model's intercept, and relative mobility is captured in its standardized slope (McClendon, 1977).

Blau & Duncan (1967) used standardized regression to measure relative intergenerational mobility, which they then expanded into the multivariate status attainment model. This model decomposed the relationship between parents' and offspring's occupations into direct and indirect pathways. The original status attainment model comprises five variables, but here we reduce it to three, forming the so-called OED (Origin – Education – Destination) triangle (Erikson & Jonsson, 1996). Although simplified, the OED model embodies Blau and Duncan's (1967) core idea that occupational transmission across generations occurs through multiple steps, each potentially moving in different directions (Figure 2).

Figure 2: The OED Status Attainment model

In the first step, parents provide their children with opportunities by either fostering or impeding their educational trajectories. This component is often referred to as Inequality of Educational Opportunity or rather Inequality of Educational Outcomes (IEO). Subsequently, educational qualifications translate into labour market outcomes, known as the Returns on Education process. Together, these two steps constitute the indirect effect of parental background on their offspring's occupational status. It is important to note that, from the perspective of ascription versus achievement, these two steps have opposing dynamics: in an open society, the link between parents' occupations and their children's educational attainment weakens, while the link between education and occupational outcomes strengthens. This makes the direction of change in the indirect effect undetermined.

Independent of the indirect effect, parents can also exert a direct influence on their children's occupational outcomes here referred to as Occupational Inheritance. Although typically a minor component of the total transmission of occupational status from parents to offspring, direct occupational inheritance has been found in many studies: parents also affect their offspring's occupational outcomes irrespective of their education. Various explanations for direct occupational inheritance exist, the most prominent being literal inheritance, such as taking over a family business. Other mechanisms, like role modelling (e.g., children of doctors becoming doctors and children of lawyers become lawyers) or the influence of social capital, are also plausible.

International Migration and the OED Model

How does international migration affect the pattern of intergenerational occupational transmission?

Returns to Education (E → D)

The impact of education on occupational outcomes (E → D) is likely greater for stayers than for migrants. A commonly cited reason for this is that migrants may have limited proficiency in the destination country's language, leading to lower occupational status compared to non-migrants with similar qualifications. Additionally, foreign degrees and work experience are not always recognized in the destination country (Van Tubergen et al., 2004). However, this argument primarily applies to comparisons between migrants and non-migrants within the destination country.

In the case of Suriname and the Netherlands, Dutch is the official language in both countries, and Surinamese degrees are generally recognized in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, it can be expected that whether one is educated in Suriname still creates barriers abroad. Education in the destination country allows students to gain insight into the workings of that society. Moreover, it helps expand social networks, thereby enhancing opportunities in the labour market. For this reason, it is anticipated that Surinamese migrants abroad will experience lower returns on their education compared to what they would have achieved with the same education in Suriname.

Another reason why the returns on education (E → D) may be higher for Surinamese in Suriname than for Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands is the difference in the average educational attainment levels between the two countries. E.g., in the Netherlands, 37% of the population aged 25 to 64 had completed higher education (HBO or university) by 2017 (Maslowski, 2018), while in Suriname, in 2012, less than 6% of individuals over the age of 15 had attained such qualifications (ABS, 2014). When the average level of education in the country of origin is significantly lower than in the destination country, it is possible to achieve a higher occupational position in the country of origin with a relatively lower qualification (Zuccotti, 2015).

Inequality of Educational Outcomes (O → E)

The effect of parental background on an individual's occupational status largely operates through education. Attaining a high level of education is the most accessible pathway to achieving a high occupational status. Therefore, parents with high occupational status will prioritize utilizing all available resources to ensure their children obtain higher education: intergenerational transmission of status begins with this inequality of educational outcomes. At first glance, there is no reason to expect IEO to be different between migrants and non-migrant. However, we will consider the possibility that migrants were already mobile before migration, i.e., obtained higher qualifications than non-migrants, and migrants' educational outcomes are less strongly determined by parental backgrounds. If so, these differences between migrants and non-migrants reflect not a causal effect of international migration but rather a selection effect: migration itself is influenced by educational attainment and social background, rather than the other way around.

Occupational Inheritance (O → D)

It is plausible that the direct influence of parental background on children's occupational status is weaker for migrants than for non-migrants. This is primarily so because migrants' parents often remain in the country of origin. The occupational status of parents exerts less influence when they reside in a different country than their offspring, In such cases, children in the destination country cannot leverage their parents' social capital as they would if they were in the same country.

Men and women

We will examine status attainment and transmission of parental occupational status for men and women jointly, but systematically test whether and how this process is different between men and women. There is no general

consensus in the stratification literature how OED differs between men and women, but earlier work suggests that women are more mobile than men, in particular relative to their father. It remains to be seen whether this holds in Suriname and abroad.

OED and Surinamese migration

Finally, what is specific about how international migration impacts status attainment and intergenerational reproduction among Surinamese? The pattens of social mobility of Surinamese has been extensively researched by Van Niekerk, who analysed this process mainly from a country-of-destination perspective, using quantitative data from migrant surveys in the Netherlands and qualitative data collected in Amsterdam and The Hague (Van Niekerk, 2000). Most relevantly, Van Niekerk concentrated on the "difference in social mobility" between Hindostani and Creole migrants. She approached the subject with a cultural theory which holds that parents of Hindostani migrants have stronger achievement motivation and invest more in educational attainment to secure social positions than Creoles. Van Niekerk further refers to tighter family networks and community formation among Hindostani to support the hypothesis that Hindostani would enjoy more upward mobility than Creoles. Van Niekerk (1995, 1996) extends this analysis to the "social mobility" of Hindostani and Creoles in Suriname.

Despite referring to "pre-migration legacies" of Indo-Surinamese and Afro-Surinamese (as Van Niekerk referred to Hindostani and Creoles), Van Niekerk took little else into account than a qualitative history of these two ethnic groups and was not able to conduct a valid origins-of-migration design. Nevertheless, Van Niekerk concluded that the favourable popular image of Hindostani as a successful upwardly mobile group relative to Creoles is largely discredited both for migrants and non-migrants: in line with existing literature, she concludes that Creoles hold better occupations, both in Suriname and abroad.

Despite (or maybe: because) the lack of distinction between social mobility and status attainment, and between structural and relative mobility in Van Niekerk's work, the underlying hypotheses remain worth examining. Seen from an OED perspective, it is of particular interest to see whether direct occupational inheritance is a more important component of OED among Hindostani (or more generally: Asian Surinamese). Another point of interest may be inequality of educational outcomes, that may be weaker among Hindostani, who according to the cultural theory and their presumably collective motivation for upward mobility may use educational attainment as a way to achieve it.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Questions

Our central research question is: What is the impact of international migration on status attainment and the transmission of parental status of Surinamese migrants abroad compared to those who remain in Suriname?

This question is divided into three sub-questions:

A. Structural Mobility:
   What level of occupational status does international migration lead to in the destination countries compared to Suriname?
B. Selective Migration:
   To what extent do social backgrounds and education acquired in Suriname influence migration and occupational status attainment abroad? Specifically, do Surinamese migrants have higher educational attainment and originate from higher-status groups compared to non-migrants and does this account for the structural gains of migrants?
C. Relative Intergenerational Mobility:
   Does international migration reduce the influence of social background on the occupational status of Surinamese migrants? If so, how does this process occur?

Although most Surinamese migration has been directed towards the Netherlands, our research questions are not limited to this destination. An advantage of an origins-of-migration design is the ability to compare outcomes across different destination countries.

Research Design: Origins-of-Migration with Sibling Comparison

International migration represents a career choice in a labour market in a different country. People migrate for various reasons—some Surinamese may have left due to family reunification, while others may have been

motivated by the perception of limited prospects for their children in Suriname. All of them must make a living abroad. Regardless of the motivation, migrants typically aim for a destination that offers better opportunities to do this than they would have had at home.

A significant issue in existing migration research is its focus on migrants' outcomes in the destination country, often comparing their labour market position with that of native-born populations or other migrant groups. In the Dutch context, Surinamese migrants are frequently compared to migrants from the former Netherlands Antilles or major 'guest-worker' origin countries like Morocco and Turkey (e.g., Dagevos & Odé, 1979; Veld & Liem, 2005). While such comparisons are valuable, they overlook a crucial question: What would have happened if the migrants had stayed in their country of origin? This counterfactual comparison cannot be perfectly realized since individuals cannot simultaneously be migrants and non-migrants. Nor can migration be studied by a randomized group experiment where a lottery determines who migrates. Research instead must rely on control to equate migrants with non-migrants who share similar backgrounds. However, studies conducted solely in destination countries lack adequate comparison groups. An origins-of-migration design (Guveli et al., 2017) addresses this limitation by comparing statistical data from both migrants and the population in the country of origin, collected within the origin country itself (e.g., Ichou, 2014; Guveli et al., 2016). For example, Zuccotti et al. (2017) used the European Social Survey to compare the status attainment of Turks in Turkey with those in Western Europe. Similarly, Guveli (2015) examined the influence of international migration on the religiosity of Turks using ESS data.

Our research design takes the origins-of-migration design a step further by comparing migrants with their siblings (brother or sister) who remained in Suriname. This sibling comparison controls not only measured factors but also unmeasured family characteristics that might influence status attainment, such as shared socio-psychological traits like aspirations, cognitive skills, and social networks. This minimizes the confounding effects of these unmeasured family characteristics and interpret differences in outcomes between migrant and non-migrant siblings as closer to a causal effect of international migration.

Limitation of the research design

Although a sibling design improves comparability between migrants and non-migrants, it is not flawless. Siblings may still differ in family background effects, by differential parental treatment or family decision-making. Thus, while the sibling design brings us closer to understanding the causal effects of migration, it remains distinct from an experimental in which migration status is randomly assigned.

Data

Our data derive from five general population sample surveys conducted between 1992 and 2023. Table 2 provides an overview of the sample sizes involved. The first survey was conducted by Ligeon in 1992 and focused exclusively on Paramaribo and Wanica (here referred to as 'Parbo'), the urban areas housing approximately 70% of Suriname's population. This survey, although small in scale and effectively limited to the largest three ethnic groups residing in the urban area at that time—Hindustani, Creoles, and Javanese—represents a valuable data source, as it offers observations long before the subsequent surveys. Previous publications by Hassankhan et al. (1995) and Verberk et al. (1997) have utilized Ligeon's data, but without examining migration patterns.

Table 2: Data Sources and Selections

The following four surveys were all linked to the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), of which Suriname has been a member since 2014. These four surveys were conducted by the ADEK University of Suriname under the name SURMOB. The ISSP is a social-attitudes project that focuses on views concerning societal issues. The SURMOB project has extended the ISSP background variables by more extensively documenting the social backgrounds of respondents and their parents. It also collected migration data on siblings, the central focus of this study.

In each of the five surveys, questions were asked not only about the backgrounds and occupational situations of the respondents but also about the backgrounds (education and occupation) of one or more siblings nearest in age. Additionally, questions were included about the migration status (destination country and age of migration) of these siblings. Given Suriname's high level of emigration, this proxy information is an effective method for capturing migration processes. Depending on the survey year and the wording of the questions, the percentage of migrated siblings ranges between 35% and 11%, yielding data on 2,306 migrated siblings aged 25 to 64. This data is particularly relevant for studying labour market participation and occupational attainment.

The data on siblings are proxy data, reflecting what the primary respondents know about their siblings. This should not pose a significant problem for two reasons. First, information such as education and occupation can be reliably gathered through proxy informants, as is also the case for parental characteristics. Second, the use of

proxy information does not necessarily compromise the research design, as comparisons can be made not only between migrated siblings and non-migrated respondents but also between migrated and non-migrated siblings. Logically, non-migrated siblings and respondents form the same comparison group, and we can test whether the proxy nature of sibling data introduces bias.

The five surveys differ slightly in their application of the sibling design. In the first two surveys, data were collected on the sibling closest in age to the respondent, while in the last three surveys, information was collected on up to four siblings closest in age. The average age of siblings and respondents shows minimal differences, and the sibling's gender is not associated with the respondent's gender. These patterns suggest that respondents provided an unbiased representation of their nearest sibling(s).

In all five surveys, data were collected on the sibling's country of residence, primary activity, current or most recent occupation, as well as gender, age, and level of education. Data on the age at migration were gathered in the last three surveys, while in the second survey, this was approximated by the place of residence at age 12. This allows us to exclude siblings who migrated as school-aged children and did not complete their education in Suriname.

Educational and occupational data were measured using various answering formats, which we harmonized using scales also applied to parents and respondents. Regarding occupations, the common framework used is the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88), which allows for harmonization across different response formats (ILO, 1990). ISCO-88 codes were subsequently converted to the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI-08), which scales occupations from 9 (e.g., agricultural laborers) to 89 (e.g., judges and lawyers) (Ganzeboom, 2010). Since the study compares occupations across Suriname and various destination countries, an internationally applicable occupational status scale is most appropriate.

For the harmonization of educational data, we rely on a specific Surinamese scale: the Surinamese Level of Education (SRLED), developed by Sno & Ganzeboom (2022). The SRLED scale is distinctive not so much in how it classifies general educational levels within the Surinamese system—consistent with the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED)—but in how it handles incomplete (partial) qualifications. In Suriname, over 50% of students do not complete the highest attended level of education, including primary and secondary levels. Sno & Ganzeboom (2022) demonstrate that the highest attended but incomplete education holds more value than the highest completed level. Therefore, we assign SRLED values based on the highest attended education level, ranging from 0 (no schooling, illiterate) to 16 (completed master's degree).

Despite the high degree of harmonization and comparability, the data have certain heterogeneities. In particular, occupation and education data were not collected using the same answering format, and data on the exact age at migration are unavailable in the first two surveys. The data also exhibit significant non-response due to respondents being unable or unwilling to provide answers, which is different between surveys (see Table 2). To mitigate potential biases from data heterogeneity, we incorporate survey effects into the statistical models. This approach enables us to pool cohorts from different surveys and examine whether they are differently represented or measured across surveys. Control variables are thus built into the models to account for heterogeneity.

Models: Sibling Fixed-Effects

As noted, our research design is an enhancement of the origins-of-migrations design, which makes it possible to compare migrants with non-migrants not only based on measured control variables but also by accounting for a further portion of unobserved (and unobservable) characteristics of the family of origin. This is possible because we match migrants with one or more left-behind siblings who share the same family background. An appropriate model for making this match is the sibling fixed-effects design, where a dummy variable for each family of origin is used to control for the influence of both measured and unmeasured characteristics. However, the sibling fixed-effects model does not reveal the effect of measured family characteristics, as these effects (e.g., ethnicity, parents' education, and occupation) are identical for both migrated and left-behind siblings. (The defining feature of a properly specified fixed-effects design is that these effects are not identified.) We estimate the sibling fixed-effects model in a framework that includes both within-family and between-family variation. For family characteristics (ethnicity, parental socio-economic status), the effect estimates are based only on comparisons between families, whereas for individual characteristics (e.g., age, gender, and education), the estimates rely on a combination of within-family and between-family effects. These analyses are conducted using the XTREG program in Stata17 (StataCorp, 2021), which is flexible in terms of family [sibship] size and can provide separate estimates for between-family and within-family effects. We report estimates wit cluster-corrected standard-errors.

RESULTS

Determinants of migration

Table 3, left panel, shows the migration percentages for the eight ethnic groups, providing an initial answer to the question of their migration propensity. Due to the small N of some groups (particularly Indigenous, Chinese, and Others), these figures are subject to substantial sampling fluctuations. Indigenous and Maroon siblings are, according to SURMOB data, the least likely to have migrated, although even fewer Javanese Surinamese report having a sibling abroad. This low propensity for migration among Javanese Surinamese counters claims that this group emigrated *en masse*.

Table 3: Migration Percentage and Mean Occupational Status by Ethnic Group

At the other end of the spectrum, we observe much higher migration rates for Chinese and Other ethnic groups. However, these numbers should be viewed critically, not only because they involve small groups with large sampling fluctuations. Both groups likely include many recent migrants to Suriname, implying that a sibling reported abroad may still reside in the country of origin (Guyana, China) and may never have been in Suriname. The data does not provide direct information on the country of birth of the siblings, but this is available for the respondent which we used a proxy, assuming that if respondent was born abroad this would also be plausible for the sibling(s).

Of the other three groups, Creoles have the highest migration rates, followed by Mixed, and then Hindustani. However, these migration rates do not significantly differ from one another, though they do differ from the low migration rates of the Maroons, Indigenous, and Javanese.

We conducted a multivariate analysis if the likelihood of migration by background to examine the role of education and parental background (results not reported here but available upon request), that confirmed that migration is highly selective by education, but also by parents occupation. The same analysis confirmed that ethnic differences shown in Table 3.

The righthand panels of Table 3 shows ethnic origin with destination country, which we have categorized into four groups: the Netherlands, other parts of the Western world (including the Netherlands Antilles), other Caribbean countries including neighbouring countries Guyana and French Guyana, and countries further afield. The neighbouring countries are accessible only by river boat, and it is therefore unsurprising that migrants to these areas are predominantly Maroons and Indigenous, who often make the journey outside formal border cross-river crossings (Albina and Nickerie). Regarding the other three destinations, migration is primarily via direct flights to the Netherlands or North America.

Table 4: Structural Mobility: Mean Education and Mean Occupation by Migrant Group)

Table 4 gives descriptive statistics about the mean educational and occupational attainment (EDUC and ISEI), relative to their parents (FMEDUC and FMISEI), and cross-classifies this by migrant groups. We can interpret the difference between parents and offspring as structural mobility. One pattern dominates: offspring has attained much higher education and occupational status than their parents. The average upward mobility is more than 2 points for education (on a scale of 0-16), and for occupational status more than 11 points (on a scale of 9-89). Respondents and sibling non-migrants hardly differ, which confirms that they are comparable controls. Migrants have been much more upwardly mobile than stayers, and most gains have been made by those who moved to the Netherlands and the rest of the Western world. But the upward mobility of those who migrated to neighbouring Caribbean countries is also stronger than for Surinamese in Suriname.

Educational attainment of migrants and non-migrants

The analysis in Table 5 reverses the causal logic of this analysis and shows how (later) migration is associated with educational attainment. While this analysis is incorrect from a causal order point of view, it is of great use when interpreting the OED model. The transmission of parents' occupational status is a two-step indirect process, that combines inequality of educational outcomes with returns on educational qualifications in the labour market. By predicting education from later migration status, we gain insight of the strength of the first step, and in particular whether before migration migrants are more mobile than non-migrants.

Table 5: Stepwise XTREG Models to Predict ZEDUC.

Table 5 indicates that this is not the case. FEMALE, COHORT, ZFMISEI, NOFMOCC and MIGRANT are strong predictors of education, but there is no indication that the background effect differs between the siblings who migrated and the brothers and sisters who stayed in Suriname.

Interestingly, the interaction between parental occupation and Asian origins (combining Hinsostani, Javanese and Chinese) indicates that inequality of educational outcomes is indeed stronger among Asian Surinamese.

Asians have less successful educational attainment than Creoles and Mixed and their relative outcomes are less strongly associated with parents' occupation.

Occupational attainment and intergenerational mobility of migrants and non-migrants

Table 6: Stepwise XTREG regression models to predict ZISEI.

Table 6 develops a step-by-step model for occupational status attainment, the outcome of the stratification process. Model 1 is a restatement of the differences in socio-economic occupational status between migrants and non-migrants. Occupational status here is initially expressed in the ISEI scale and then converted into Z-scores so that the coefficients are measured in units of SD. The effect of migration is differentiated between men and women. Migrated men have an occupation that is 0.18 above that of those who stayed behind, and for migrated women this is more than twice as much. In Model 2 we control the occupational status of the parents ZFMISEI. Those who did not report a father's or mother's occupation were rescaled to the mean (ZFMISEI=0) and a dummy variable was added to adjust for this mean imputation.

The effect of parental occupation is quite strong (0.28 for men) and weaker for women. Those who do not report a parental occupation have lower occupations themselves, which is in line with the interpretation that these are Surinamese from lower status groups. Controlling parental occupation does not make much difference to the occupational gains resulting from migration. Although the data showed that migration is selective by parental occupation, this makes little difference to the occupational attainment process.

However, this becomes different when we also add selectivity by education in model 3. Education has a very strong effect on occupational attainment, but this is less so for migrants than for non-migrants. The migration bonus for male migrants has now completely disappeared, and that for female migrants has somewhat weakened, but is still present. The status attainment process appears to pay off quite differently for men and women. The influence of education on occupational status is much stronger for women who have remained in Suriname than for men. For migrated women this education bonus (relative to men) is completely absent, they do not differ from migrated men.

The process of occupational status attainment changes over time (as measured by cohort) and this also differs greatly between men and women. Model 4 shows that men in more recent cohorts are losing occupational status relative to men in the previous cohort. This is the process of credential inflation that can be noticed in status attainment models in many countries. Surinamese women in Suriname are a notable exception to this rule: among women who remained in Suriname, occupational status of younger cohorts is perfectly in line with their increased level of education. However, Model 5 shows that this striking exception is limited to Surinamese women in Suriname and does not apply to migrated women, not to Surinamese men.

The last two models are a robustness check. In model 6 we add a number of control variables: ethnicity, country-of-birth, and survey dummies. Although these variables produce significant differences in occupational status, their addition is not relevant for the picture of how parental occupation and own education affect occupational status attainment of men and women in different cohorts. There is a slight difference between Asian Surinamese migrant and other migrants with respect to gains from migration, but this is not statistically significant. We have also tested whether Asian Surinamese migrant have different direct occupation inheritance or return on education (results not shown), but this was not the case. The same patterns hold when we limit the analysis in model 7 to only the siblings and omit the respondents as a comparison group. The coefficients therefore become somewhat less stable (larger SE and CI), but hardly change in value.

Figure 3: The OED model for Surinamese Men and Women in Suriname and Abroad

We can also look at the results in Table 5 and Table 6 from a different perspective: how strong is the intergenerational transmission of occupational status and how does it come about? This is shown in Figure 3. First, we can conclude that international migration has ultimately not led to a big leap towards greater relative mobility. On average, migrants have higher occupational status than non-migrants and this is especially the case for women. However, this is a structural mobility effect and had not led to much more relative mobility among migrants. To the extent that there is greater relative mobility, this can be attributed to the E → D step in the OED process: migrants have less returns on education than non-migrants and this is the case for both men and women. The most difference between men and women exists in the Surinamese labour market, where the global effect of diploma inflation occurs for men but is absent for Surinamese women. Surinamese women would do well to migrate to obtain a higher education and then return to their country of origin. For Surinamese men, it is better to stay in Suriname to get a better return on their education.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The research questions can be answered as follow:

International migration arises frequently in Suriname. We find almost 70% of all migration directed to the Netherlands, 5% to other Western countries and another 20% to neighbouring countries. These destinations are particularly different for the Maroon and Indigenous Surinamese, who migrate less frequently and predominantly to neighbouring countries.

Whatever the destination, international migration produced substantive occupational status gains, relative to parental occupational status. Structural mobility is found to be around 10 points ISEI for non-migrant siblings as well as for respondents (who are also non-migrants) but rises to about 15 points for migrants to the Netherlands or elsewhere in the Western world.

This migration bonus diminishes to almost zero for migrated men, but remains about the same for migrated women, when the higher level of education of migrants is considered. For Surinamese men, international migration does not pay off, but for Surinamese women it does. Migration is strongly selective by education and this explains almost all of the migration bonus for men. Migration is also selective by parental occupation (over and above selectivity by education) but taking this into account makes little different to the migration bonus.

Relative mobility is hardly higher among migrants than among non-migrants. As far international migration promotes relative mobility, this is entirely due to the lower returns on education among migrants. Ironically, returns on education are higher in Suriname than abroad, and, in particular, for women. It is to be noted that this conclusion refers to occupational returns on education – we do not present evidence on income or poverty.

The difference in returns on education between men and women that arises in Suriname is puzzling and is in need of further examination. It may be related to the strikingly stronger educational expansion in recent cohorts among women that has been observed in other research. It may also reflect, that women in Suriname dominate in bureaucratic occupations, while men aim to find occupational success in informal employment or self-employment.

Even more unexpected is the fact that on the OED-model direct occupational inheritance is not different between migrants and non-migrants. We can safely assume that most Surinamese migrants did not bring their parents with them in the destination countries – and if they did so, these parents would not be expected to be affecting occupational outcomes of their offspring abroad. Similarly, we would not expect migrated siblings to inherit their parents' farm of firm. Barring these two obvious sources of direct occupational inheritance, it remains a puzzle how Surinamese men and women can follow their parents' footsteps as easily abroad as in Suriname.

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Table 1: Surinamese Population by Ethnicity

	Census 2004	Census 2012	SURMOB 2012-2023
Indigenous	3.7%	3.8%	2.8%
Marron	14.7%	21.7%	18.7%
Creole	17.7%	16.4%	21.7%
Chinese	1.8%	1.5%	0.7%
Hindostani	27.4%	27.4%	27.4%
Javanese	14.6%	13.7%	13.9%
Mixed	12.5%	13.4%	13.6%
European	0.6%	0.3%	-
Other	0.5%	1.3%	1.2%
Don't Know	0.3%	0.3%	-
No Answer	6.4%	0.3%	0.1%
Total (100%)	492,829	541,638	8,076

Census counts based on Menke (2016), Table 4.

Table 2: Data Sources and Selections

Data-source	YEAR	% Respons	N of cases	N of cases aged 25-64		
				Respon-dents	Siblings-NonMigrants	Siblings-Migrants
SOCON-SR	1993	n.a.	342	247	145	72
SURMOB2012	2012	78.0%	3929	3139	2226	697
SURMOB2018	2018	67.7%	1273	1022	1931	558
SURMOB2020	2020	60.5%	1044	846	1575	550
SURMOB2023	2023	87.2%	1491	1134	2055	429
Total			8079	6388	7932	2306

Full data citations can be found in References.

Table 3: Migrated Siblings by Ethnicity and Destination

	a. All siblings		b. Destination (% of Migrants)			
	N of Cases	Percent Migrant	NL	Other Western	Caribbean	Other
Marron	2342	15.2%	40.3%	4.9%	47.6%	7.2%
Indigenous	282	16.7%	28.3%	13.0%	56.5%	2.2%
Hindostani	2481	25.9%	78.8%	6.0%	12.5%	2.8%
Javanese	1318	12.9%	82.2%	4.3%	11.0%	2.5%
Chinese	60	60.0%	14.3%	5.7%	2.9%	77.1%
Creole	1968	31.2%	76.9%	7.1%	12.1%	3.9%
Mixed	1238	30.5%	69.0%	6.6%	19.8%	4.7%
Other	90	67.8%	29.5%	9.8%	50.8%	9.8%
Total	9779	23.6%	67.5%	6.3%	20.8%	5.4%

Table 4: Structural Mobility: Mean Education and Mean Occupation by Migrant Group (age 25-64): parents vs offspring.

	N of Cases	FMEDUC	EDUC	FMISEI	ISEI
Respondents	6388	4.7	7.9	30.1	40.5
Siblings Non-Migrants	7578	4.5	7.4	29.2	40.0
Siblings Migrants	2306	5.4	9.1	32.8	48.6
Siblings Migrants to NL	1499	5.6	9.6	33.8	50.9
Siblings Migrants to Western	190	6.4	10.1	37.5	52.5
Siblings Migrants to Caribbean	413	3.7	6.0	25.6	35.4
Siblings Migrants to Other	85	6.0	7.7	33.9	45.2
Total	15289	4.7	7.8	30.1	41.2

EDUC ranges from 0 (No Education) to 16 (University Master). ISEI ranges between 9 (e.g., Farm Worker) to 89 (e.g., Lawyer, Doctor).

Table 5: Stepwise XTREG regression models to predict ZEDUC, N=13,572 Respondents + Siblings; 6742 families.

	Scale	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Siblings	
		B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t
(Constant)		0.064	6.1	0.044	4.1	-.159	-5.7	-0.183	-6.4	-0.671	-19.3	-0.454	-8.1	-0.642	-8.8
ZFMISEI	0/1	0.375	33.2	0.370	31.8	0.363	31.1	0.339	22.5	0.282	18.9	0.240	13.9	0.212	8.7
NOFMOCC	Z	-0.310	-10.9	-0.300	-10.5	-0.307	-10.8	-0.307	-10.8	-0.226	-8.6	-0.243	-9.3	-0.189	-5.0
MIGRANT	0/1			0.170	6.4	0.194	7.3	0.196	7.4	0.196	7.4	0.195	7.4	0.330	10.9
ZFMISEI*MIGRANT				0.011	0.4	0.010	0.4	0.014	0.6	0.014	0.6	0.015	0.6	0.041	1.4
COHx	0..1					0.275	5.8	0.280	5.9	0.349	7.6	0.336	7.1	0.380	6.0
FEMALE	0/1					-0.067	-1.9	-0.063	-1.8	-0.066	-1.9	-0.062	-1.8	-0.081	-1.6
FEMALE*COHx						0.371	6.2	0.362	6.1	0.369	6.3	0.368	6.4	0.389	4.7
ZFMISEI*FEMALE								0.045	2.7	0.040	2.4	0.039	2.4	0.031	1.3
Maroon	0/1									Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Indigenous	0/1									0.174	3.1	0.182	3.2	0.134	1.8
Hindostani	0/1									0.461	16.6	0.476	16.9	0.453	12.6
Javanese	0/1									0.508	16.4	0.520	16.5	0.496	12.2
Chinese	0/1									0.949	5.9	0.948	5.9	1.101	5.2
Creole	0/1									0.627	21.1	0.639	21.4	0.664	16.2
Mixed	0/1									0.754	21.3	0.771	21.4	0.784	15.7
Other	0/1									0.659	5.4	0.664	5.3	0.786	4.2
FOREIGN BORN	0/1									-0.292	-4.7	-0.270	-4.3	-0.281	-3.0
ZFMISEI*ASIAN												0.091	4.0	0.110	3.5
YR1992	0/1											Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
YR2012	0/1											-0.290	-5.9	-0.168	-2.6
YR2018	0/1											-0.222	-4.0	-0.131	-1.8
YR2020	0/1											-0.133	-2.4	-0.083	-1.1
YR2023	0/1											-0.117	-2.1	-0.084	-1.1

Dependent variable: ZEDUC. B is statistically significant ($p < .05$, two-sided) if $|t| > 1.96$. SE estimated with cluster correction on family.

Table 6: Stepwise XTREG regression models to predict ZISEI, N=10,373 Respondents + Siblings

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6 XTREG		Model 7 XTREG-sib	
	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t	B	t
(CONSTANT)	-0.051	-4.4	-0.046	-3.9	-0.104	-11.2	-0.012	-0.6	-0.013	-0.7	0.056	0.1	0.011	0.1
MIGRANT	0.182	3.9	0.160	3.9	0.039	1.0	0.104	2.7	0.076	1.9	0.054	1.1	0.055	1.1
MIGRANT*FEMALE	0.226	-4.4	0.225	3.9	0.149	2.7	0.093	1.7	0.173	2.8	0.167	2.7	0.158	2.6
ZFMISEI			0.284	18.2	0.088	6.2	0.119	8.1	0.119	8.1	0.110	7.5	0.104	4.7
NO_FMOCC			-0.129	-4.2	-0.025	-1.0	-0.017	-0.7	-0.016	-0.7	-0.015	-0.6	-0.042	-1.0
ZFMISEI*MIGRANT			-0.048	-1.7	-0.014	-0.5	0.029	1.0	0.025	0.8	0.035	1.2	0.030	0.9
ZFMISEI*FEMALE			0.050	2.47	0.024	1.4	-0.051	-2.6	-0.051	-2.6	-0.052	-2.7	-0.049	-1.6
ZEDUC					0.578	59.7	0.548	23.1	0.535	22.4	0.517	21.5	0.553	14.7
ZEDUC*MIGRANT							-0.125	-4.1	-0.037	-1.0	-0.029	-0.8	-0.040	-1.0
ZEDUC*FEMALE							0.199	11.0	0.224	11.9	0.226	12.0	0.229	7.6
COHX							-0.185	-5.7	-0.186	-5.7	-0.135	-3.9	-0.121	-2.3
ZEDUC*COHX							-0.090	-2.6	-0.091	-2.7	-0.084	-2.5	-0.147	-2.8
ZEDUC*MIGRANT*FEMALE									-0.189	-3.7	-0.188	-3.7	-0.184	-3.3
MAROON											Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
INDIGENOUS											0.096	1.7	0.125	1.5
HINDOSTANI											0.060	2.3	0.104	2.7
JAVANESE											0.114	3.9	0.176	4.1
CHINESE											0.233	2.5	0.110	0.8
CREOLE											0.128	4.7	0.179	4.3
MIXED											0.091	2.9	0.190	3.9
OTHER											0.035	0.4	0.132	0.9
COB											-0.064	-1.4	-0.142	-2.1
MIGRANT*ASIAN											0.063	1.0	0.067	1.0
YR1993											Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
YR2012											-0.190	0.1	-0.201	-2.9
YR2018											-0.239	0.1	-0.181	-2.4
YR2020											-0.126	0.1	-0.105	-1.3
YR2023											-0.140	0.1	-0.159	-2.0

Dependent variable: ZISEI (Zscore of occupation). B is statistically significant ($p < .05$, two-sided) if $|t| > 1.96$. Model XTREG-sib only calculated on siblings (N=5161; Nfam=3494)

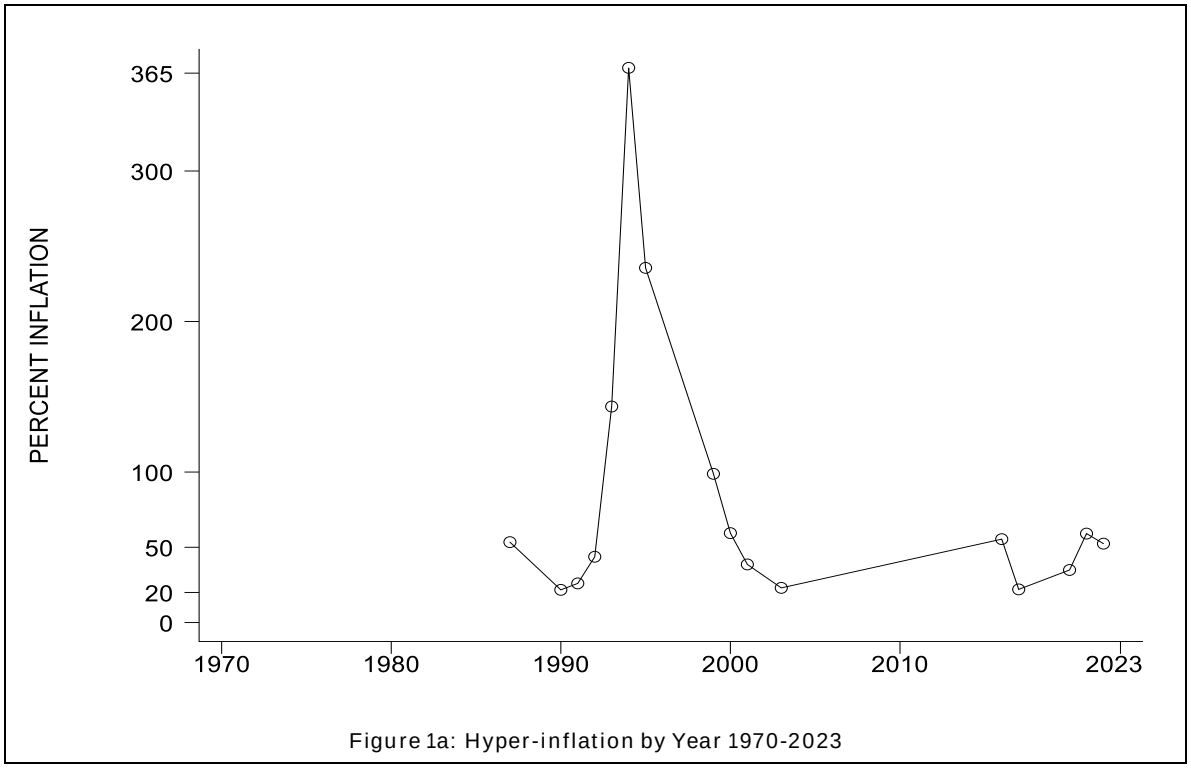


Figure 1a: Hyper-inflation by Year 1970-2023

Source: World Bank

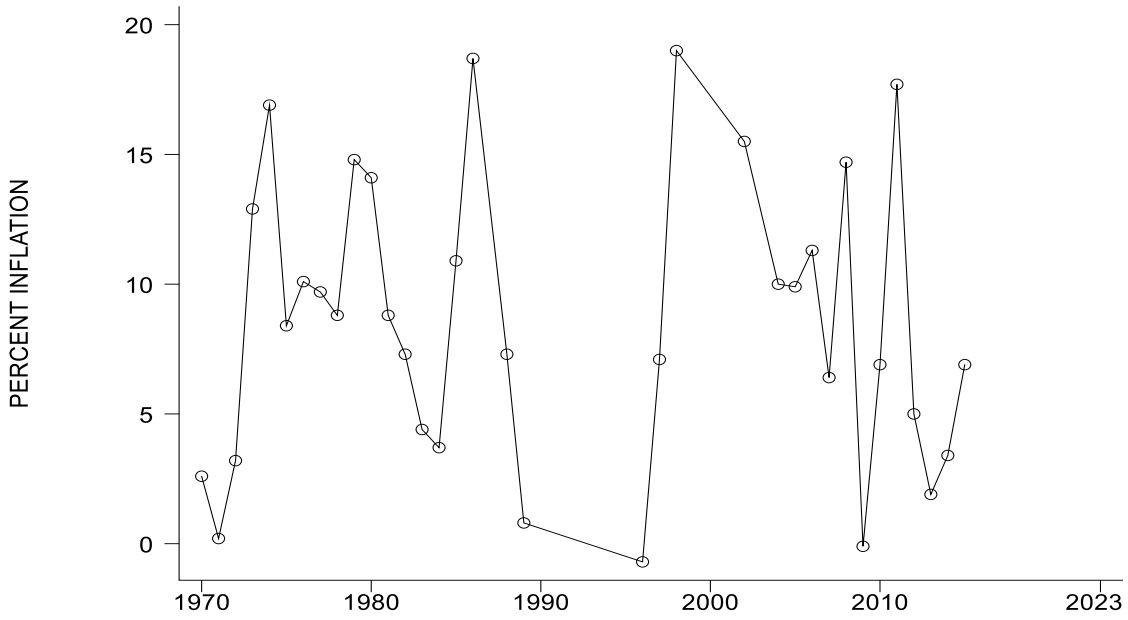


Figure 1b: Inflation by Year 1970-2023

Source: World Bank

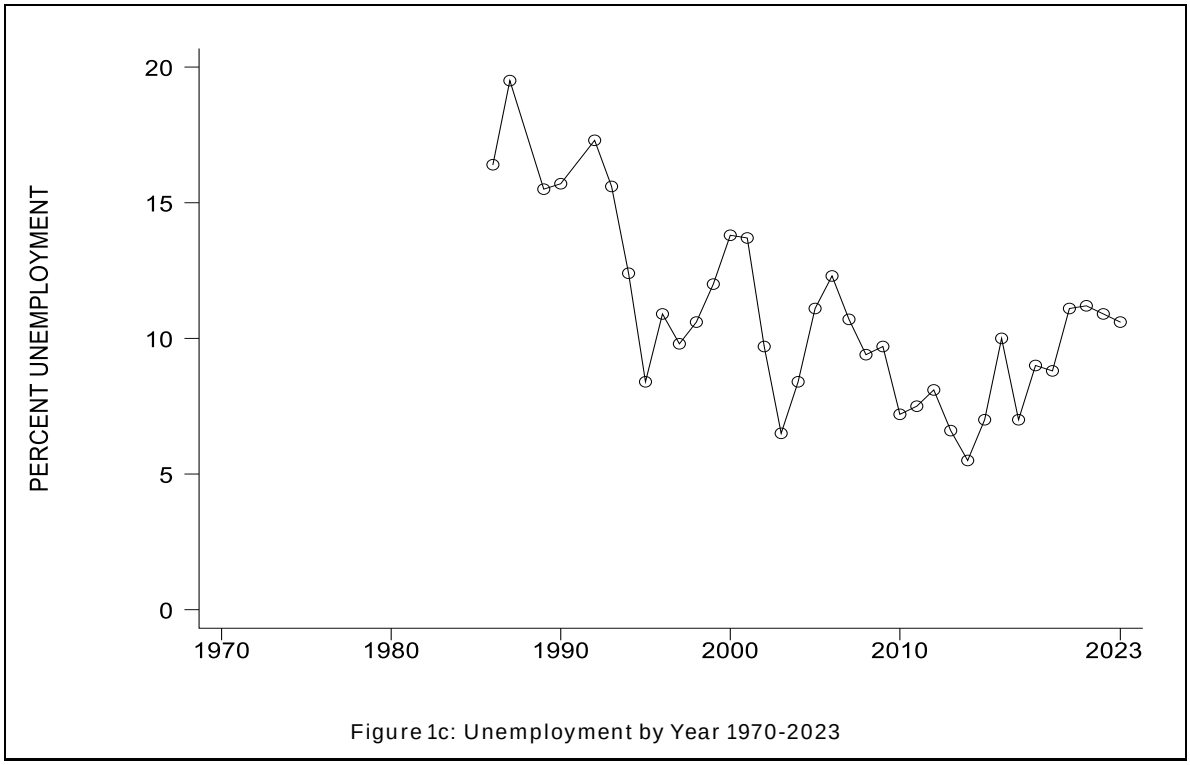


Figure 1c: Unemployment by Year 1970-2023

Source: World Bank

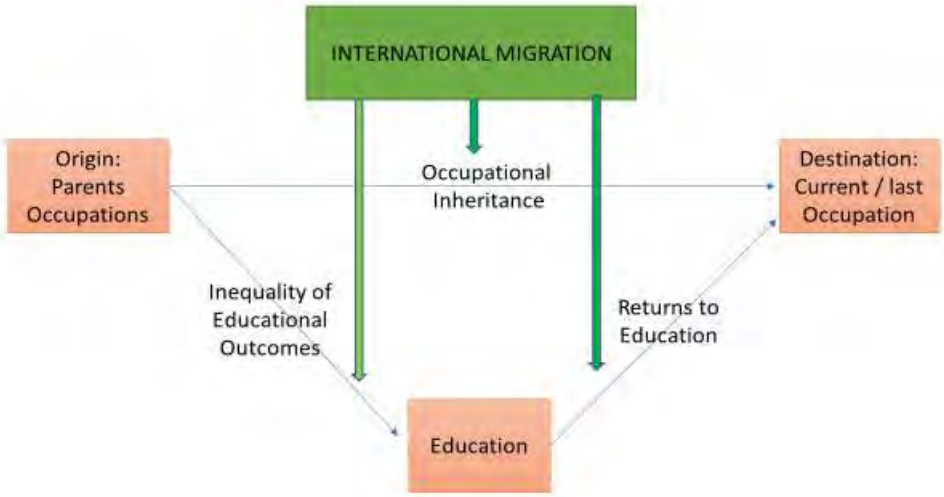
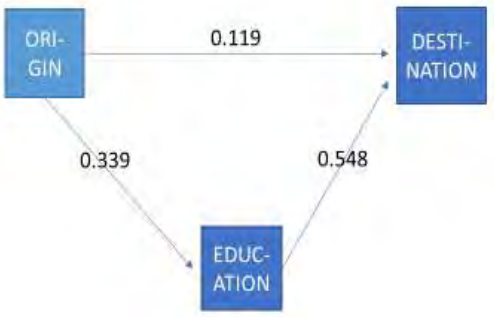
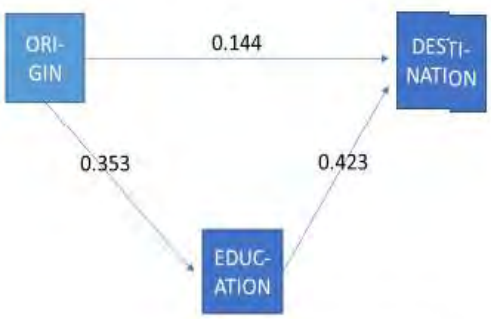


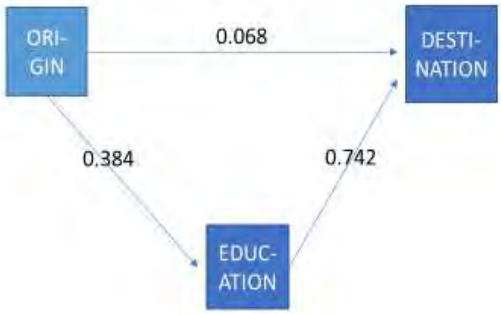
Figure 2: The OED Status Attainment Model



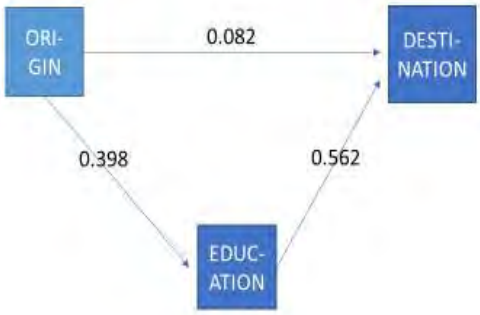
MEN IN SURINAME



MEN ABROAD



WOMEN IN SURINAME



WOMEN ABROAD

Figure 3: The OED Model of Relative Mobility for Surinamese Men and Women in Suriname and Abroad