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## **Welfare Migration in Aruba: To what extent does the Aruban welfare system affect the decisions of migrants to choose Aruba as the country of migration?**

Quijada, Mikayla

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# Welfare Migration in Aruba

*To what extent does the Aruban welfare system affect the decisions of migrants to choose Aruba as the country of migration?*



**Mikayla Quijada**

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Leiden University

MSc Public Administration with a specialization in Economics & Governance

Topic: Welfare & Migration / Supervisor: Mr. Afonso

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## Abstract

This research was inspired by the welfare magnet hypothesis by Borjas (1999). This research focused on what motivated recent migrants to choose Aruba as their destination for migration, and how much welfare influenced their decision. Prior theories identify different pull factors for migrants when choosing a specific destination. The factors mentioned in this paper are welfare, employment, wage level, political systems, family and friends, migration network and migration laws. Interviews were conducted with five recent migrants on Aruba, to identify what motivated their destination decision. These respondents also filled in a pre-interview questionnaire containing basic questions about their migration. The results were then analyzed using content analysis. The results show that the most frequent pull factor encountered was the pull factor of employment with a frequency of 27.2%. Wage level ranked second at a frequency of 20.4% and the pull factors of friends/family and the welfare system are tied for third at the frequency of 19%. Specifically for Aruba, an extra pull factor was identified which was the Aruban weather. Lastly, the factors of the languages spoken on Aruba and the geographical distance between Aruba and the countries of origin are found important by the migrants and may act as supporting factors when choosing Aruba.

## 1. Introduction

To what extent does the Aruban welfare system affect the decisions of migrants to choose Aruba as the country of migration? This paper will explore the relationship between the welfare system and the migration to Aruba. There has been plenty of research conducted on the topic of welfare migration. However, there are still disagreements on which factors influence the destinations of migrants and lead them to choose certain destinations over others (Pedersen et al., 2008). Borjas (1999) introduced the welfare magnet hypothesis where he researched if welfare generosity attracts migrants. He conducted this research in the US, where he found that immigrants who receive welfare in the US, tend to reside in welfare generous states. Boeri (2010) conducted a similar research in Europe, where he found similar results but this time with specifically low-skilled immigrants. Agersnap et al. (2019), put the welfare magnet hypothesis to test specifically in the country of Denmark, where they found that when Denmark introduced a welfare benefit reduction, this also reduced the net flow of immigrants per year.

On the other hand, there are also other researches, such as the one from De Giorgi & Pellizzari, where they claim that “high wages and high employment probabilities, rather than the generosity of welfare, should be the main driving forces of migration” (De Giorgi, G. and Pellizzari, M., 2009). It also depends on the skills of the immigrants. High-skilled immigrants will probably migrate for better wages and better job opportunities, and would not be attracted by high welfare benefits. Especially since this could also mean higher taxes to fund the welfare benefits. When it comes to low-skilled immigrants, this is more difficult to predict. Low-skilled immigrants may be looking for better job opportunities and better wages compared to their home countries, but they may also be looking for a safety net in case they fail to get a job, or if their pay is not high enough (De Giorgi & Pellizzari, 2009).

When researching migration on Aruba, it is useful to acknowledge a special category for migrants from Venezuela. Venezuela is a country going through some difficult political and economic situations. Immigration from this country might present high-skilled and low-skilled immigrants looking for a better life outside of their home country, regardless of the welfare system. Venezuela deserves special attention when it comes to immigration to Aruba, because the distance between these two is very small. Currently it is hard to find a job with a fair wage in Venezuela. There are lots of highly educated individuals doing low paid jobs. Venezuela also has problems with inflation, where it has become very expensive and difficult to buy food. There are also some people there living in difficult conditions such as no electricity. Since

Venezuela is experiencing a rough time right now, lots of immigrants may be moving to Aruba, not because of the welfare system, but because Aruba is in close proximity and offers a better living situation.

To know if immigrants choose Aruba based on the welfare system would provide useful information for Aruba. Aruba is a small island in the Dutch kingdom that is very multicultural and deals with migration from different countries. Aruba is a social-democratic island that offers different kinds of benefits. If these benefits are the main attraction for immigrants, and if it discourages them to move back home, remains a question. Aruba is currently experiencing budget restraints which is leading to retrenchment in the welfare system and causing dissatisfaction amongst locals. An understanding of which factors influence and motivate the decision of migrants to move to Aruba is important for the Aruban government and policy makers to be able to “anticipate, encourage or manage migratory flows” when necessary (Ferwerda & Gest, 2020). If one of the factors turns out to be the welfare system, this would also give the government more knowledge on the management of the welfare system when necessary. Researching the relationship between the welfare system and migration to Aruba will also provide useful information for the academic world in relation to the welfare magnet hypothesis and pull factors for choosing a migration destination.

This paper has an explanatory goal when it comes to the relationship between the Aruban welfare system and the decisions of migrants to choose Aruba as their migration destination. Even though there is plenty of research done on welfare migration, there is little research done in the form of qualitative analysis based on interviews. This paper will use micro-data to research the motives of immigrants to choose Aruba. Most researchers who use micro-data did not make use of personal interviews. This is why this research will be a qualitative study, focusing on a small group of immigrants and making use of interviews to gain insight into their motives to migrate to Aruba. This paper will continue with chapter two on existing theories of the welfare magnet hypothesis, welfare migration and welfare regimes. Next, chapter three will offer more insight into the Aruban welfare system and its immigration data for those who are not yet familiar with the small island of Aruba. The paper will continue with chapter four on research design where the qualitative analysis will be explained more broadly. Chapter five will follow with the findings and analysis of the interviews. Lastly, the main research question will be answered in the conclusion chapter.

## 2. Theory

This chapter will provide theories and prior knowledge on the topic of the welfare state, welfare migration and the welfare migration hypothesis. The theories will help to provide new hypotheses and expectations for this research.

### 2.1 The Welfare State

There are different disagreements on how to define the welfare state. Green-Pedersen (2004) states that in general the mainstream definition for the welfare state is “benefits provided by the state in case of sickness, old age, unemployment, etc., and services in the area of health, child care etc” (Green-Pedersen, 2004). Esping-Andersen (1990) identified three welfare state regimes known as Conservative, Liberal and social-democratic. Welfare state regime is defined as “the institutional arrangements, rules and understandings that guide and shape concurrent social policy decisions, expenditure developments, problem definitions and even the respond-and-demand structure of citizens and welfare consumers” (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Aruba identifies as social-democratic, meaning that they offer universal benefits and a high level of de-commodification. These benefits include universal health-care, universal pension system, education for all under the age of 17 and active labor market policies combined with unemployment benefits as a passive labor market policy.

### 2.2 Welfare Migration

There are different reasons why an immigrant may choose a specific country to migrate to. Sjaastad (1962) and Harris & Todaro (1970) mentioned wage differentials between the migrants’ country of origin and the migration destination as the main reason why a migrant may choose a specific destination. De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009) mentions three reasons being wage, employment and benefits, where they found that the level of wage and level of employment have a stronger effect than the level of benefits. They also found that the level of benefits tends to be more attractive for those with a lower skill level measured by education. It is noted by De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009) that states with higher benefits receive a slightly larger inflow of immigrants. Some countries have rules in place that restrict immigrants from receiving benefits without effort. In this case, effort would mean to have a job or live in the country for a specific amount of years. This is why to assume that immigrants will have direct access to the welfare benefits is wrong. Taking this into account, the level of welfare benefits should only be of interest

to those who plan to stay in the country for a long time. Lastly, De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009) also mentions two unobservable reasons why an immigrant might choose a specific country to migrate to. These are migration laws and the network of migrants already present in the country.

Next to the pull factors mentioned above, Ferwerda & Gest (2020) also mentioned liberal democratic governance as a pull factor. Liberal democratic characteristics include labor market access, legal protection, political voice and social service provision (Fitzgerald, Leblang & Teets, 2014). Since these characteristics are also present in Aruba, this research will take social democratic governance into consideration instead of specifically liberal democratic. Ferwerda & Gest (2020) conducted a study on the national characteristics that prospective migrants from the Middle-East and North Africa prioritize when choosing a destination. In their research they mention liberal democratic governance and employment prospects as the priority consideration and welfare benefits as the second consideration. Geographic distance and migrant network did not result as initial consideration. The results on employment prospects are in line with the research done by De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009). Ferwerda & Gest (2020) also mentioned that economic background and political backgrounds influence which considerations are taken per individual when choosing the migration destination. This is to be taken into consideration in addition to the levels of skills mentioned by De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009). The political background may be in line with migrants who are dissatisfied with the political situation in their country and want to migrate because of it. This may be encountered with migrants from countries such as Venezuela. This inspired the first hypothesis for this research which is:

→ H1: The political system of Aruba will have a stronger influence on the decisions of migrants from Venezuela, than from other countries.

The research by Ferwerda & Gest in particular, is special because they use prospective migrants as their sample population. A sample population made up of migrants after they arrived in the migration destination, may result in selection bias and post-hoc reasoning (Ferwerda & Gest 2020). Since this research is based on interviews with migrants after they arrived, selection bias and post-hoc reasoning are limitations of this research.

Immigration may have different effects on the welfare system of a country. First, increasing immigration may lead to higher insecurity amongst locals caused by increased job competition, increased wage competition and increased economic insecurity (Gaston & Rajaguru, 2013). This may lead to locals increasing their demand for welfare benefits as a safety net or rather an insurance effect (Gaston &



Rajaguru, 2013). Second, immigration is also assumed to be a net drain of the public purse, especially if they receive benefits (Gaston & Rajaguru, 2013). A high demand in welfare benefits can lead to high expenditures and also high debt for a country. Aruba currently has high debts and budgetary restrictions, leading to welfare retrenchments and dissatisfied locals. However, immigration may also lead to positive effects such as alleviating the pension system (De Giorgi & Pellizzari, 2009). Most immigrants tend to be of working age and looking for a job. This will help to alleviate the aging population problems and therefore help alleviate the welfare state system. Aruba is currently experiencing aging population problems, with the legal pension age set to rise from 60 in 2015 to 65 in 2025 (Gobierno Aruba, 2022). Immigration may thus have its positive effects by alleviating the system, or its negative effects by draining it. To know these effects is an important aspect for a country. With the results of this research, Aruba will have more information on how to tackle welfare state problems or immigration rate problems that they may encounter.

### 2.3 The Welfare Magnet Hypothesis

There was different research done on the topic of the welfare magnet hypothesis. Borjas (1999) introduced the welfare magnet hypothesis where he researched if welfare generosity attracts migrants. He mentioned different ways in which this hypothesis might take place. For example, the welfare benefits might attract migrants who would've otherwise not chosen the same location, or the welfare system may work as a safety net for migrants who fail in the country of migration and discourage them from returning to their home country. This research was done in the US, where a positive relationship between immigrants' location decision and the welfare system was found. Borjas (1999) found that immigrants who receive welfare in the US, tend to reside in the states with generous welfare systems.

Next, Boeri (2010) also used the welfare magnet hypothesis to conduct his own research. This research was done in Europe instead of the US, and also found a positive relationship between the immigrants' location decision and the welfare system of that country. However, this research found a specific link between the welfare system and low-skilled immigrants. This result is in line with the results from De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009).

Lastly, Agersnap (2019) also used the welfare magnet hypothesis, however this time to a specific European country. This research was done on Denmark, where again a positive relationship was found. Agersnap found that when Denmark reduced its welfare benefits, the net flow of immigration decreased with 5000 immigrants per year.

It has to be noted that even though all three of these researches found a positive relationship between the welfare system of a country and the immigrants' decision to move there, these researches only focused on the welfare system and not on other influences such as wage and employment level. When this was included in the research of De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009), it was found that wage and employment level have a stronger effect than the level of benefits. These theories combined influenced two hypotheses for this research:

→ H2: The level of wages and employment opportunities have a stronger influence on the decision of immigrants to migrate to Aruba, than the welfare system of Aruba.

→ H3: Once the immigrants start receiving welfare benefits, this will work as a safety net and discourage them from moving back to their home country.

In the next chapter, Aruba's welfare system will be explained. These theories in combination with the knowledge on Aruba's welfare system will help to research the hypotheses generated above.

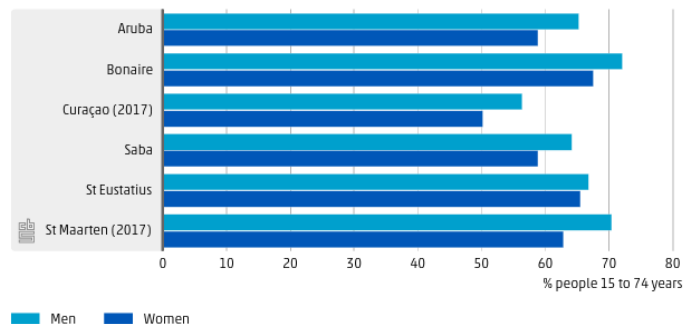
### 3. Aruba's Welfare System

This chapter will give a more elaborate background on the island of Aruba, its data on migration and Aruba's welfare system. With this information, the reader can get to know Aruba a bit better and gain a better understanding of how its welfare system and migration laws work.

#### 3.1 Aruba and Migration

Aruba is a small island located in the Caribbean with a population of around 100.000 people and forms part of the Dutch Kingdom (CBS, 2021). Aruba is located only 29km north of Venezuela and 80km northwest of its sister island, Curacao. Forming part of the Dutch Kingdom but still having its independence is done by Aruba being in charge of its home affairs, while the Netherlands has control and say in international affairs. If Aruba proves to not be capable of handling their home affairs, the Netherlands has the right to step in. This happened recently after Aruba took out major loans due to the pandemic. This has led to the Netherlands introducing different requirements that Aruba has to comply with in order to cut Aruba's expenses so that they are able to pay back the loans. Aruba had to agree to these requirements to receive the loans from the Netherlands. The requirements introduced by the Netherlands included cutting the health care benefit expenses, raising the pension age and introducing new taxes (Rijksoverheid, 2020). Aruba also decided to cut public employee salaries by 12.6% indefinitely. Aruba had a net labor participation rate of 62% in 2016, for those between the age of 15 and 74 (CBS, 2019). The net labor participation rate is defined as "the share of the employed labor force in the total population" (CBS, 2019). Next to this, Aruba had an unemployment level of around 8% in 2016 (CBS, 2019). Per 1 of January, 2021 Aruba's minimum wage is AWG. 1.815,35 based on a 40-hour work week (Gobierno Aruba, 2021). This amount can translate to around 918 euro. Below, some figures of Aruba's employment level and educational level can be seen compared to other Dutch Caribbean islands in 2016.

## 2.2 Labour participation Dutch Caribbean islands, 2016



Source: CBS, 2019. <https://cbs.aw/wp/index.php/2019/02/28/labor-force-dutch-caribbean-islands/>

## 2.1 Key figures labour force Dutch Caribbean islands, 2016

	Unit of measure	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao (2017)	Saba	St Eustatius	St Maarten (2017)
<b>Population 15 to 74 years</b>							
Total population	number	84,660	15,300	118,030	1,580	2,430	31,500
Labour force	number	56,780	11,480	72,770	1,010	1,730	22,290
employed labour force	number	52,400	10,700	62,480	970	1,610	20,900
unemployed labour force	number	4,380	770	10,290	30	120	1,390
Not in the labour force	number	33,050	3,830	45,220	580	700	9,210
Net labour participation	% of population	61.9	69.9	52.9	61.6	66.2	66.3
Unemployment	% of labour force	7.7	6.7	14.1	3.3	7.1	6.2
Youth unemployment (15 to 24 years) <sup>1)</sup>	% of labour force	17.9	20.2	32.8	.	.	23.8
<b>Population 15 years and over</b>							
Net labour participation	% of population	58.4	66.7	49.1	59.2	63.3	65.1
Unemployment	% of labour force	7.7	6.7	14.1	3.3	7.1	6.2

<sup>1)</sup> Due to the small numbers, youth unemployment rates for Saba and St Eustatius are not available.

Source: CBS, 2019. <https://cbs.aw/wp/index.php/2019/02/28/labor-force-dutch-caribbean-islands/>

Aruba is a multicultural island with migrants from different countries. The correct way for an individual to migrate to Aruba includes applying for a work or residence permit before migrating. There are different types of permits, including permits for employment, permits for living, permits for students or permits for citizens of the Dutch kingdom (DIMAS, 2022). When migrating, the migrant needs to fill out a form, which depends on what type of permit they are requesting. An example of this form can be seen below in Dutch for a paid employment permit. To receive the permit, the migrant needs to pay AWG. 65,- for administration fees, AWG. 1200,- for AZV/AOV fees and a country specific amount for deposit (DIMAS, 2022). This means that a migrant is paying upfront for his or her health care benefits (AZV) and pension (AOV) when requesting a permit. The amount for AZV/AOV fees is AWG.1200,- for the first permit, but gets reduced to AWG. 600,- in the request for extension of the permit. The deposit that is asked of the

migrant will be used in case Aruba has to deport the person back to his home country and thus includes the purchasing of a flight ticket. This deposit will be returned to the migrant when the migrant leaves the country on his own, or when they get a permanent residence permit. The deposit amount varies depending on the country, which can be seen in the form below. For an EU country for example, this is AWG. 2000,-.

INDIENINGSBEWIJS ARBEID IN LOONDIENST		
<i>Onderstaande gegevens invullen</i>		
PERSOONLIJKE GEGEVENS AANVRAGER		
Naam:		
Voornaam:		
Geboortedatum:		
CRV. Nr.:		
Email adres:	Cel / Tel nummer:	Bankrekening nummer:
Complete documenten / Incomplete documenten		 <p>Stempel DIMAS plus datum Parasol ambtenaar</p>
<p>De ambtenaar van de DIMAS verklaart dat, het aanvraag voor een vergunning tot tijdelijk verblijf met toestemming om arbeid te verrichten voor de betrokkene, niet / wel vergezeld met de benodigde documentatie, in ontvangst en in behandeling zijn genomen.</p>		
Handtekening ambtenaar DIMAS	Datum	

RETRIBUTIE / LEGES		
VERGUNNING TOT TIJDELIJK VERBLIJF ARBEID IN LOONDIENST		
	EERSTE AANVRAAG	VERLENGING/WIJZIGING AANVRAAG
Retributie	AWG. 65,00	AWG. 40,00
Leges	AWG. 1200,00	AWG. 600,00
Waarborgsom	*	Geen
Totaal te voldoen		
* De waarborgsom bedraagt voor een inwoner met de nationaliteit van:		
Een land in Azië, Afrika Australië of Oceanië	AWG. 4500,00	
Een ander land in Europa	AWG. 3000,00	
Een land in Midden-Amerika of Zuid-Amerika	AWG. 1000,00	
Canada	AWG. 3000,00	
Chili, Argentinië, Paraguay, Brazilië, Uruguay	AWG. 2000,00	
Een land in het Caribische gebied	AWG. 1000,00	
Europese Unie	AWG. 2000,00	

**TE VOLDOEN MET BETAALORDER CHECKLIST**

ONLINE BILLPAYMENT  
OPTIE ARUBA BANK OF  
BANCO DI CARIBE

OF BIJ DE MFA MET EEN  
BANKPAS / DEBIT CARD

DIMAS/14-01-2020

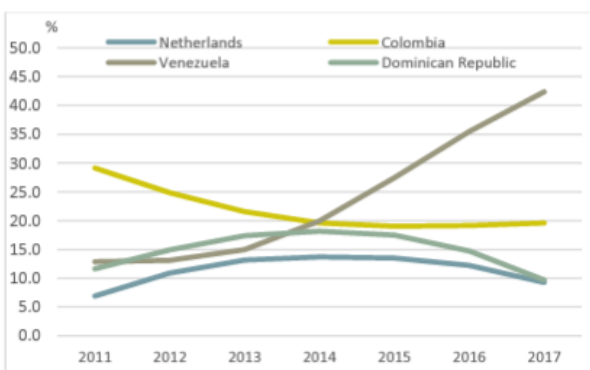
Source: DIMAS 2022 <https://www.dimasaruba.aw/particulier/werken/>

### 3.1.1 Aruba Migration and Integration Study

The Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (CBS) conducted research on the migration to Aruba in 2016 called Aruba Migration and Integration Study 2016 (AMIS 2016). This section will discuss the AMIS 2016 and its results. This research was based on recent migrants aged 14 years and above. It also included every member of their household. Recent migrants were defined in this research as everyone who migrated to Aruba in the last 10 years. The research was conducted via short and long interviews where the short interviews included sections on personal characteristics, migration history, economic activity and the long interviews two extra categories on recruitment and the situation around migration including migrants' intentions, knowledge and opinion about Aruba.

This research found that 52.7% of recent migrants were women. The average age of the recent migrants was 38 for women and 39 for men. Around 85% of recent migrants migrated directly from their birth country, with 13 for every 20 migrants migrating from neighboring countries such as Colombia, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. This research also mentions the Netherlands as a major country of origin. In 2011, Colombia was the most frequent country of origin and later this became Venezuela.

**Figure 2. Net migration as a percentage of total migration of the foreign-born from the major countries of origin**



Source: Population Registry Office

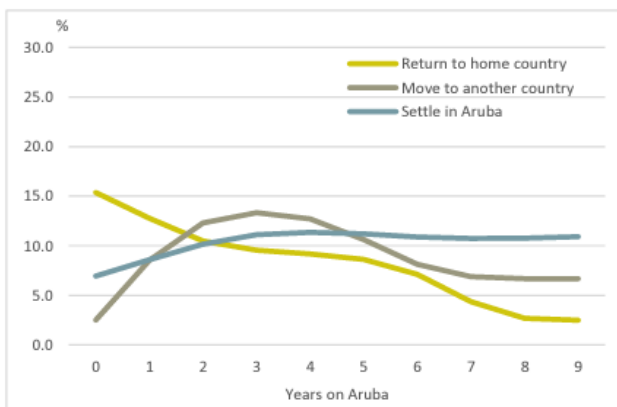
<https://cbs.aw/wp/index.php/2018/09/05/recent-migrants-destination-aruba/>

It is worth noting that 6.4% of these migrants obtained the Dutch nationality at birth due to having at least one parent born in Aruba. Having a Dutch nationality makes it easier to migrate to Aruba due to its laws. In 2010, according to the population and housing census, migrants formed 34.5% of the population and migrated from no less than 133 countries. The research states that around 33% of the recent migrant population has the Dutch nationality. This is important, because those who have the Dutch nationality will

have easy access to the welfare system of Aruba. However, 82.6% of those who did not have the Dutch nationality reported that they did not apply for the Dutch nationality due to not meeting all the requirements.

When it comes to the intention of the recent migrants, 77% intended to stay in Aruba, 19.4% intended to return to their home country and 3.6% intended to move to another country such as the Netherlands or the US. From those who intended to stay in Aruba, most were migrants from South America. 13.2% of migrants from South America reported having the intention to move back home. Those from South America who have the intention to move back home gave family as the reason for this attention, while those from Europe gave the end of an employment contract as reason to move back home. Those who intended to stay in Aruba gave as reason the quality of life and economic reasons, such as having a good job.

**Figure 3. Recent migrant population by years lived on Aruba and intentions**



<https://cbs.aw/wp/index.php/2018/09/05/recent-migrants-destination-aruba/>

Most migrants from Europe and North America reported that they already had friends living on Aruba, while migrants from other countries reported that they had family living on Aruba. They also reported that they often received help from their friends and family living on Aruba with housing, financial help or help obtaining a working and residence permit. This is in line with De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009) who mentioned the network of migrants in the country as a reason for choosing the specific country to migrate to, and leads to the fourth hypothesis of this paper being:

→ H4: Family and Friends will have a stronger pull factor than the welfare system when it comes to choosing Aruba as the destination.

The correct way to migrate to Aruba includes applying for the permits before migrating. When the permit is approved and ready to be picked up, the person may migrate. However, this research showed that about half of the migrants obtained their permits between 1-3 months after arriving on the island. 8.3% of migrants reported that it took over a year before obtaining their permit, with most of them being migrants from Asia. Lastly, this research also reported that about 34% of migrants stated that they think that foreigners are not being fairly treated by the policies implemented by the government.

### 3.2 Aruba's Welfare System

Aruba offers different welfare benefits to its citizens. The most important benefits are the health care benefits (AZV), pension benefits, unemployment benefits and education for all / financial help with education. These welfare benefits will be further elaborated below.

#### 3.2.1 Health Care benefits / AZV

Aruba introduced a health care benefit system called AZV in 2001. AZV stands for 'Algemene Ziektelkosten Verzekering' which translates to general health insurance. This health insurance covers all basic health needs such as visits to the doctor and specialists, visit to the dentist, limited physiotherapy, necessary hospital visits and prescribed medicines (AZV-a, 2022). It also covers healthcare abroad when necessary. Aruba is the first of the Dutch Kingdom to have universal general healthcare insurance. AZV is for everyone who legally lives in Aruba and is registered at the population registry office (AZV-c, 2022). For those who need a residence permit, this permit is also necessary to obtain AZV. AZV is a universal benefit, meaning that it does not depend on the work status of an individual. AZV has high costs to be around 440 million Florin and this is financed in different ways (AZV-b, 2022). The first way is based on AZV tax which is 10.5% and is paid by work salaries (AZV-b, 2022). The 10.5% paid is split up in 1.6% paid by the employee, and 8.9% paid by the employer. Next, there is BAZV which is a form of consumption tax. This is 1.5% and is paid by every consumer (AZV-b, 2022). Lastly, the government of Aruba also contributes to the financing of AZV (AZV-b, 2022).

#### 3.2.2 Pension system

The legal pension age on Aruba is currently 64 years old and will continue rising till 65 years old by the year 2024. For those living in Aruba, there are three ways to build a pension. The first form of pension is the 'Algemene Ouderdomsverzekering (AOV)' which translates to general old age insurance and is a



form of universal benefit. This insurance covers everyone legally living on Aruba who reached the pension age, regardless if they worked or not during their working age. The amount of pension (AOV) received depends on how long someone lived legally on Aruba. To receive the maximum amount, the individual has to be living in Aruba from the age of 15 till at least his pension age (SVB Aruba, 2022). For every year that the individual has lived abroad since the age of 15, the pension is reduced with a percentage between 2% and 2.18% (SVB Aruba, 2022). This percentage depends on how long the individual lived abroad, where he lived and his civil status. The maximum amount of AOV is AWG. 1157,- per month per person for those who are single and AWG. 974,- per month per person for those who are married. The AOV is financed by the AOW premium which is paid by employees and employers. The AOW premium is 15.5% split in 10.5% for the employer to pay and 5% for the employee to pay until the employee reaches the legal pension age (BDO Aruba, 2022).

The second way to build up pension is by being employed and is based on the type of work that an individual has. The employer chooses an insurance company for its employees, which will later pay out the pension when the pension age is reached. This pension is also financed by premiums, where the maximum premium is 6% divided evenly amongst employer and employee (Gobierno Aruba, 2022).

The third way to build up pension is via private insurance, which is a personal choice for each individual. When someone reaches the pension age, they will receive the AOV (general pension), their work pension in the case of employment and their private pension in the case that they decide to apply for it.

### *3.2.3 Active and passive labor market policies*

Aruba has both active and passive labor market policies. When someone loses their job, the first policy that they will encounter is the active labor market policy. The individual will have to register at the “Departamento di Asunto Social” (DAS / department of social welfare) and at an organization which will help him look for a job. If the individual cannot find a job even with the help of the organization, then the passive labor market policy will come into play, where the person will receive unemployment benefits. The requirements to receive unemployment benefits include being between the age of 17 and pension age, being capable of working, actively looking for work, born in Aruba, have a Dutch nationality or have been living for 3 consecutive years in Aruba (DAS, 2021). The benefits given are per family and the total family income will be taken into consideration. If an individual is approved for the unemployment benefit, he will receive 450 florin per month if he is the head of the household, or 200 florin per month if he is an additional family member (DAS, 2021). This amount is considered low when compared to the

minimum wage of Aruba and the average cost of living per month. According to Gobierno Aruba (2021), the minimum wage in Aruba for someone working 40 hours a week is AWG. 1,815.35 per month or AWG. 423,40 per week. The average cost of living per month in Aruba comes down to AWG. 1,875.35 for a single person (Numbeo, 2020). This means that the unemployment benefit earned per month is almost the same as the minimum wage earned per week. The unemployment benefit is also given to disabled individuals, but has other requirements and a higher amount of 947 florin per month. Since the unemployment benefits are considered to be low and have high requirements such as living three consecutive years in Aruba, this will be a barrier for those who recently migrated to Aruba and may not be considered as a reason to choose Aruba.

#### *3.2.4 Education system*

The education system of Aruba is worth mentioning since it can also be seen as a benefit and a reason for migrants to choose Aruba. Aruba has education for all, meaning that every child below the age of 17 has the right to education. The school fee that should be paid for primary school depends on the organization under which the school falls. The organizations are based on religion and the school fees lie between AWG. 200,- to AWG. 500,- per year (around 100 euro - 250 euro per year). For private schools, this fee would be higher. For parents who cannot afford paying the school fee, they will receive financial help from the government to pay the fees. The schools in Aruba are taught in Dutch and provide education of good quality for the students to continue their higher education abroad, especially in the Netherlands. The fact that every child has a right to education, the low school fees and the opportunity to easily continue studying abroad can be of importance when choosing Aruba as a migration destination.

## 4. Research Design

This paper focuses on empirical, positive research done on the extent of which the Aruban welfare system influences migrants' decisions to choose Aruba as their destination. This research has an explanatory goal and will connect theoretical concepts of migration pull factors, to the information gathered by interviews conducted with recent migrants on Aruba.

### 4.1 Method of Data Collection

This research will be conducted through a qualitative analysis of interviews with recent migrants on Aruba. The qualitative analysis of the interviews will help to clarify causal mechanisms and the results will be explained using theory application. Since evidence from verbal sources can answer questions about individuals' motivations and thought process directly, the interviews can help to verify the incentives that the actors faced when choosing their migration destination (Toshkov, 2016). The interview results can add to the theory by showing that something unexpected by the theory is possible, or that something expected is not realized (Toshkov, 2016). The expected reason for migration according to the welfare magnet hypothesis by Borjas (1999) is welfare generosity, while De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009) mentions wage level and employment level and Ferwerda & Gest (2020) mentioned democratic governance.

#### 4.1.1 Pre-interview questionnaire

The data collection will start with a pre-interview questionnaire containing 4 sections of basic questions to gather information of the interviewees (*See appendix A*). This questionnaire will be sent out digitally to the interviewees a few days before their interviews and must be filled out beforehand. The questionnaire will start with an introduction of the research to inform the respondents about the nature of the research and about the guaranteed anonymity. Next, the first section of the questionnaire will contain questions about personal characteristics such as age, country of origin and year of migration. The second section will contain basic questions about their situation in their country of origin such as their educational level or occupation while in that country. The third section will contain questions on pull factors with the respondents ranking which pull factor they find most to least important when considering Aruba as a destination. This section was included in the questionnaire as the ranking of factors is easier answered on paper, where the respondent can have a good overview of the factors, than verbally. Lastly, the fourth

section will contain basic questions about their current situation in Aruba and future intentions such as level of satisfaction with their salary in Aruba and intention to move back home or migrate to other countries.

It was chosen to do a pre-interview questionnaire to make the interview process easier and quicker. The questionnaire contains basic questions that can be asked beforehand, such as age and country of origin, to save some time during interviews and provide the interviewer with some background information. During the actual interview, questions may be asked based on the responses from the questionnaire. The questionnaire responses may generate new questions or the interviewee may be asked to further elaborate his questionnaire answers if this is necessary. The answers on the rankings of pull factors will also be discussed in the interview with the interviewees to get more background story.

#### *4.1.2 Interviews*

After the pre-interview questionnaire, the interviews will be conducted online via WhatsApp video call or other online platforms. This is due to the distance of the interviewees being in Aruba and the interviewer being in The Netherlands. The interviews are directed on finding out which factors motivated the decision of the interviewees to choose Aruba as destination. The interviews will be done in English or Spanish, depending on the preferences of the interviewees. The interviews will be semi-structured interviews starting with one open-ended question to capture the overall migrating experience of the interviewee. This question will be:

→ Can you please tell me about your migrating journey to Aruba and how it all started?

Next, the interview will continue with specific questions based on the pre-existing theories to find out which pull factors have played a role in the interviewees' decisions (*See appendix B*). These specific questions are built in two sections, with the first section being on hypothetical situations. This section of the interview contains questions where hypothetical factors/situations of Aruba and Curacao are compared to see which of the two destinations the interviewee will choose (*See Appendix B*). An example of a question based on a hypothetical situation is:

→ When you were considering migrating, you found out that you had family and friends living in Curacao, but none in Aruba. Which country would you have chosen to migrate to?

These questions will be adapted based on the interviewee's personal situation. Only the situation

presented in the question is hypothetical, but the rest of the interviewee's situation will remain the same. For example, if the interviewee mentioned friends and a job offer as the reason that they migrated to Aruba, the hypothetical question will then be translated to:

→ When you were considering to migrate, Aruba offered you a job position, but you have family / friends living in Curacao and none in Aruba. Which country would you have chosen to migrate to?

The hypothetical questions are constructed in such a way to find out which factors are more valued by the interviewees. Curacao was chosen as the comparison country since Curacao is the most similar to Aruba. They are both Dutch Caribbean islands, with the same languages spoken, the same culture, similar laws and they are both geographically located next to each other with a distance of 30 minutes by plane.

The hypothetical questions will then be followed by the second section which includes more direct questions such as:

→ Were you aware of the eligibility rules to receive AZV as a migrant, before migrating to Aruba?

→ Did you compare salaries from your country of origin to salaries from Aruba before moving?

Each interviewee will be asked permission for the interviews to be audiotape-recorded. After the interview, a clean transcription of the interview will be put together. To provide the clean transcription, the recordings will be reviewed and cleaned from any grammatical errors or repetitions. The goal of the clean transcription is to report the core message of what is being said in a clean and easy to read way. In case the interview was conducted in Spanish, this will be translated to English.

## 4.2 Sample Population

This research will be conducted on individuals who recently migrated to Aruba. To define recent migrants, the same definition will be used as the AMIS 2016, which is anyone who migrated to Aruba in the last 10 years and aged 14 or above. The sample population will be a small number, containing five interviewees. Two interviewees are from Venezuela, one from The Netherlands, one from Ecuador and one from Curacao/The Netherlands. Since the sample only contains five respondents, it is hard to provide a deep diversifiable sample. This sample will give an insight into European and South-American migrants. Since this research contains an hypothesis of Venezuela, two respondents representing the country will be interviewed. The respondents are aged in their thirties, and one in her fifties. The respondents also represent different educational backgrounds, with them being PHD student, teacher with

University degree, sales person with Bachelor degree, cleaning lady with highschool degree and a sterilizer technician with MAVO/highschool degree. The sample was obtained through word of mouth and acquaintances. It is difficult to obtain a list containing contact information of recent migrants. This is why the sample population was selected through word of mouth and using social media platforms such as facebook to find recent migrants who are willing to participate in this study. It is worth noting that this can result in selection bias. Word of mouth can influence the type of migrants, meaning migrants with a specific background, that are willing to participate in this study. It should also be noted that choosing a sample population after they already migrated to Aruba may also result in selection bias and post-hoc reasoning.

#### *4.2.1 Variables*

The dependent variable in this research is the choice to migrate to Aruba. The independent variables are the potential pull factors mentioned in the theory section such as the welfare generosity, wage levels, employment levels, and the political system of Aruba. Variables that were mentioned in the AMIS 2016 regarding individual characteristics include age, gender, education and country of origin. According to the AMIS 2016, Most migrants are women and the average age is 38 for women and 39 for men. This also applies to the sample population, seeing that the interviewees are women and aged in their 30's. The most frequent countries of origin are Colombia, Venezuela, Dominican Republic and The Netherlands. Two of these countries are included in the interview. The individual characteristics of the AMIS 2016 is in accordance with the interview participants and their backgrounds.

#### *4.4 Method of Data Analysis*

The data from the pre-interview questionnaire and the interview will be analyzed using content analysis. Content analysis is defined as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). In other words, this method is used to analyze the data and examine the language intensely, putting attention to the contextual meaning of the text (Tesch, 1990). Content analysis allows the text data to be in verbal, print or electronic form (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). In this research, the text data of the pre-interview questionnaire will be in electronic form, while the interview itself will be in verbal form transformed to print form.

There are different forms of content analysis. The form of directed content analysis will be used for this research. Directed content analysis is the perfect form of analysis for research based on existing theories

(Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). As mentioned in chapter three, there exists different theories as to why someone would choose a specific destination to migrate to. The goal and strength of the directed approach is to validate or extend those theories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). With the content analysis, a large amount of texts will be classified into categories that represent the same meaning (Weber, 1990). These categories will be created by using the existing theories to identify key concepts as initial coding categories (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). The predetermined coding categories consist of the pull factors of welfare, employment level, wage level, migration laws, migration network, friends and family, and political governance. Since the data is collected through interviews, targeted questions regarding the predetermined categories will be asked. Each category will be assigned a color for coding. The coding process will start by the researcher reading the transcripts and highlighting text that seems to reflect a pull factor for choosing Aruba as destination, regardless of the predetermined categories. This is done to be able to capture all possible pull factors and increase the trustworthiness of this analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The highlighted text will then be given the color of the predetermined categories that they represent, while pull factors that do not represent any category will be highlighted gray. Professional judgment will be used to decide which words are reflecting a pull factor and which are not. It can be the case that the same word reflects a pull factor in a certain sentence, but not in another. The predetermined categories can be represented by different words. For example, the category of 'welfare' can be represented by words such as AZV, pension or any other benefits offered by the government. Any text that was highlighted gray because they could not be categorized in the predetermined categories will be analyzed to determine if they form part of a new category or a subcategory of the predetermined categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Lastly, the frequency of each predetermined category and newly identified category present in the text of each interviewee will be counted to analyze which categories were most present as pull factors (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The newly identified categories may either contradict the pre-existing theories or extend it.

For the questionnaire analysis, not every section could be coded and put into categories. Section 1 of the questionnaire is about personal characteristics and section 4 is about their current situation in Aruba and does not provide information on the pull factors for migrating and choosing Aruba as destination. Those sections only provide background information on the interviewees and are thus not coded. The same applies for section two, with the exception of one question being:

→ Did you have any problems / disagreements with the political system of that country?

If the answer is yes to this question, depending on the interview itself it may fall under the predetermined

category of political system.

In section three, most questions can be coded as they reflect a pull factor for choosing Aruba. For the section three questions asking the respondent to rank the pull factors, only those ranked as important or somewhat important will be coded. For the section three questions where the respondents rank welfare benefits as a reason to migrate, these benefits will be coded. Lastly, each statement that the respondent said that applied to them in section three, will also be coded.

#### 4.5 Reliability & Validity

An important part of any research is to establish the reliability and validity of the research. For a measure to be reliable, the application of the same measurement instrument to the same data should deliver the same results (Toshkov, 2016). In this case, if different researchers were to apply the same interview questions used in this research to the same interviewees they would get the same or similar results. If these interviews were conducted in different periods of time, it should also deliver the same or similar results seeing that the motivation to move to Aruba should not be influenced by the time the interview is conducted, as long as it is conducted after the decision to migrate was made. This offers reliability to this research. However, there are also some limitations that exist in this research.

The First limitation is that the sample population may be biased. The interviewees will be chosen based on word of mouth and acquaintances. Since the contact information of recent migrants are not public, randomly choosing the sample population is not possible.

The second limitation is that the interviewees will not represent the population perfectly. Since only a small number of actors are interviewed, generalization is needed for the unstudied population. Unless one assumes absolute homogeneity of the migration population, generalization and thus external validity is not ensured (Toshkov, 2016). Repeating the study by interviewing different actors may result in different outcomes due to the unique individual situation of each actor. All five interviewees were also females. Even though most research claims that the pull factors are influenced by educational backgrounds or countries of origin and does not mention gender, it remains a fact that this research did not have a male participant and thus does not provide a male perspective. This was not intentional, however, the AMIS 2016 reported that Aruba has a higher percentage of female migrants, and the participants willing to be interviewed happened to be females in this case. Due to these limitations, more research will be necessary in the future to deliver a result more representative of the total migrant population in Aruba.



When it comes to interviews as a measurement instrument, this offers advantages such as being able to assess the actors' motivation directly. The interviews will provide the opportunity to ask the individuals directly what their thought processes were before deciding to move to Aruba and what influenced this decision. Through the interviews, it will be possible to assess whether the welfare system played a role in their decision making and how much of a role it played. This gives a more reliable form of answers. However, there are also some limitations when it comes to the interviews. First of all, using existing theories as a base for the interviews will cause the researcher to approach the data with a strong bias (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Since the researcher will approach the data already informed with pre-existing theories, it is more likely to find supportive evidence of the theory, rather than unsupportive. Second, the interview questions which are targeted at the predetermined categories/pull factors may influence the respondents answers by giving a clue on what answers to give or by resulting in the respondents agreeing with the questions to please the interviewer. Third, there is the limitation of memory for those who migrated to Aruba a few years ago and may not remember in detail how their thought process was. These limitations are related to the trustworthiness of the research. The researcher will go into the interviews with an open mind in relation to pull factors and the questions will be constructed in such a way to avoid the limitations mentioned above. However, these limitations cannot be erased completely.

Lastly, it should be noted that interviewees often do not have the incentives to share information truthfully (Toshkov, 2016). The interviews will be conducted in a safe space, where consent of the interviewees will be asked and the interviewees will be assured that their identity will remain anonymous and that protection from any possible negative effects due to participation in this research will be of priority. With this, it is hoped to create a trusting environment for the interviewees to share information truthfully.

#### *4.5.1 Integrity*

The integrity of this research is important since the research will be dealing with human subjects. First, informed consent of the interviewees will be asked. The interviewees will be informed of the nature and purpose of this research. The interviewees will also be informed of the interview procedures and their anonymity. The interviewees may ask any questions about the research, which will be answered truthfully. For the purpose of this research, the interviewees will be told about the interview being to assess their motivation to move to Aruba, and to contribute to a research on welfare economics. The interviewees will not be told directly about the research being about the extent to which the welfare system affects their motivation, as this may affect their answers.

Second, the researcher has the responsibility of protecting the participants from any harm or negative effects caused by participating in the interview (Toshkov, 2016). Questions that can lead to negative effects, such as questions on legal status, will not be asked and thus harm or negative effects are not predicted for those who participate in the interviews. Nonetheless, their identity will always be protected. Anonymity will be offered to each interviewee. Their names or other personal details such as contact information will not be shared in this research. For the purpose of anonymity, each interviewee will be named a number such as Participant 1 and Participant 2.

## 5. Analysis

This chapter will include the analysis of each interview conducted. The analysis will be based on content coding and will provide the necessary information to answer the research question of this paper. First this chapter will provide a section on the findings of the interviews for each participant, which will be later analyzed in the second section.

### 5.1 Findings

This section will give a brief summary of the findings of each interview. The findings include the migration situation of each participant and the pull factors that made them choose Aruba as their destination. There were 5 participants in this research. They represent the countries of Ecuador, Venezuela, Curacao and The Netherlands.

#### Participant 1: Ecuador

Participant 1 is a 36-year-old female who migrated in 2013 from Ecuador. This participant worked as a domestic employee in Ecuador and has the same job in Aruba. She reported to not have had economic stability in Ecuador and is currently very satisfied with her job and salary in Aruba. She is earning way more in Aruba than she was in Ecuador. She also did not have any political disagreements in Ecuador.

When she was asked why she migrated to Aruba, she answered “I did not have plans to come to Aruba. My plan was to go to Spain. I had family there and the education there is in Spanish. I hired a lawyer to help me get my visa for Spain. But Europe declined my visa request three times. He told me that he knows of a couple who are moving to Aruba and I could work for this couple. This is how I got to Aruba”. The pull factor of employment can be seen here.

This participant migrated to Aruba specifically because she did not have economic stability and was looking for a job with a better salary compared to what she was earning in Ecuador. When she was asked if she compared salary before migrating, she answered “Yes, because in my country at that time, the minimum salary was \$200. So, when the lawyer told me that the salary is \$500 to \$600 in Aruba, that is triple of what they are going to pay me in my country. That’s why I decided to come”. The pull factor of wage level can be seen here.

When she was asked if she informed herself on the migration laws of Aruba, she replied with “No

nothing. My lawyer told me that one can go as a tourist to Aruba and just stay to work there and that the employer will fix the permit for me”. This leads one to assume that because she did not need a visa to enter Aruba and was under the impression that she could migrate to Aruba as a tourist and stay there to live, the ease of the migration laws was also a pull factor for her.

She accepted the job offer immediately, without conducting any research on Aruba. She was planning on staying for two years in Aruba, however she met new people, liked the weather and had a good paying job. This resulted in her staying for 9 years in Aruba. When she was asked if she saw welfare benefits such as AZV and education as a reason why she stayed longer in Aruba, she replied with “Yes, I do. I did a lot of workshops and received a lot of certificates while in Aruba”. She is planning to move back to Ecuador soon because she built her own house with the money earned from Aruba and also wishes to continue her studies in Spanish.

This participant made it clear that she migrated to Aruba due to the job offer that she had, the wage level that Aruba offered and because she did not require a visa to enter. The pull factors of wage level, employment and migration laws were present here. This participant did not mention any pull factors of welfare benefits during the interview and reported that she did not know anything about the welfare system before moving.

#### Participant 2: Venezuela

Participant 2 is a 38-year-old female who migrated in 2018 from Venezuela. This participant has a university degree, was a teacher in Venezuela and is currently working in elderly care in Aruba. She reported to not have had economic stability in Venezuela at the moment of migration and is currently satisfied with her job and salary in Aruba. She is earning way more in Aruba than in Venezuela. She also reported to have had political disagreements in Venezuela.

This participant migrated due to the political situation in Venezuela and her daughter’s health. When she was asked what led to her migrating, she answered “Everything started because the situation in Venezuela began to worsen. I decided to leave Venezuela due to the health of my daughter. She suffered from gluten and lactose intolerance and we couldn’t get the type of alimentation that her pediatrician prescribed for her in Venezuela”. She also mentioned that she chose specifically for Aruba because her mother was already living there. This reflects the pull factor of family.

This participant was informed about all the migration laws and welfare benefits of Aruba before she

migrated. She mentioned two important welfare benefits for her daughter, which are AZV and education. She is receiving AZV and financial help with her daughter's education in Aruba. She reported that AZV influenced her decision to move to Aruba and that if Aruba did not offer AZV or financial support for education, but Curacao did, she would've chosen to migrate to Curacao. Here, the pull factor of the welfare benefits can be seen.

The political situation of Aruba is also important for her, because this is the reason that she migrated from Venezuela. She mentioned that she disagreed with the political system from Venezuela and that if Aruba had the same political system, she would not have migrated to Aruba. She originally had planned to stay for one year in Aruba, but ended up staying for three years and seven months. She sees the welfare benefits and her family as a reason for her staying longer.

This participant mentioned that she earns much more in Aruba than she would've earned in Venezuela. She also mentioned that she compared salaries before moving to Aruba. Lastly, she plans on migrating to Spain next, seeing that her husband cannot get into Aruba due to documents and that her daughter is falling behind in school due to the Dutch language education. For this participant, the pull factors of welfare, political system, family and salary were present. A new category of pull factor was also present, which is the factor that Aruba has the proper alimentation for her daughter's prescribed diet.

### Participant 3: Venezuela

Participant 3 is a 35-year-old female who migrated in 2019 from Venezuela. This participant has a bachelor degree, was an entrepreneur in Venezuela and is currently working in laundry in Aruba. She reported to not have had economic stability in Venezuela and is currently satisfied with her job and salary in Aruba. She is earning way more in Aruba than she would've in Venezuela. She also reported that she had political disagreements in Venezuela.

When asked why she left Venezuela, she answered "Because of the political and economic situation of the country. The situation was getting difficult. Especially because I am a mother of 4 kids so the economic situation got really difficult. I had friends living here and they told me that there was work here for me and that I could work here and the salary would be higher than what I would earn in my country. That is why I came here". In this sentence, different pull factors can be detected such as political system, friends, employment and wage level.

Her friends told her that she could work in Aruba and earn more money than in Venezuela to support her

family. Her friends informed her on the salary and employment opportunities before she migrated. Her friends are a strong pull factor for her choosing Aruba. She reported that Aruba was her friends' suggestion and that she would choose the country where her friends are because "there would be people there that I know and that have knowledge about the situation and the help that they give me pushes me. Because they would know everything there, how everything goes. So, where my friends are, that's what I would choose". She also mentioned that if Aruba had the same political system as Venezuela and she had no friends living there, she would choose to migrate to a social-democratic country. However, if her friend were in Aruba, she would still choose Aruba regardless of the political system. The only hypothetical situation where she would not migrate to her friends in Aruba, is if Curacao offered more job opportunities than Aruba. This reflects the employment pull factor.

This participant had no knowledge on the welfare system of Aruba and currently has never received any welfare benefits from Aruba. She originally planned to stay for six months in Aruba, but ended up staying for 3 years and counting. She hopes to migrate to the United States soon, in search of more opportunities for her and her children when it comes to education and job. In this interview, the pull factors of friends, employment, salary and political system were present. This participant did not mention any pull factors of welfare benefits during the interview.

#### Participant 4: Curacao / The Netherlands

Participant 4 is a 28-year-old female from Curacao. This participant was born in Curacao, but migrated to the Netherlands when she was five years old. When she was 25 years old she migrated back to Curacao and six months later to Aruba in 2020. In Curacao she was an independent consultant looking for projects and now she is a PHD student, researcher and lecturer in Aruba. She reported to have had economic stability in her country and is currently very satisfied with her job and salary in Aruba. She is earning a lot more in Aruba compared to Curacao. She reported no political disagreements with her country.

This participant made it very clear that she migrated to Aruba specifically because of a job offer. When asked why she decided to migrate, she answered "Alright so I was in Curacao right before I migrated to Aruba and I wasn't planning to migrate to Aruba but I found a job application which appealed to me so much that I applied and I was accepted. So actually, I did not want to go, I wanted to settle in Curacao but I could not say no to this job application". The participant compared the salaries of what she was currently earning in Curacao, and the salary of Aruba was much higher. Here, the pull factor of employment and wage level can be seen. However, she also mentioned that she had a job offer in Curacao that offered her a

higher wage than Aruba. She chose to take the job offer of Aruba because this job appealed to her more, which is reason to believe that the pull factor of employment had a stronger effect than the wage level. She mentioned that she had family members living in Aruba, however these were distant family members that she did not know and thus did not find it a reason to migrate to Aruba.

For this participant, Bonaire was used as the opposing country in the hypothetical questions since she is migrating from Curacao and thus Curacao could not be used. Curacao is located between Aruba and Bonaire and both Aruba and Bonaire are Dutch islands with the same languages spoken and same culture. The participant mentioned that she would've chosen Bonaire if Bonaire offered her the same job with a higher salary. She also mentioned that the unemployment level of Aruba would not have impacted her decision since the job contract gave her security for 4 years and would help her develop professionally in such a way that she could find a job anywhere else later if necessary.

When it comes to the pull factor of welfare, this was not present in the interview. The participant explained that her job fixed the AZV and pension for her, but she had no knowledge on the eligibility rules because this did not really matter for her. When she was asked if her decision would have been influenced if Aruba eliminated AZV and universal pension, she answered "No. I will just take the responsibility by myself because the job is just too good to be true. So, I would not mind that". As a reason to eventually move back home, she mentioned family. In this interview, the pull factors of employment, wage level and salary were present.

#### Participant 5: The Netherlands

Participant 5 is a 50-year-old Female who migrated from the Netherlands in 2016. This participant was a florist manager in the Netherlands and is a sterilization technician at the hospital of Aruba. She reported to have had economic stability in the Netherlands and is currently dissatisfied with her job and salary in Aruba. She is currently earning way less in Aruba than she would've earned in the Netherlands. She reported no political disagreements with her country.

When she was asked why she migrated to Aruba, she answered "Well my husband is from Aruba and he wanted to go back to his country to live there, so I went with him. We first went with the kids for a really long vacation there and decided that we wanted to move there to see how life was on Aruba. My husband moved to the Netherlands when he was 14 years old and wanted to return to see what it was like". This interview gave a perspective in both her and her husband's pull factors for Aruba.

When she was asked why her husband wanted to migrate to Aruba, she answered “He wanted to go away from Holland for a change. He wanted to go back to his country and he got a job offer when we were there on holidays. Because he had family living there, we could also live for free in a house on Aruba. That is something that we did not have in the Netherlands”. Here, the pull factor of family and employment can be seen. A strong pull factor mentioned in this interview was the free accommodation. This free accommodation would help them to save money and was the winning factor for choosing Aruba above other countries. When asked if Curacao and Aruba both offered her husband a job but Curacao offered a higher salary, she chose to still migrate to Aruba because “we had family in Aruba and we had the opportunity to live in a house without paying rent. We could live in the house of his family, so even though his salary was not high we could still save money in Aruba. If we did not have the luxury of having free accommodation in Aruba, we would probably choose Curacao if the pay was more”. In fact, both of them were earning way less in Aruba than they would’ve earned in the Netherlands. The pull factor of free accommodation falls under the family category since it is a family provided privilege. She also mentioned that if Aruba did not offer her husband a job at all, but Curacao did, they would’ve chosen for Curacao. They wanted to explore something new and take on a new adventure. This is the reason why they decided to leave the Netherlands. Since Aruba offered a job and free accommodation with family, they chose Aruba as their destination.

This participant also mentioned the weather of Aruba as a pull factor. She did not have a job in Aruba when she migrated, but got a job afterwards. This is why this interview did not focus on her job. When it comes to welfare, she mentioned that they researched the healthcare of Aruba because her son has kidney problems. However, she did not have information on AZV and did not know that AZV could cover the costs. She researched only the possibility of treatment in Aruba. She mentioned that she would’ve still migrated to Aruba if there was no AZV, as long as the kidney treatments were available. Even if she has to pay for the treatments herself. Lastly, she mentioned that she is planning to migrate back to the Netherlands especially for her kids to continue their studies there. In this interview, the pull factors of family and employment were present. It is important to note that her husband was also present at the interview and even though he was not interviewed, he agreed with everything that she said.

#### Level of skills / education:

Lastly, existing theories claim that high skilled migrants may be attracted to the pull factors of employment and wage, while low-skilled migrants may be attracted to employment, wage and the welfare



system as a safety net. The one participant in the interviews who considered the welfare system to be a real pull factor was someone with a university degree and thus a high-skilled migrant. There were other migrants who mentioned the welfare system, however, this had a low pull factor for them. Based on the interviews, the level of skills does not seem to cause the welfare system to become a pull factor. However, more research would be necessary, focusing on the level of skills, to answer this question.

## 5.2 Analysis

For the coding of the interview transcripts and pre-interview questionnaire, 7 categories were created based on existing theories for migration pull factors. These categories were then each assigned a color, which was used to analyze the data and highlight the texts with the color that reflects the appropriate category. The 7 predetermined categories and their assigned colors are:

1. Welfare
2. Employment
3. Wage
4. Migration laws
5. Political system
6. Migrating community
7. Family & Friends

When analyzing the transcripts and questionnaire, all texts reflecting any pull factors were highlighted independently and later assigned the correct color based on the category they fall under (*See appendix A*). There were some highlighted texts as pull factors that could not be placed under the predetermined categories. These are the pull factors of:

1. Weather (Participant 5)
2. Dietary supplements/alimentation (Participant 2)
3. Returning to husband's birth country (Participant 5)

However, dietary supplements for someone who has lactose and gluten intolerance are available in most countries. This was not available in Venezuela due to the political and economic situation going on. This is why this pull factor will be integrated as a subcategory in the political system. Next, for the returning to the birth country of the respondent's husband, this cannot be formed into a new category since this will reflect the husband's motives and not the interviewee. This will therefore form part of a subcategory of

family, as they will be migrating to reunite with family at the birth country of the interviewee’s husband. This leaves the pull factor of weather, for which a new pull factor category was created.

Apart from these categories, the pull factor categories of languages spoken on Aruba and geographical distance to home country were also present in the questionnaire. In the pre-interview questionnaire, most of the respondents ranked the factors of languages spoken on the island and the geographical distance with their country as important or somewhat important. These pull factors are however not included in the analysis because they were not mentioned by the participants in the verbal interviews and were only ranked as important when it was given to them as a pull factor in the questionnaire. This does not reflect the main reasons for them choosing Aruba as their destination. However, languages spoken and the geographical distance are factors that may make the choice of migrating to Aruba easier and may thus act as supporting factors.

After the complete data has been highlighted and coded, the frequency of each category was then determined for each individual. This can be seen below.

	Welfare	Employment	Wage	Migration laws	Political system	Migrating community	Friends/ Family	Weather
Participant 1	3	10	12	4	1	1	1	0
Participant 2	17	1	3	0	7	0	4	0
Participant 3	2	10	8	1	4	1	12	0
Participant 4	4	15	6	1	0	0	1	0
Participant 5	2	4	1	0	0	0	10	1
Total	28	40	30	6	12	2	28	1
% frequency	19%	27.2%	20.4%	4.1%	8.2%	1.4%	19%	0.7%

In total, the pull factor with the highest frequency is employment. Wage, welfare benefits and friends/family also played an important role with a frequency of higher than 15% for each of them. From the total highlighted texts, 19% was welfare related, 27.2% was employment, 20.4% was wage level, 19% was friends/family, 4.1% was migration laws, 8.2% was political system, 0.7% was weather and 1.4% migrating community.

The top four pull factors are the strongest pull factors being employment, wage level, welfare and friends/family. The pull factor of the political system of Aruba ranks fifth, with the participants from Venezuela deciding to migrate due to having political disagreements with their country. Because of the political situation in their country, they were looking to migrate to a country that can offer them a better political situation. However, this pull factor was accompanied by other pull factors such as employment or welfare. Sixth on the ranking is the pull factor of migration laws, with one participant migrating easier to Aruba because she did not need a visa permit to enter Aruba, but needed the visa to enter elsewhere. Other participants ranked the migration laws as an important pull factor in the questionnaire. Seventh on the ranking is the migrating community, which was mentioned by the participants only during the questionnaire and may thus act as a supporting factor for their migration. Lastly, one new pull factor was mentioned during the interviews which is the pull factor of the Aruban weather. Aruba is a sunny island with a weather of around 30 degrees celsius all year round. Aruba has beautiful beaches and together with the sunny weather this can create a pull factor for some migrants.

It is important to note that even though the welfare system was tied with friends/family at a frequency of 19%, a large part of the frequency for welfare was due to one person having it as a strong pull factor (participant 2). This means that there is a chance that the welfare system is less of a pull factor overall. For this reason, the top two pull factors for each participant will be mentioned below to gain a perspective of the dominant pull factors per individual.

Participant 1: Wage & Employment

Participant 2: Welfare & Political system

Participant 3: Friends/Family & Employment

Participant 4: Employment & Wage

Participant 5: Friends/Family & Employment

By analyzing the results individually, it can be noted that welfare is present as a dominant factor for only one participant, while the other three pull factors are present as a dominant factor for multiple participants. However, it should be researched further with a larger population if friends/family indeed has a stronger impact than the welfare system. For now, it will be counted as a tie between those two pull factors at a frequency of 19%.

## 6. Conclusion

Aruba is an island that forms part of the Dutch Kingdom and receives migrants from all around the world. This research was inspired by the welfare magnet hypothesis introduced by Borjas (1999) and to see to what extent the welfare system of Aruba influences migrants to choose Aruba as their destination. The welfare magnet hypothesis suggests that the welfare system acts as the main pull factor for migrants to choose a destination, while other research suggests pull factors such as employment level and wage level. This research was a qualitative analysis based on interviews with recent migrants on Aruba, to find out which factors acted as pull factors for them to choose Aruba as their migration destination. Five participants were interviewed and represented the countries of Ecuador, Venezuela, Curacao and The Netherlands.

After the content analysis done on the interview transcripts and pre-interview questionnaire, the results showed that the pull factor with the most influence is the factor of employment. This means that most migrants choose Aruba based on a job offer, or the possible job opportunities that Aruba offers. Second on the ranking of influence is the pull factor of wage level, with most migrants comparing the wage level of Aruba with their own country before migrating and migrating to earn more in Aruba. The pull factor of the welfare system and friends/family are tied in ranking. One participant migrated specifically for the welfare benefits of AZV and financial help with education. Other participants mentioned the welfare system in their interview, but this was not the dominant pull factor for them. The pull factor of family/friends was due to some migrants choosing Aruba because they already had friends or family living there who suggested for them to migrate to Aruba or offered them help with the migration. These friends are mostly the ones who provide the migrants with all necessary information and makes the process of migrating easier.

This research presented three hypotheses.

→ H1: The political system of Aruba will have a stronger influence on the decisions of migrants from Venezuela, than from other countries.

This hypothesis is in line with the results of the interviews. Only the participants from Venezuela reported to have had political disagreements with their country and the pull factor of the political system was more dominantly present with the participants from Venezuela.

→ H2: The level of wages and employment opportunities have a stronger influence on the decision of immigrants to migrate to Aruba, than the welfare system of Aruba.

This hypothesis is also in line with the results of the interviews. The pull factor of employment had the strongest influence with a coding frequency of 27.2%. The pull factor of wage level ranked second with a coding frequency of 20.4%. For the welfare system this was 19% and thus less than employment and wage level. Especially because the welfare system acted as a strong pull factor for only one participant, while the employment and wage level acted as a strong pull factor for multiple participants. Based on the interviews, the pull factors of employment opportunities and wage level seems to have a stronger influence on the decision of migrants compared to the welfare system of Aruba.

→ H3: Once the immigrants start receiving welfare benefits, this will work as a safety net and discourage them from moving back to their home country.

All the participants from Ecuador and Venezuela stayed in Aruba longer than they initially planned, while the participants from Curacao and The Netherlands are still within their planned time frame. Those who stayed longer in Aruba gave as a reason Aruba's welfare benefits, meeting new people, liking their job and liking the weather of Aruba. The participants who stayed longer in Aruba, were asked if they considered the welfare benefits to be a reason for them staying longer. Two out of three answered yes. The third participant does not receive any welfare benefits and thus could not answer that question. From these findings, this hypothesis cannot be rejected. However, more future research is necessary to prove this hypothesis correct.

→ H4: Family and Friends will have a stronger pull factor than the welfare system when it comes to choosing Aruba as the destination.

This hypothesis is not in line with the results from the interview. The family and friends factor had a frequency of 19% while the welfare system also had a frequency of 19% in the content analysis. However, as mentioned before, the welfare system acted as a strong pull factor for only one participant, while family/friends acted as a strong pull factor for multiple participants. Since the frequency between the two codes are tied, more future research should be done focusing on these two pull factors before rejecting this hypothesis.

To answer the research question of this paper, the welfare system acts as a pull factor for some migrants,

however, this is not the most dominant pull factor. The welfare system as a pull factor was coded with a frequency of 19% during the content analysis and can represent to what extent the welfare system acts as a pull factor. The result of this research is in accordance with the research of De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009) who found that wage and employment have a stronger effect than welfare benefits. It is also in accordance with Ferwerda & Gest (2020) who mentioned that the economic and political background influences which considerations are taken per individual when choosing the migration destination. Especially for the participants from Venezuela who, because of their political background, focus a bit more on the political systems of the country of destination. Sjaastad (1962) and Harris & Todaro (1970) mentioned that wage differentials between the migrants' country and the migration destination is a main reason why a migrant may choose a specific destination. Even though wage level is not the main reason in this research, it is the second ranking pull factor and positively reflects the research of Sjaastad and Harris & Todaro. This research also presented a new pull factor for Aruba being the Aruban weather. Lastly, the factors of the Aruban migrating community, the languages spoken on Aruba and the geographical distance between Aruba and the countries of origin are not found to be strong pull factors but were still found important by the migrants and may act as supporting factors when choosing Aruba.

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## Appendix

### Appendix A: Pre-interview questionnaire results with coding

*\*answers are given in the language that it was answered (English & Spanish).*

#### Information that cannot be coded:

First name (Will not be published)	What is your country of birth?	From which country did you migrate from?	In what year did you migrate to Aruba?	How old were you when you migrated to Aruba?
Participant 1	Ecuador	Ecuador	2013	27
Participant 2	Venezuela	Venezuela	2018	34
Participant 3	Venezuela	Venezuela	2019	32
Participant 4	Curacao	Curacao	2020	26
Participant 5	Holland	Holland	2016	44

First name (Will not be published)	What is your current occupation?	How long did you live in your country of origin?	What educational level did you complete in that country?	What was your occupation in your country of origin?
Participant 1	Empleada Domestica	27	secundaria	Empleada Domestica
Participant 2	Cuidado de personas mayores	34 años	Universitario	Docente
Participant 3	Trabajo en londry	31	Bachiller	commerciante
Participant 4	Research and lecturer (PhD candidate at the University of Aruba)	25	kindergarden	Independent consultant looking for projects
Participant 5	Sterilization technician in the hospital of Aruba	44	Mavo	department manager of deka market florist

First name (Will not be published)	Do you consider yourself to have been economically comfortable while living in that country?	Before choosing Aruba, did you have other countries in mind as destination? If yes, which?	Please select all the welfare benefits that you received in Aruba.	How satisfied are you with your job in Aruba?
Participant 1	No	España	AZV /Sistema de Cuidado de la Salud - Educación para todos	Muy satisfecho
Participant 2	Si hasta el momento que decidí salir de él	No	Educación para todos - Ayuda financiera con la cuota escolar.	Satisfecho
Participant 3	no	no	Nada	Satisfecho
Participant 4	yes	No. I actually wanted to settle in Curacao, but I got an amazing job opportunity in Aruba that allowed me to stay in the Caribbean.	AZV - Pension (AOW)	Very satisfied
Participant 5	Yes	No	AZV	Dissatisfied

First name (Will not be published)	How satisfied are you with your job salary / monthly income on Aruba?	If you compare your job salary / monthly income in Aruba, to your salary / monthly income in your home country, which statement would apply?	Are you planning to move back to your home country soon?	Are you planning to migrate to anywhere else in the future? If yes, which country?
Participant 1	Muy satisfecho	Gano mucho más en Aruba de lo que ganaría en mi país de origen	Si	No
Participant 2	satisfecho	Gano mucho más en Aruba de lo que ganaría en mi país de origen	No	España
Participant 3	satisfecho	Gano mucho más en Aruba de lo que ganaría en mi país de origen	quizas	Estados Unidos
Participant 4	Very satisfied	I earn a lot more in Aruba, than I would be earning in my home country	Maybe	Probably not
Participant 5	Very dissatisfied	I earn way less in Aruba, than I would be earning in my home country.	Yes	No

Information that could be coded:

First name (Will not be published)	Did you have any problems / disagreements with the political system of that country?
Participant 1	No
Participant 2	Si
Participant 3	Si
Participant 4	No
Participant 5	No

First name (Will not be published)	Rank these factors from least to most important to you as reasons to migrate to Aruba.	Aruba's wage level	Aruba's employment level	Aruba's immigration laws	Aruba's welfare system (AZV, pension, unemployment benefits, education)
Participant 1		1 - Lo más importante	1 - Lo más importante	1 - Lo más importante	1 - Lo más importante
Participant 2		3 - Neutral	4 - no es realmente importante	4 - no es realmente importante	2 - Algo importante
Participant 3		2 - Algo importante	2 - Algo importante	2 - Algo importante	2 - Algo importante
Participant 4		2 - Somewhat important	1 - Most important	5 - Least important	3 - Neutral
Participant 5		1 - Most important	2 - Somewhat important	3 - Neutral	2 - Somewhat important

First name (Will not be published)	Rank these factors from least to most important to you as reasons to migrate to Aruba.	Family & Friends	Aruba's political system	Geographical distance to home country	Languages spoken on Aruba	Aruba's Migration network (community of migrants)
Participant 1		2 - Algo importante	1 - Lo más importante	2 - Algo importante	1 - Lo más importante	1 - Lo más importante
Participant 2		1 - Lo más importante	2 - Algo importante	1 - Lo más importante	1 - Lo más importante	4 - no es realmente importante
Participant 3		3 - Neutral	2 - Algo importante	2 - Algo importante	1 - Lo más importante	1 - Lo más importante
Participant 4		3 - Neutral	5 - Least important	1 - Most important	2 - Somewhat important	3 - Neutral
Participant 5		3 - Neutral	3 - Neutral	2 - Somewhat important	3 - Neutral	3 - Neutral

First name (Will not be published)	Rank these welfare benefits on the level of importance as reasons to migrate to Aruba.	AZV	Pension system	Unemployment benefits	Education system
Participant 1		1 - Encuentro esta una razón para mudarme a Aruba.	2 - Neutral	2 - Neutral	1 - Encuentro esta una razón para mudarme a Aruba.
Participant 2		1 - Encuentro esta una razón para mudarme a Aruba.	1 - Encuentro esta una razón para mudarme a Aruba.	1 - Encuentro esta una razón para mudarme a Aruba.	1 - Encuentro esta una razón para mudarme a Aruba.
Participant 3		2 - Neutral	2 - Neutral	2 - Neutral	1 - Encuentro esta una razón para mudarme a Aruba.
Participant 4		3 - I do not find this a reason to move to Aruba	3 - I do not find this a reason to move to Aruba	3 - I do not find this a reason to move to Aruba	3 - I do not find this a reason to move to Aruba
Participant 5		3 - I do not find this a reason to move to Aruba	3 - I do not find this a reason to move to Aruba	3 - I do not find this a reason to move to Aruba	2 - Neutral

First name (Will not be published)	Please select the statements that apply to you.	I researched the migration laws before moving to Aruba / I was aware about work & living permit	I had family or friends living on Aruba before I migrated	I was aware of Aruba's political situation before I migrated.	I researched the unemployment levels of Aruba before I migrated	I checked for job openings or applied to jobs in Aruba before I migrated	I was aware of the wage levels / minimum income of Aruba before I migrated
Participant 1						X	X
Participant 2		X	X	X		X	X
Participant 3			X		X		X
Participant 4		X	X			X	X
Participant 5			X				

First name (Will not be published)	Please select the statements that apply to you.	I was aware that Aruba offered AZV before I migrated	I was aware that Aruba offered a universal pension system (AOW) before I migrated.	I was aware of the education system of Aruba before I migrated	I was aware that Aruba offered unemployment benefits/financial help in the case of unemployment before I migrated.
Participant 1					
Participant 2		X	X	X	
Participant 3					
Participant 4		X	X		
Participant 5					

	Total codes	Welfare	Salary	Employment	laws	family/friends	politics	community	language	distance
Participant 1		3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Participant 2		8	1	1	0	2	3	0	1	1
Participant 3		2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1
Participant 4		2	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	1
Participant 5		1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1

\*These codes are later added up to the codes from the transcripts

## Appendix B: Interview questions

### A. Motivation / motivación

1. Tell me about your migrating journey to Aruba and how it all started. Why did you choose specifically for Aruba??

- ¿Cuéntame sobre tu viaje de migración a Aruba y cómo comenzó todo? ¿Por qué elegiste específicamente Aruba?

2. How long were you planning to stay in Aruba when you first moved?

- ¿Cuánto tiempo planeabas quedarte en Aruba cuando te mudaste por primera vez?

3. Did you have family or friends living on Aruba before migrating? If yes, do you think you would still choose to migrate to Aruba if you did not have them there?

- ¿Tenía familiares o amigos viviendo en Aruba antes de migrar? En caso afirmativo, ¿cree que aún elegiría emigrar a Aruba si no tuviera familiares o amigos viviendo allí?

\*Question 3 can also be: You mentioned in the questionnaire that you had family or friends living on Aruba before migrating. Do you think you would still choose to migrate to Aruba if you did not have them there?

### B. Hypothetical situations / situaciones hipotéticas

- Only the situations who apply to the interviewees will be asked. This will be based on their previous answers. For example, if the interviewee did not list political situation as a reason to move to Aruba, they will not be asked the hypothetical political question, as this may result in just asking them to pick their preferred political system, which is not the goal of the question.

→ I will now give you some hypothetical situations where you will need to choose between migrating to Aruba or migrating to Curacao. Only the given situation will be hypothetical, but the rest of your personal experience will stay the same. For example, if you have a family living in Aruba and I give a hypothetical situation where Aruba does not offer a certain benefit, you can still consider that you have family living in Aruba, as this is not related to the hypothetical situation brought forward.

→Ahora le daré algunas situaciones hipotéticas (como si fuera) en las que deberá elegir entre migrar a Aruba o migrar a Curazao. Solo la situación dada será hipotética, pero el resto de su experiencia personal permanecerá igual. Por ejemplo, si tiene familiares que viven en Aruba y doy una situación hipotética en la que Aruba no ofrece un determinado beneficio, aún puede tener en cuenta que tiene familiares que viven en Aruba, ya que esto no está relacionado con la situación hipotética planteada. ..

→ Hypothetical situations/ situaciones hipotéticas:

1. When you were considering emigrating, you found out that Aruba was a communist / socialist country, while Curacao is a social-democratic country. Which country would you have migrated to?

- Cuando estaba considerando emigrar, descubrió que Aruba era un país comunista/socialista, mientras que Curazao es un país socialdemócrata. ¿A qué país habrías emigrado?

- Were you aware of Aruba's political situation before you migrated?

- ¿Estaba consciente de la situación política de Aruba antes de migrar?

2. When you were considering to migrate, you realize that you have family or friends living in Curacao, but none in Aruba. Which country would you choose to migrate to?

- Cuando estaba considerando migrar, se da cuenta de que tiene familiares o amigos que viven en Curazao, pero ninguno en Aruba. ¿A qué país elegirías emigrar?

3. When you were considering to migrate, you find out that Aruba has a higher unemployment rate compared to Curacao. This means that Curacao offers more job opportunities in general compared to Aruba. Which country would you choose to migrate to?

- Cuando estaba considerando emigrar, descubrí que Aruba tiene una tasa de desempleo más alta en comparación con Curazao. Esto significa que Curacao ofrece más oportunidades de trabajo en general en comparación con Aruba. ¿A qué país elegirías emigrar?

- Did you check for job openings before moving to Aruba?

- ¿Revisó las ofertas de trabajo antes de mudarse a Aruba?

- Did you research the level of unemployment before moving to Aruba?

- ¿Investigó el nivel de desempleo antes de mudarse a Aruba?



4. When you were considering to migrate, you found out that Curacao had a higher minimum salary compared to Aruba. Both levels of salary would still be more than what you were earning in your country of origin. Which country would you choose to migrate to?

- Cuando estaba considerando emigrar, descubrió que Curacao tenía un salario mínimo más alto en comparación con Aruba. Ambos niveles de salario seguirán siendo más de lo que estabas ganando en tu país de origen. ¿A qué país elegirías emigrar?

- Did you inform yourself on the minimum monthly income of Aruba before moving?

- ¿Se informó sobre el salario mínimo mensual de Aruba antes de mudarse?

- Did you compare salaries from your country of origin to salaries from Aruba before moving?

- ¿Comparaste los salarios de tu país de origen con los salarios de Aruba antes de mudarte?

5. When considering to migrate, you find out that Aruba offers unemployment benefits and employment pension as part of their welfare system, but curacao offers universal health care, unemployment benefits, universal pension and a good education system. Which country are you choosing?

- Al considerar migrar, descubre que Aruba ofrece beneficios de desempleo y pensión laboral como parte de su sistema de bienestar, pero Curacao ofrece atención médica universal, beneficios de desempleo, pensión universal y un buen sistema educativo. ¿Qué país estás eligiendo?

- Did you inform yourself of the welfare system of Aruba before moving?

- ¿Se informó sobre el sistema de bienestar de Aruba antes de mudarse?

\*The hypothetical questions are just a guideline and may be altered to the interview, or merged together such as: You mentioned that you had family living in Aruba and that Aruba offered you a job offer. What if Aruba offered you the job, but your family lived in Curacao? Would you have still migrated to Aruba?

\*The sub-questions were already answered in the questionnaire; however, this is asked to double check the answers.

### C. Welfare system Aruba / Sistema de bienestar de Aruba

\*The main questions were already asked in the questionnaire. The sub-questions were not asked in the questionnaire and are here to act as a follow up question to their previous questionnaire answers.

1. Did you know that Aruba offered AZV before moving?

- ¿Sabías que Aruba ofreció AZV antes de mudarse?

- If yes, did you find this compelling?

- En caso afirmativo, ¿lo encontró convincente?

- Were you aware of the eligibility rules to receive AZV?

- ¿Conocía las reglas de elegibilidad para recibir AZV?

2. Did you know about the education system of Aruba before migrating?

- ¿Conocías el sistema educativo de Aruba antes de migrar?

- Did it influence the decision to move to Aruba?

- ¿Influyó en la decisión de mudarse a Aruba?

- Were you aware of the costs of education in Aruba before moving? If yes, did you find these costs high or low?

- ¿Estaba al tanto de los costos de la educación en Aruba antes de mudarse? En caso afirmativo, ¿encontró estos costos altos o bajos?

3. Did you know that Aruba offered a universal pension system before you migrated to Aruba?

- ¿Sabía que Aruba ofrecía un sistema de pensión universal antes de migrar a Aruba?

- Did this influence your decision in any way?
  - ¿Influyó esto en su decisión de alguna manera?
- 
- Were you aware of the legal pension age of Aruba before moving?
  - ¿Conocía la edad legal de jubilación de Aruba antes de mudarse?
- 
- Were you aware of the eligibility rules to receive pension?
  - ¿Conocía las reglas de elegibilidad para recibir una pensión?
- 
4. Were you aware of the unemployment benefits that Aruba offers?
- ¿Conocías los beneficios de desempleo que ofrece Aruba?
- 
- Were you aware of the eligibility rules to receive unemployment benefits?
  - ¿Conocía las reglas de elegibilidad para recibir beneficios de desempleo?
- 
5. If Aruba eliminated the welfare benefit that you ranked the most important, would this affect your motivation to choose Aruba as a migrating destination?
- Si Aruba eliminará el beneficio de asistencia social que calificó como el más alto, ¿esto afectaría su motivación para elegir Aruba como destino migratorio?
- 
6. Do you see the benefits that you receive in Aruba as a reason to not move back home?
- ¿Ve los beneficios que recibe en Aruba como una razón para seguir viviendo en Aruba?

\*If they mentioned that they want to return back home in the questionnaire, they were asked why they wanted to return back home as the final question.

