Cultural Adaption of the First and Second Generation British West Indian Migrants in Curaçao

Rose Mary Allen

Introduction

Curaçaoan society consists in large part of a population that at one time in history migrated to the island. The recent study by Jeanne de Bruijn and Maartje Groot concludes that an estimated forty percent of the present population of Curaçao is descendant of migrants that arrived on the island during the last 100 years (de Bruijn en Groot, 2014). In the first half of the 20th century, immigration was important for population increase on the island, and Syrians, East-European Jews, (East) Indians, Chinese, Venezuelans, Portuguese (mainly from Madeira), Surinamese, and natives of the English-speaking Caribbean (the British West Indies and the Dutch Windward Islands) settled here. The majority of the migrants came as manual laborers for CPIM, an oil refinery that established itself on the island in 1915.³ The subsequent expansion of the oil refinery resulted in a severe shortage of industrial workers. The island then began admitting more immigrants, especially young males, to work in the oil industry. During the economic heydays of the oil industry from 1920-1960, the island's population grew, in part due to increased immigration, from 32,709 to 125.094 an approximate 320% growth in 30 years. Growth peaked in the period between 1940 and 1950, when the population grew from 67,317 to 102,206 – an increase of almost 35,000 people in a ten-years span (Palm de, 1985:71).

The migrants came mainly from the former British colonies in the Caribbean, such as Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago.⁴ They are the focus of this article. This migration constituted the first significant voluntary movement of a working class from the wider Caribbean to Curaçao. In addition to working at CPIM, they also worked at the adjacent tanker company Curaçao Stoomboot Maatschappij (CSM), and the Phosphate Mining Company. One noticeable feature of this migration is that it included a fairly large group of young single women (locally known as "sleep-in maids"), recruited independently as domestic workers in and after the 1940s (Philipps, 1988).⁵When economic opportunities in Curaçao declined in the immediate post-World War II-period, especially male immigrants in particular returned with their families to their native countries or continued on to the UK, the USA, and Canada in search of work. Nonetheless, a substantial number remained permanently on the island; their descendants are now second and third generation immigrants.

 ³Its name was changed from NV Curaçaoasche Petroleum Maatschappij to Curaçaose Petroleum Industrie Maatschappij (CPIM) in 1925 (Broek 2011: 85). Locally, it was popularly known simply as "Shell."
⁴ For the sake of clarity, I will use the term British West Indian. The migration of this group came in different waves. The first was in 1924 ,

⁴ For the sake of clarity, I will use the term British West Indian. The migration of this group came in different waves. The first was in 1924, when men came from Jamaica, Barbados, but also from Haiti to help to set up the oil company. The West Indian immigration came to a halt during the Depressing years of 1930-1935, when immigration from the British West Indies temporarily stopped. During the Second World War, due to the increase need of oil by the Allied countries again workers were imported.

⁵ They were called sleep-in maids as they worked and lived in the homes of the (principally) Dutch staff of the oil-company and members of the traditional elites. Most of these women were brought in by their employers who were responsible for their work and residence permit. Oral history shows that these women experienced vulnerable personal and work conditions, doing household work such as cleaning, cooking, washing and ironing clothes including childcare (Philipps, 1988:45-49).

Modu,

Statistisch Magazine

In this article the characteristics of this first and second generation of immigrants from the former British colonies in the Caribbean living in Curaçao will be examined, taking a closer look at their education, settlement pattern, and type of education, income and language. These are indicators of cultural adaption in which people participate in various societal spheres. This paper is part of a larger study in which twentieth century migration from the former British West Indies to Curaçao is documented and analyzed in order to understand shared Caribbean cultural identities (Allen, 2012).

The article is structured as followed. A brief overview is given on the incentive for this study and the methodology used. This is followed by definitions of important concepts. Then the collected data will be discussed, such as level of education, employment, and the primary language use of the first and the second generation of migrants to obtain insight into the challenges and successes experienced by these generations during the last hundred years. The last section includes a summary and conclusion.

Incentive for the study

Migration studies with a focus on Curaçao show a void in research on first and second generation migrants to Curaçao during the early twentieth century.⁶ Sabrina Dinmohamed deals with these two specific categories in her paper *Sociaaleconomische kenmerken van twee generaties migranten in Curaçao* [Social economic characteristics of two generations of migrants in Curaçao], in which she studies educational outcome, work, and income among the first and second generation of specific migrant groups (2010). In her study, most of these migrant groups arrived at the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first century. This also refers to the study by Jeanne de Bruijn and Maartje Groot *Regionale migratie en integratie op Curaçao 1992-2013(2014)*, commissioned by the Ministry of Social Development, Labor and Welfare and which deals with five of the relatively large migrant groups in Curaçao at the moment.

Nonetheless, there is little hard evidence and few published studies examining generational variations of those migrants who came to work for the oil refinery at the beginning of the twentieth century. In polarizing discussions on the fate of these immigrants in recent years, the early twentieth century migrant groups are juxtaposed against the newcomers of the 21st century and showcased as a model of how migrants have assimilated into the social fabric of Curaçaoan society, but, again, without any hard data to sustain this.

⁶ See Do Rego, Ch., (2012). *The Portuguese Immigrant in Curaçao, Immigration, Participation and Integration in the 20th century* Amsterdam: SWP press, which examines how generations of Portuguese immigrants became part of the Curaçaoan society. For a study on the integration process of migrants from the smaller Caribbean societies in the Caribbean society of Trinidad, see the article by Kathleen Valtonen entitled Bread and Tea: A Study of the Integration of Low-Income Immigrants from Other Caribbean Territories into Trinidad *.The International Migration Review* ,Vol. 30, No. 4 (Winter, 1996), pp. 995-1019. It is one of the first studies about the Caribbean interregional migration which has looked at the several factors facilitating participations in the social sphere and labor market by first and second generation migrants from the Caribbean.

Today, immigrants and their children make up a large group of the Curaçaoan labor force and will continue to account for its growth (de Bruijn en Groot, 2014; Dinmohamed, 2015: 9-10, ter Bals, 2011).

Looking at the course of adaptation of the earlier immigrants in Curaçaoan society can help current study by comparing the ways how migrants today establish themselves in the society with those experienced by the earlier ones. The migrants from the former British colonies in particular, at one time in history, constituted the most significant foreign born population in Curaçao, as the Census of 1960 underscores (Volkstelling deel B, 1960: 22).

Moreover, much research is being done in the last decades about generational differences regarding migration. Curaçao, as a small-scale Caribbean society that has experienced large-scale emigration and immigration, could provide important insights into generational distribution of attitudes and outcomes experienced through migration.

Methodology

For this analysis the census of 2011 by the Central Bureau of Statistics of Curaçao was used. The census is taken every ten years to collect data. This data provides a comprehensive understanding of the Curaçaoan population. It also gives numerical insight into the diversity of countries of birth and nationalities of the inhabitants of Curaçao.

In the 2011 census, questions were asked for the first time about the places of birth of the respondent's parents. Consequently, as a primary data source it provides important information about the origins of the inhabitants of Curaçao and enables us to examine group differences based on the place of birth of parents. This analysis focuses specifically on the first and second generation of twentieth century migrants born in the following former British colonies: Antigua and Barbuda (ATG), Barbados (BRB), Dominica (DMA), Grenada (GRD), Guyana (GUY), Montserrat (MSR), Saint Kitts and Nevis (KNA), Saint Lucia (LCA), Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (VCT) and Trinidad and Tobago (TTO).These are the countries from which came a majority of the English speaking migrants from the former British West Indies.

The statistical data of 2011 shows that there are individuals of the first generation of this group who migrated to the island after 1953, which is the year that the oil refinery stopped employing foreign workers and started to lay them off (Van Soest, 1977:521).

Between 1954 and 2011, 17 people arrived from Antigua and Barbuda, 7 from Barbados, 76 from Dominica, 33 from Grenada, 412 from Guyana, 31 from Montserrat, 102 from Saint Kitts and Nevis, 56 from Saint Lucia, 219 from Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and 72 from Trinidad and Tobago. In total this is 1025, while 109 are missing (Census, 2011). This means that among the first generation of this group under study, there is some difference as regards to their date of arrival. Especially migrants from countries such as Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and in particular Guyana have continued to migrate to the island, even after the migration stop in the mid twentieth century migration. In addition, the numbers for the migrants from Guyana is also distorted by the fact that

Modu,

Statistisch Magazine

this group continued to migrate to Curacao in relatively large number even after the others stopped migrating. In that sense, the group from Guyana encompasses both early twentieth century migrants as well as newcomers of the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century.

Definitions

An immigrant is any individual, regardless of country of birth, who has migrated from his or her country of usual residence to live in Curaçao. In other words, he or she has moved from abroad (including from the other islands that formerly constituted the Netherlands Antilles) to reside in Curaçao (CBS, 2014). In this study migrants from Sint Maarten, Saba and Sint Eustatius are not included.

British West Indian migrant refers to an individual from the above-mentioned former British colonies in the Caribbean .Please note the difference between this migrant and the migrant from the Englishspeaking Northern Dutch Leeward Islands, Saint Maarten, Saint Eustatius and Saba.

First-generation British West Indian migrant refers to an individual born outside of Curaçao to parents born in the above-mentioned former British colonies in the Caribbean, and who migrated to Curacao during the twentieth century. The second generation is a native-born individual (born in Curaçao), whose parents, or at least one parent –either mother or father- are born in one of the above-mentioned former British colonies in the Caribbean(CBS, 2014).⁷

The term newcomers refers to the immigrants who came to the island at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century.

Cultural adaptation is the process and time it takes a person to integrate into a new culture and feel comfortable in it.

Demographic profile

The 1960 Census, taken a few years after the layoff by the oil-refinery whereby many migrant laborers were sent back to their homeland, shows that at that time this specific migrant group from the British colonies was roughly about 5,195 individuals. The 1960 census included people from the French Caribbean in this group, who however came in very small numbers (Van Soest, 1977: 246).

In 1960, Curaçao had a total population of 125,181. The migrant group from the British colonies accounted for about 4.1.percent of the total Curaçaoan population at that time, followed by the Portuguese who comprised 1.7 percent (Volkstelling deel B, 1960:15). They made up almost 60 percent

⁷ In this paper no distinction is made between the second generation with one native born parent and one foreign parents and the one who do not have any native born parents. Studies have shown that the experiences and outcomes between the two categories can be different (Ramakrishnan, 2004).

of all foreign born residing in Curacao at that time. The population of this group aged 15 to 59 was largest. Of the 5,195 individuals, 32 percent was between the ages of 0-14, 63.8 percent was between 15-59, while 4.2. percent was above 60 years (Volkstelling deel B, 1960: 22).

The most salient fact about this migrant group compared to other immigrant group in Curaçao is its gender characteristics as the female population is larger than the male. The census figure of 1960 shows that the number of British West Indian women exceeded that of their male counterparts by a ratio of 2,914 : 2,281 (Volkstelling deel B, 1960: 15). The sex ratio is 78 males per 100 females. This discrepancy in figures is attributed to the large amount of English-speaking female domestic workers on the island (Volkstelling deel B, 1960, 22). Their number remained large even when the oilbased economies of Curaçao declined in the immediate post-war period (the 1950s) and most male immigrants were laid off. These men either returned to their countries of origin alone or together with their families. Some continued their migration to Canada, the United Kingdom or the United States.

The fact that these group consists of single women, also accounts for the small number of individuals aged 0 to 14. The census of 1960 reveals that the age-group of 0-14 years with British nationality is small compared to the rest. It explains that this is due to the fact that most of the women of this group have remained single or do not have a family life in Curaçao. Some have migrated to the island leaving their child(ren) behind, in order to support them economically (Volkstelling deel B, 1960: 22-23; Allen, 2012).

Table 1 is based on the census of 2011, and gives an overview of the first generation of individuals from the above-mentioned former British colonies. In total they are 1,281, representing 0.8 percent of the total population of 68,848 men and 81,715 female in Curaçaoan society. They also represent 3.5 percent of the total population of 36,363 first generation migrants living in Curaçao in 2011 (de Bruijn en Groot: 34, 35). Their total number is slightly higher than the 1,230 Jamaicans living in Curaçao and who are the newcomers of the twenty first century from an English speaking country.

Table1. The absolute number of first generation of the former British West Indian immigrants by age and sex, Curacao 2011							
Age	Male	Female	Total				
0 - 4	3	2	5				
5 - 9	5	5	10				
10 - 14	13	13	26				
15 - 19	14	17	31				
20 - 24	19	18	37				
25 - 29	17	22	39				
30 - 34	38	38	76				
35 - 39	45	56	101				
40 - 44	54	77	131				
45 - 49	30	57	87				
50 - 54	25	66	91				
55 - 59	27	64	91				
60 - 64	16	105	121				
65 - 69	17	61	78				
70 - 74	13	82	95				
75 - 79	8	75	83				
80 - 84	16	61	77				
85 - 89	20	56	76				
90 - 94	5	17	22				
95 - 99	1	3	4				
Total	386	895	1281				

The table shows that the age group of 35-44 is relatively large. This can be attributed to the fact that among the studied migrant groups there are individuals who came after the lay off The table also shows that the first generation is aging. They are part of the aging process of Curacaoan society even though they represent only a small percentage (1.9%) of persons aged 60 or older in the total Curaçaoan population. There is a predominance of women in that age group. Their number is 460, about one third (35 percent) of the total population of the group under study. With regard to their male counterparts, the ratio between male and female is 21 men per 100 women. In this regard this gender gap differs considerably from that of the total population, where the gender ratio of the population over 60 years in 2011 is 74.8 men per 100 women.

Table 2 gives an overview of the second generations of this particular group. Altogether, they are 1,687 and they make up for 6.2 percent of the total of 27,101 second generation migrants living in Curaçao in 2011 and for 1.1 percent of the national population

(de Bruijn en Groot: 35). The age group of 45-59 is relatively large as compared to the rest.

Table 2. The second generation of the former British West Indian immigrants, absolute and in percentage in Curacao								
Age	Male	Female	Total	Total in %				
0 - 4	41	29	70	4.15				
5 - 9	50	44	94	5.57				
10 - 14	57	40	97	5.75				
15 - 19	58	50	108	6.40				
20 - 24	36	33	69	4.09				
25 - 29	33	25	58	3.44				
30 - 34	26	26	52	3.08				
35 - 39	35	28	63	3.73				
40 - 44	35	53	88	5.22				
45 - 49	74	103	177	10.49				
50 - 54	79	113	192	11.38				
55 - 59	109	117	226	13.40				
60 - 64	78	81	159	9.43				
65 - 69	47	69	116	6.88				
70 - 74	31	31	62	3.68				
75 - 79	17	25	42	2.49				
80 - 84	7	7	14	0.83				
85 - 89	0	0	0	0.00				
90 - 94	0	0	0	0.00				
95 - 99	0	0	0	0.00				
100+	0	0	0	0.00				
Total	813	874	1687	100%				

Modu*r*

Statistisch Magazine

The next table compares the size of the second generation, whose parents, one or both, have migrated from one of the former British colonies, with the size of the first generation. As the first generations of this particular group consists of people who have arrived in the early twentieth century as well as those who arrived after the oil boom, one can state that the second generation consists of children of the early 20th century immigrants, now deceased, as well as children of the last mentioned group. The table also shows that the second generation of certain birthplaces such as Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, have experienced an increase in numbers, however they represent a small amount of people.

Table 3.The number of first and second generation (absolute and percentage) of the former British West Indian immigrants by sex Curaçao, 2011								
	First generation				Second generation			
Country of birth	Male	Female	Total	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total
				in %				in %
Antigua and Barbuda	9	19	28	2.1	28	42	70	4.1
Barbados	5	9	14	1.0	21	28	49	2.9
Dominica	18	84	102	7.9	68	63	131	7.7
Grenada	12	28	40	3.1	29	30	59	3.4
Guyana	183	251	434	33.8	121	92	213	12.6
Montserrat	11	42	53	4.1	55	48	103	6.1
Saint Kitts and Nevis	39	133	172	13.4	158	200	358	21.2
Saint Lucia	25	47	72	5.6	49	56	105	6.2
Saint Vincent and the	45	230	275	21.4	186	201	387	22.9
Grenadines Trinidad and Tobago	39	42	81	6.3	98	114	212	12.5
Total	386	895	1281	100	813	874	1687	100

Settlement patterns

Historically, these immigrants have not spread out evenly geographically across the island. In the early days, English-speaking workers for the oil-refinery lived in enclosed residential areas that had been specifically set up for them by the oil-refinery. They lived in barracks situated near the oil refinery and located north of the refinery near Schottegat. The barracks were later replaced by brick homes in the neighborhood of Suffisant, also in the vicinity of the refinery. In time, some workers moved away with their families and clustered near other immigrants in more distant neighborhoods, as the oil-refinery continued to expand. These neighborhoods are: Kanga, Dein, Buena Vista and Rozendaal, Wishi and Marchena, as well as the older ones such Coronet, Monte Verde, Nieuw Nederland and Cher Asile (Janga, 2006:77). Those workers who worked for the Phosphate Mining Company situated at Newport, also lived in the eastern part of the island.

Table 4 shows that a substantial percentage of the first generation still lives in homes in the older, traditional neighborhoods. They are joined by the newcomers from the Caribbean (De Bruijn Jeanne & Maartje Groot, 2014:68). It also indicates that the second generation lives more dispersed. Even though the second generation has remained in the traditional neighborhood, except for Kanga, there

is some indication of settlement beyond these neighborhoods as well. This second generation is also spreading across the island, in particular to places where there are governmental housing projects, such as Tera Cora, Fortuna, Brievengat and Montaña Abou.

Toble / Sottlem	ont nottorn of the first	and accord						
Table 4.Settlement pattern of the first and secondgeneration of the former British West Indian immigrants								
Geozone	First generation	Second generation						
Buena Vista	117	121						
Kanga/Dein	108	64						
Suffisant	95	56						
Berg Altena	63	32						
Souax	62	72						
Bonam	49	72						
Stenen Koraal	42	57						
Brievengat	34	52						
Wanapa	34	64						
Steenrijk	33	40						
Mahuma	32	53						
Sta. Rosa	31	50						
Montaña Abou	31	68						
Koraal Partier	30	49						
Mon Repos	29	35						
Groot Kwartier	29	31						
Saliña	28	29						
Koraal Specht	28	41						
Paradijs	20	32						
Groot Piscadera	25	35						
Wishi	25	22						
Muizenberg	23	38						
Dominguito	24	38						
Fortuna	24	42						
Rosendaal	22	42 32						
Labadera	22	17						
Montaña Rey	19	17						
Mahaai	17	17						
Habaai	15	6						
Maria Maai	13	19						
Mundo Nobo	14	19						
Rancho	13	41						
Kwarchi	13	12						
Rooi Santu	13	32						
St. Michiel	9	52 58						
Piscadera Baai	8	12						
Seru Grandi	8	23						
Seru Granui	8 7	23						
Zeelandia	5	10						
Scharloo	5	8						
Domi	4	8 13						
Otrobanda	4 3	8						
	3	8 50						
Parera	3	50						

Modus Statistisch Magazine

Education, employment and income

The census data also give insight into the education attainment level, which is categorized in Primary education followed by Foundation Based Education, Secondary Level First Stage: (VSBO, Havo 1+2 and VWO 1+2), Secondary Level Second Stage (HAVO 3-5; VWO 3-6; SBO, MBO), Third level first stage (Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs (HBO) and third level second stage (Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (WO), including Doctorate).

The data of table 5 shows that the second-generation group is substantially better educated than the first generation group. The data also reveals the strong gains in access to secondary and third level education among the second generation. 12% of the first generation had secondary level second stage as compared to 25% of the second generation. Over 1% of the first generation had third level second stage compared to 4% of the second generation.

Table 5. Educational attainment of the first and second generation of former British West Indian immigrants by sex, Curacao 2011								
	First generation			Second generation				
Highest educational attainment (day-time) ⁸	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%
None and Primary	126	472	598	50.0	81	108	189	14.9
Secondary Level First Stage	117	236	353	29.5	243	276	519	41.1
Secondary Level Second Stage	54	97	151	12.6	159	158	317	25.1
Third Level First Stage	34	29	54	4.5	76	105	181	14.3
Third Level Second Stage	9	4	13	1.0	23	28	51	4.0
Unknown/NR	7	20	27	2.2	3	1	4	0.3
Total	347	849	1196	100	585	676	1261	100

The substantially high percentage of women (39.4 percent) with none or primary school in the first generation has to do with the high number of individuals once employed as domestic workers. The second generation shows a reduction in the number of people with none or primary school which can be attributed to the decrease in the amount of domestic workers among this group. The figures show that the majority of the second generation has a VSBO level of education or the first years of a senior general secondary education ("HAVO") or pre-university education program ("VWO). It also indicates an

⁸ Primary education preceded Foundation Based Education; Secondary Level First Stage: VSBO, Havo 1+2 and VWO 1+2 Secondary Level Second Stage: HAVO 3-5; VWO 3-6: SBO, MBO Third level first stage: Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs (HBO) Third level second stage: Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (WO; including Doctorate).

increase of individuals with tertiary education, either higher professional education (HBO) or university degree including doctorate.

With regard to their socio-economic position through the participation in the labour force, 45 percent of the first generation were still employed, while 3.7 percent were unemployed and 50.8 percent were not active economically. This is based on the total population of 1240 individuals. The occupation of those employed ranged from occupations such as managers and legislators (4.2 percent) to elementary ones (25.9 percent).

The total working force population(above 15 years) for the second generation is 1,426. Of this total number 57.3 percent were employed, while 5 percent were unemployed and 37.5 percent were not active economically. The occupation of those employed ranged from occupations such as managers and legislators (8.3 percent) to elementary ones (7.3 percent). It shows a decline in elementary work types by the second generation.

Table 6 shows that 31.2 percent of the first generation has an income between 500 and 1000 ANG. This has to do with the old age pension (AOV) as a source of income. For the second generation, this is 16.6 percent.

The average monthly gross income per person in Curaçao was ANG 3.023 according to the Census 2011 (Inkomens en inkomensverdelingen in Curaçao, 2011 CBS). Three (3) percent of the first generation migrants falls under the average income; it is 8% for the second generation. The increase in education is reflected in the monthly gross personal income for the second generation, whereby the second generation has disengaged themselves slightly from their parents level of standard of living.

Table 6. Total monthly gross personal income in ANG of the first and second generation of former British West Indian immigrants by sex, Curacao 2011								
		First generation			Second generation			
Total monthly gross personal income in ANG	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
No income	28	143	171	104	99	203		
1 - 500	15	51	66	29	55	84		
501 - 1000	62	384	446	68	139	207		
1001 - 1500	38	103	141	52	63	115		
1501 - 2000	48	71	119	69	73	142		
2001 - 2500	50	35	85	47	45	92		
2501 - 3000	27	18	45	45	43	88		
3001 - 3500	27	13	40	44	65	109		
3501 - 4000	5	4	9	8	9	17		
4001 - 4500	27	19	46	38	44	82		
4501 - 5000	1	2	3	3	5	8		
5001 - 7500	13	11	24	95	69	164		
> 7500	18	16	34	55	37	92		
Not reported	6	5	11	8	15	23		
Total	665	761	1426	365	875	1240		

Language use

Among the first generation immigrants, the English language has been dominant. However, Papiamentu is also spoken among the first generation. Coming from societies where predominantly English is spoken, they have become bilingual in the course of time. The migrants from Dominica and Saint Lucia speak besides English also *Kweyol*, a French derived Creole language.

Language use among the first and second-generation English-speaking migrants reflects important changes. Among the first generation, the most spoken language is still English, while among the second generation the use of Papiamentu is higher, even though English persists. The second-generation group is also bilingual and its knowledge of more than one language is a valuable asset in the tourist economy of Curaçao. The fact that a large part of both the first and second generation speaks Papiamentu points to some assimilation by these two migrant groups. The parental linguistic retention among the second generation shows that there is certain maintenance of cultural identity among this group. Table 6 also shows a large number of the second generation that speaks Dutch in its household as compared to the first generation.

Table7. Language use of former British West Indian migrants, Curaçao 2011							
	First gene	eration	Second generation				
	spoken spoken s		Language spoken in household	Most spoken language			
English	1028	639	762	255			
Papiamentu	966	518	1576	1313			
Dutch	286	59	424	85			

Some concluding remarks

The former British West Indian migrants played an important role in the development of Curaçao and also helped to shape the nature of the society. About 50 years ago, they were considered the most largest share of immigrant groups in Curaçao. At the moment this particular migrant group constitutes a small portion of Curaçaoan society, and they represent only a fraction of the migrants in Curaçao. Their impact is not so much demographic as perhaps cultural. Other studies have shown that they played an important role in promoting cultural expressions such as carnival, calypso and steelband, as well as in the trade union (Allen, 1988).

Focusing on their specific economic, social, and linguistic conditions, based on the census of 2011, provides some insight into the social life of the first and second generation of migrants from the former British colonies in the Caribbean in Curaçao. In the course of time, there has been some degree of cultural adaptation to the Curaçaoan society by this specific migrant-group.

Determining the factors that have enabled them to connect and to participate with the wider community, as well as examining the time frame, is essential in understanding the dynamics of the migration processes in Curaçaoan society. Lessons from the Curaçaoan case may serve as input for appropriate policies with regard to immigration and economic strategies, labor relations, cultural diversity, gender difference citizenship, and the education for the newly arrived immigrants.

References

Allen, Rose Mary. (1988). Muzik di Ingles tambe a bira di nos. An overview of the Calypso in the period of its

popularity. Curaçao: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Netherlands Antilles

(AAINA).

- Allen, R.M. (2012).Twentieth century migration from the English-speaking Caribbean: discursive inclusion and exclusion. In Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer and Elisabeth Echteld (Eds.), *Researching the Rhizome. Studies of transcultural language, literature, learning and life on the ABC Islands and Beyond* (pp.13-29). Curaçao/Puerto Rico: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma/Universidat di Kòrsou/Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Bals, M. ter (2014). *Census 2011: The migratory population of Curaçao*. *Modus,Statistisch Magazine, 12,* 1/2, 1-16. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek Curaçao
- Bruijn, Jeanne de & Maartje Groot (2014). *Regionale migratie en integratie op Curacao* 1992-2013. Onderzoek in opdracht van het Ministerie van Sociale Ontwikkeling, Arbeid en Welzijn Curaçao.
- Central Bureau of Statistics Curaçao (2011). *Inkomens en inkomensverdelingen in Curaçao*. Publicatiereeks Census. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek Curaçao.
- Dinmohamed, S.(2015). Sociaaleconomische kenmerken van twee generaties migranten in Curaçao. *Modus Statistisch Magazine 13*,1,1-12.Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, 1985
- Janga, Lionel (2006) Wijkontwikkeling op Curaçao. In: R.M. Allen et al., *René Römer als inspirator. Actualiseringen van zijn gedachtegoed* (pp 74-85). Curaçao: University of the Netherlands Antilles.
- Palm, de J. (1985) Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen. Zutphen: de Walburg Pers.
- Philipps, Ann (1988). *Labour and migration in the Caribbean; Britsh West Indian domestic servants in Curaçao;* 1940-1960. Masterthesis, University of Leiden.
- Ramakrishnan, K. (2004). Second-Generation Immigrants? The "2.5 Generation" in the United States. *Social Science Quaterly*, *85* 2, 380-399.
- Rego Do, Ch.,(2012). The Portuguese Immigrant in Curaçao, Immigration, Participation and Integration in the 20th century. Amsterdam: SWP press
- Soest, van J. (1977).*Olie als water. De Curaçaose economie in de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw.* Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

Modu*r*

Statistisch Magazine

- Statistiek- en Planbureau Nederlandse Antillen (1960). *Volkstelling 1960. Curaçao, Bonaire, Sint Maarten, St. Eustatius en Saba.* Population census 1960.
- Valtonen, Kathleen (1996).Bread and Tea: A Study of the Integration of Low-Income Immigrants from Other Caribbean Territories into Trinidad *.The International Migration Review* ,Vol. 30, No. 4 (Winter, 1996), pp. 995-1019.