

Family formation and household composition on Aruba





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INTRODUCTION

Over the last three decades important changes have taken place in the household composition and the formation and dissolution of families on Aruba. These changes are closely linked to the socio-economic transformations that have taken place on the island during this period. The rapid development of the tourism sector has attracted a large contingent of foreign laborers to work in the construction and tourism sector. Especially during the 1990's population growth was impressive. From 1989 until 1993, the annual population growth rates were well above 5 percent. Between 1993 and 1997, they were still above 3 percent. Since then population growth has come down. Between 2000 and 2010, the population increased from 90,506 persons to 101,484 persons (a growth of 12.1 percent). In comparison, during the nine year period between the Population Censuses of 1991 and 2000 Aruba's population increased by no less than 35.7 percent. These economic and demographic changes had a profound effect on the way people from all walks of life and from all four corners of the earth, find a partner, have children and sometimes break up again. In this report, we will take a closer look at the household composition and family formation of the population living on Aruba on the basis of the 2010 Census¹. In the first section we will analyze the patterns of family formation and cohabitation. We will have a look in how far the traditional marriage has been replaced by other forms of cohabitation. Therefore, we will pay attention to first marriage, living together (married or not) and to cohabitation. As much as possible, we will make a comparison of the current patterns of marriage or cohabitation and household composition, with those observed in the Censuses of 2000 and 1991. Next, marriage break up through divorce will be looked at. Thereafter, we will look into the current and past patterns of household composition. Special attention will be placed on two specific vulnerable groups: children and the elderly. With this report we hope to provide valuable information for the social sector and the development of social policies. The report is basically a general description of current trends in family formation and household composition. More detailed information for specific policy purposes can always be obtained at the Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

In the last five consecutive Censuses, the marital status at the time of the Census was asked for each enumerated person. At the time of the 2010 Population Census, out of a total of 101,484 persons residing on Aruba, 52,474 were never married, 35,237 were currently married, 3,980 were widowed and 9,740 were divorced or legally separated¹. According to the Civic Code (art 154, par.1) married persons are obliged to live together. If the partners no longer wish to live together, they can either obtain a formal divorce or a legal separation. The legal separation annuls the obligation of married partners to live together. Throughout this report divorced and legally separated persons are grouped together.

Table 1 shows the percentage of males and females, of all age-groups, by marital status for all the Population Censuses for the period 1972 – 2010. Figure 1 depicts the same information in a bar chart. One should take into account that the distribution over the various marital statuses is heavily influenced by the age-distribution of the population. The percentage of never married people in 1972 and 1981 is much higher than in later years, because at that time Aruba had a much younger population. Likewise, over the years the percentage of persons who are widowed has been increasing, due to the aging of the population. Because of the higher life expectancy of women compared to men, the percentage of persons widowed is consistently higher for women than for men. In 2010, 3.1 percent of all women were widowed at the time of the Census,

against 0.8 percent of men. The number of people who have experienced the loss of their partner through death (or divorce) is obviously much higher than the figures in Table 1 suggest. A number of persons, who lost their partner, married again and could be found in the married state at the time of Census. The percentage of persons married at the time of the Census increased during the period 1972 until 1991 (31.9 to 37.7). Since then the proportion of people married has gone down and currently stands at 34.7 percent.

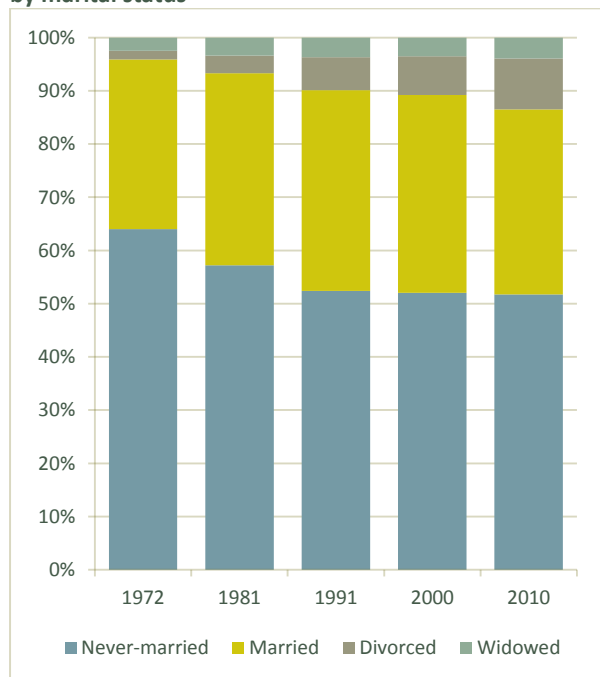
To estimate the intensity and timing of family formation, demographers rely on nuptiality tables. In a nuptiality table, the number of first marriages by age and sex is related to the number of persons within the same sex-age bracket. The nuptiality table allows us to describe the first marriage experience of a fictitious cohort, without the intervening factors of migration and mortality. Unfortunately, on Aruba the Population Registry is unable to provide the number of first marriages by age and sex in any given time period. Therefore, we rely on a method developed by W. Mertens², which offers a good estimation method for calculating first marriage rates. The method is based on the percentage of men and women married at each age. Because of the small size of the Aruban population, some small sample variabilities occurred. Therefore, age-specific nuptiality rates were smoothed using running averages. On the basis of these smoothed nuptiality rates, the proportions of never married persons were constructed in a fictitious cohort.

Table 1: Percentage of population (all age-groups) by marital status at the time of the Census in 1972, 1981, 1991, 2000 and 2010

Year	Sex	Marital status			
		Never-married	Married	Divorced	Widowed
1972	Male	31.9	15.9	0.6	0.6
	Female	32.1	16.0	1.0	1.9
	Total	64.0	31.9	1.6	2.5
1981	Male	28.6	17.9	1.4	0.7
	Female	28.6	18.2	1.9	1.7
	Total	57.2	36.1	3.3	3.4
1991	Male	26.7	19.1	2.6	0.8
	Female	25.7	18.6	3.6	2.9
	Total	52.4	37.7	6.2	3.7
2000	Male	25.4	18.9	2.9	0.7
	Female	26.7	18.3	4.4	2.8
	Total	52.1	37.2	7.3	3.5
2010	Male	25.4	17.5	3.9	0.8
	Female	26.4	17.2	5.7	3.1
	Total	51.7	34.7	9.6	3.9

Source: Population and Housing Census, 1972-2010

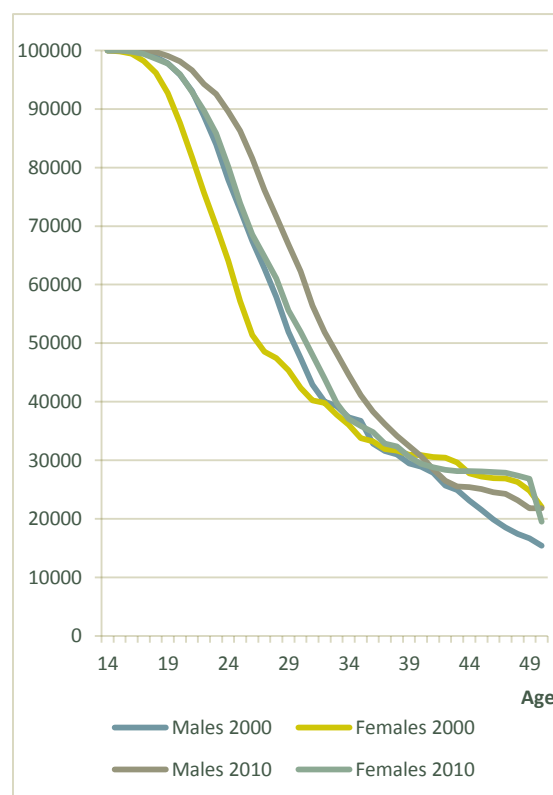
Figure 1: Percentage of population (all age-groups) by marital status



The ‘first marriage’ tables, based on the method developed by W. Mertens, for men and women for the Censuses of 2000 en 2010 are presented in Tables 2a and 2b. Figure 2 shows the number of never married persons in the nuptiality table for a fictitious cohort of 10,000 men and women. Figure 2 clearly shows the difference in first marriage behavior between men and women and the changes that have taken place between 2000 and 2010. Both for men and women, first marriage now takes place somewhat later in life. At all ages before 40, the graph shows a higher proportion of never married persons in 2010 than in 2000, both for men and women. During the ten years between the last two

Censuses, the mean age at first marriage increased for both sexes. Men now marry on average about a year later than ten years ago and women about three years. The mean ages at first marriage for men were respectively 29.4 and 30.5 years in 2000 and 2010. The mean ages at first marriage for women were 26.6 and 29.5 years. Between 1991 and 2000 the age at first marriage did not change significantly. However, between 1972 and 1991 the age at first marriage also increased by several years. In 1972, women on average got married for the first time at the age of 24.3 and men at the age of 27.1³.

Figure 2: Number of never-married persons in the nuptiality table by sex, Aruba 2000-2010



In 2010, only 1.9 percent of men and 4.0 percent of women have ever been married at age 20. At age 30, these percentages are respectively 37.7 percent for men and 48.1 percent for women. By age 40, 69.3 percent of men and 70.6 percent of women have tied the knot at least once. The nuptiality tables for men and women also show that marriage is far from universal. At exact age 50, 21.8 percent of men and 19.5 percent of women are still never married. It is interesting to see that in 2000, women had a somewhat higher chance to be never married than men. Apparently, during the last ten years, this trend has reversed.

Table 2a: Nuptiality table, based on rate of first marriage computed from Census 2000

Age	Male						Female					
	Smoothed %	t(x,x+1)	n(x,x+1)	p(x,x+1)	C(x)	M(x,x+1)	Smoothed %	t(x,x+1)	n(x,x+1)	p(x,x+1)	C(x)	M(x,x+1)
14	99.84	0.0001	0.0001	0.9999	100000	13	99.84	0.0016	0.0016	0.9984	100000	162
15	99.83	0.0004	0.0004	0.9996	99987	40	99.68	0.0040	0.0040	0.9960	99838	397
16	99.79	0.0020	0.0020	0.9980	99947	200	99.28	0.0127	0.0126	0.9874	99441	1250
17	99.59	0.0093	0.0092	0.9908	99748	920	98.03	0.0211	0.0209	0.9791	98191	2051
18	98.67	0.0103	0.0102	0.9898	98828	1012	95.96	0.0362	0.0356	0.9644	96139	3419
19	97.65	0.0204	0.0202	0.9798	97816	1973	92.48	0.0562	0.0547	0.9453	92720	5072
20	95.66	0.0295	0.0291	0.9709	95843	2787	87.28	0.0699	0.0676	0.9324	87648	5921
21	92.84	0.0470	0.0460	0.9540	93056	4277	81.18	0.0764	0.0736	0.9264	81727	6013
22	88.47	0.0559	0.0544	0.9456	88780	4831	74.98	0.0781	0.0752	0.9248	75714	5690
23	83.52	0.0746	0.0719	0.9281	83949	6038	69.12	0.0890	0.0852	0.9148	70024	5964
24	77.29	0.0678	0.0655	0.9345	77911	5106	62.97	0.1136	0.1075	0.8925	64060	6884
25	72.06	0.0761	0.0733	0.9267	72804	5338	55.82	0.1069	0.1015	0.8985	57176	5803
26	66.57	0.0723	0.0698	0.9302	67467	4706	49.85	0.0570	0.0555	0.9445	51373	2849
27	61.76	0.0806	0.0775	0.9225	62760	4864	47.01	0.0229	0.0227	0.9773	48524	1100
28	56.78	0.1082	0.1026	0.8974	57896	5941	45.93	0.0447	0.0437	0.9563	47424	2075
29	50.64	0.0904	0.0865	0.9135	51956	4492	43.88	0.0678	0.0656	0.9344	45350	2975
30	46.06	0.1012	0.0963	0.9037	47464	4573	40.90	0.0523	0.0510	0.9490	42374	2160
31	41.40	0.0699	0.0676	0.9324	42891	2898	38.76	0.0101	0.0101	0.9899	40214	405
32	38.51	0.0194	0.0192	0.9808	39993	768	38.37	0.0519	0.0506	0.9494	39809	2014
33	37.76	0.0497	0.0485	0.9515	39225	1903	36.38	0.0470	0.0459	0.9541	37795	1735
34	35.88	0.0164	0.0163	0.9837	37322	608	34.67	0.0651	0.0630	0.9370	36060	2272
35	35.29	0.1112	0.1053	0.8947	36714	3868	32.41	0.0168	0.0167	0.9833	33788	563
36	31.37	0.0392	0.0385	0.9615	32846	1263	31.87	0.0401	0.0393	0.9607	33225	1306
37	30.14	0.0192	0.0190	0.9810	31583	599	30.59	0.0083	0.0083	0.9917	31919	265
38	29.56	0.0497	0.0485	0.9515	30983	1503	30.34	0.0231	0.0228	0.9772	31654	721
39	28.09	0.0196	0.0194	0.9806	29480	572	29.64	0.0021	0.0021	0.9979	30932	64
40	27.54	0.0367	0.0360	0.9640	28908	1041	29.58	0.0107	0.0106	0.9894	30868	327
41	26.53	0.0804	0.0773	0.9227	27867	2153	29.26	0.0024	0.0024	0.9976	30541	73
42	24.40	0.0304	0.0300	0.9700	25714	770	29.19	0.0276	0.0272	0.9728	30468	829
43	23.66	0.0752	0.0724	0.9276	24944	1807	28.38	0.0652	0.0631	0.9369	29639	1871
44	21.88	0.0724	0.0699	0.9301	23136	1617	26.53	0.0202	0.0199	0.9801	27768	554
45	20.29	0.0785	0.0756	0.9244	21519	1626	26.00	0.0092	0.0092	0.9908	27214	250
46	18.70	0.0695	0.0672	0.9328	19893	1336	25.76	0.0027	0.0027	0.9973	26964	73
47	17.40	0.0625	0.0606	0.9394	18557	1125	25.69	0.0230	0.0227	0.9773	26891	611
48	16.31	0.0445	0.0435	0.9565	17433	758	25.10	0.0581	0.0565	0.9435	26281	1484
49	15.59	0.0774	0.0745	0.9255	16674	1243	23.64	0.1193	0.1126	0.8874	24796	2792
50	14.38	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	15431		20.82	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	22004	

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000

Mean age at first marriage males **29.39**
 Mean age at first marriage females **26.62**

Table 2b: Nuptiality table, based on rate of first marriage computed from Census 2010

Age	Male						Female					
	Smoothed %	t(x,x+1)	n(x,x+1)	p(x,x+1)	C(x)	M(x,x+1)	Smoothed %	t(x,x+1)	n(x,x+1)	p(x,x+1)	C(x)	M(x,x+1)
14	100.00	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	100000	0	100.00	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	100000	0
15	100.00	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	100000	0	100.00	0.0022	0.0022	0.9978	100000	216
16	100.00	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	100000	0	99.78	0.0040	0.0040	0.9960	99784	396
17	100.00	0.0028	0.0028	0.9972	100000	283	99.39	0.0082	0.0082	0.9918	99388	811
18	99.72	0.0069	0.0068	0.9932	99717	682	98.57	0.0087	0.0087	0.9913	98577	853
19	99.03	0.0090	0.0090	0.9910	99035	891	97.72	0.0182	0.0180	0.9820	97723	1761
20	98.14	0.0162	0.0160	0.9840	98144	1574	95.94	0.0324	0.0319	0.9681	95962	3063
21	96.55	0.0242	0.0239	0.9761	96570	2308	92.83	0.0351	0.0345	0.9655	92900	3206
22	94.22	0.0184	0.0182	0.9818	94263	1716	89.57	0.0442	0.0432	0.9568	89694	3878
23	92.49	0.0328	0.0323	0.9677	92547	2990	85.61	0.0682	0.0659	0.9341	85816	5659
24	89.45	0.0372	0.0365	0.9635	89557	3267	79.77	0.0814	0.0782	0.9218	80157	6269
25	86.12	0.0564	0.0549	0.9451	86289	4735	73.28	0.0748	0.0721	0.9279	73887	5326
26	81.26	0.0687	0.0665	0.9335	81554	5420	67.80	0.0565	0.0549	0.9451	68561	3767
27	75.68	0.0612	0.0594	0.9406	76135	4519	63.97	0.0595	0.0578	0.9422	64794	3742
28	71.05	0.0686	0.0663	0.9337	71616	4748	60.16	0.0931	0.0889	0.9111	61051	5430
29	66.18	0.0715	0.0690	0.9310	66868	4616	54.56	0.0686	0.0663	0.9337	55621	3690
30	61.45	0.0981	0.0935	0.9065	62252	5819	50.82	0.0793	0.0763	0.9237	51931	3960
31	55.42	0.0841	0.0807	0.9193	56433	4552	46.79	0.0868	0.0832	0.9168	47971	3993
32	50.76	0.0730	0.0704	0.9296	51881	3653	42.73	0.1018	0.0969	0.9031	43979	4260
33	47.06	0.0776	0.0747	0.9253	48228	3604	38.38	0.0698	0.0674	0.9326	39719	2678
34	43.41	0.0819	0.0787	0.9213	44625	3511	35.70	0.0331	0.0325	0.9675	37041	1205
35	39.85	0.0709	0.0685	0.9315	41113	2815	34.52	0.0285	0.0281	0.9719	35835	1005
36	37.03	0.0560	0.0545	0.9455	38298	2086	33.54	0.0579	0.0562	0.9438	34830	1959
37	34.95	0.0576	0.0560	0.9440	36213	2028	31.60	0.0155	0.0154	0.9846	32871	507
38	32.94	0.0539	0.0525	0.9475	34184	1794	31.10	0.0556	0.0541	0.9459	32364	1751
39	31.16	0.0528	0.0514	0.9486	32390	1666	29.37	0.0401	0.0393	0.9607	30612	1202
40	29.52	0.0756	0.0729	0.9271	30724	2239	28.20	0.0214	0.0212	0.9788	29410	624
41	27.29	0.0716	0.0691	0.9309	28485	1969	27.59	0.0145	0.0144	0.9856	28786	415
42	25.33	0.0380	0.0373	0.9627	26516	989	27.19	0.0072	0.0072	0.9928	28371	205
43	24.37	0.0049	0.0049	0.9951	25527	124	27.00	0.0002	0.0002	0.9998	28167	4
44	24.25	0.0133	0.0132	0.9868	25403	336	26.99	0.0015	0.0015	0.9985	28162	42
45	23.93	0.0220	0.0218	0.9782	25067	546	26.95	0.0041	0.0041	0.9959	28120	114
46	23.40	0.0101	0.0101	0.9899	24521	247	26.84	0.0041	0.0041	0.9959	28006	114
47	23.16	0.0460	0.0450	0.9550	24274	1091	26.73	0.0183	0.0181	0.9819	27891	505
48	22.10	0.0599	0.0581	0.9419	23183	1348	26.24	0.0205	0.0203	0.9797	27386	555
49	20.77	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	21835	0	25.71	0.3165	0.2733	0.7267	26832	7333
50	20.77	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	21835		17.57	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	19499	

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

Mean age at first marriage males **30.49**
 Mean age at first marriage females **29.52**

To identify the type of persons that remain never married, we have run a logit regression among persons in the 2010 Population Census, who were older than 50. The dependent variable in this regression was ever married (ever been married (=1) or never married (=0)). To determine whether there are social and demographic differences in the chances of remaining unmarried, we introduced a set of explanatory variables in the regression equation: sex of the person, region of residence at Census (GAC – main level), ISCED category of diploma, country of birth and religion. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 3. In column ‘B’ we find the regression coefficients, which are the natural logarithms of the odds for persons 50 years of age and older to ever have been married at the time of Census. The larger the B-coefficient, the larger the effect of the variable on the logit. Obviously, this measure is hard to interpret. Therefore, we calculated the exponential function of the regression coefficients (Exp(B)). This measure gives us the odds ratio, i.e. the ratio to have at least been married once, against never having been married. Note that we did not include levels of significance in our analysis, as we are dealing with Census population data and not survey data (all the variables in the regression equation were highly significant ($p < .001$)).

Table 3 shows considerable differences among the various subgroups in our analysis. Among the group of persons 50 years and older, the odds of women to be unmarried are larger than those of men (odds ratio .687). This is exactly the opposite of the current trend we observed in our nuptiality tables, but confirms the observed pattern of the 2000 Census. This makes sense as the marriage behavior of persons above age 50 is much closer connected to past than to present trends. Persons without any formal education (reference category) have higher chances of staying out of marriage than persons with more education. With the exception of persons with a lower vocational education (EPB), the odds ratios for all other educational categories are well above 1.5.

Also religion is a highly discriminating variable in terms of marrying or not. Jehovah witnesses, Jews and atheists have higher chances of being in the group of ever married persons than Catholics. On the other hand, members of the Anglican, Methodist or Adventist churches have a higher probability of staying unmarried than Catholics. With the exception of persons originating from Colombia (.668) and from ‘other’ countries (.959), all persons had a higher chance of having experienced first marriage than person born on Aruba. It is interesting to note that regional differences exist on Aruba in terms of staying out of marriage. Compared to Noord, that acted as the reference category, persons living in Aruba’s urban centers (Oranjestad and San Nicolas)

had a lower probability of being ever married compared to the other districts. One should keep in mind that our analysis was restricted to persons 50 years of age and older. It is possible that among the younger cohorts different associations exist between our explanatory variables and the fact of staying unmarried.

Table 3: Logit regression persons 50 years of age, ever married or not

		B	Exp(B)
Constant		1.426	4.161
ISCED diploma category	Less than primary/no education		
	Primary (special) education	.413	1.512
	Lower vocational education (EPB)	.325	1.384
	MAVO	.580	1.786
	HAVO/High School/Bachillerato	.511	1.667
	VWO	.643	1.902
	Vocational Education, Intermediate (Associate) level (MBO)	.707	2.029
	Higher education (Bachelor, HBO)	.614	1.847
	Higher Education (WO, Master)	.585	1.795
	Higher Education (WO, PhD)	.690	1.994
Religion	Catholic		
	Protestant	-.074	.929
	Jehova witness	.627	1.872
	Methodist	-.556	.573
	Adventist	-.495	.610
	Anglican	-.422	.656
	Jewish	.659	1.932
	None	.301	1.352
	Other	.210	1.234
Country of birth	Aruba		
	Colombia	-.404	.668
	USA	.722	2.059
	Dominican Republic	.230	1.258
	Venezuela	.244	1.267
	Curaçao	.095	1.100
	The Netherlands	.553	1.738
	Other country	-.042	.959
Region of Residence	Noord/Tanki Leendert		
	Oranjestad West	-.274	.760
	Oranjestad East	-.163	.849
	Paradera	.023	1.024
	Santa Cruz	.040	1.041
	Savaneta	.155	1.168
	San Nicolas North	-.103	.902
	San Nicolas South	-.373	.689
Sex	Male		
	Female	-.375	.687

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

LIVING TOGETHER

In the previous section, we looked into the current patterns of first marriage, without taking into consideration whether both partners actually lived together or not. Since 1981, Population Censuses on Aruba include a question on whether enumerated persons were living together with a partner on a durable basis. Combined with the information on marital status, we are able to determine the number of consensual unions vis-à-vis the number of married couples. In this section we will look into the patterns of living together on the island, irrespective of the partners’ marital status.

Table 4: Percentage of persons living together on a durable basis by age and sex

Age-group	2000			2010		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
14	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
15 - 19	1.2	4.6	2.9	1.2	3.1	2.1
20 - 24	18.4	33.4	26.2	14.4	24.9	19.5
25 - 29	44.0	57.6	51.1	36.3	48.0	42.6
30 - 34	60.5	62.6	61.6	56.8	61.9	59.6
35 - 39	65.1	61.7	63.3	65.1	63.3	64.2
40 - 44	67.3	59.1	62.9	69.6	63.9	66.5
45 - 49	70.9	59.0	64.6	68.5	58.4	63.2
50 - 54	72.8	57.5	64.7	69.2	55.9	62.0
55 - 59	75.1	57.2	65.7	71.1	53.8	61.8
60 - 64	75.5	54.3	63.9	71.4	50.0	59.8
65 - 69	75.2	44.7	58.1	72.1	47.4	58.8
70 - 74	73.2	39.3	54.1	71.6	41.7	54.3
75 - 79	67.8	26.1	44.7	66.9	30.2	45.2
80 - 84	55.2	13.5	29.4	65.5	19.6	36.9
85 - 89	39.2	10.4	19.7	56.1	10.4	26.1
90 - 94	36.4	3.6	12.8	28.6	3.1	9.7
95+	0.0	2.7	2.0	21.4	6.8	9.6
Total	54.7	44.7	49.0	53.9	47.2	50.4

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000, 2010

In the 2010 Population Census, 41,238 persons 14 years of age and older were living together on a durable basis, married or not to their partner. Amongst these people living together, 32,317 were married and 8,921 (or 21.6 percent) were living together with a partner in a consensual union. Table 4 shows the percentage of persons by age and sex living together, irrespectively of their current marital status in 2000 and 2010. These percentages are depicted in two graphs (Figures 3a and 3b).

Both graphs show some interesting changes that have taken place during the intercensal period. First, both in 2000 and in 2010 a considerably higher percentage of men than of women lived together with a partner. The last Census showed that among all persons 14 years of age and older, 53.9 percent of men and 47.2 percent of women were living with a partner. In 2000, this difference was even higher (54.7 percent for males against 47.7 percent for females). This difference obviously has to do with the much larger number of women living on Aruba, compared to men. In 2010, for every hundred women aged 15 years of age and over, only 87.4 men are present. Because women typically have partners that are somewhat older than they are, the proportions of women below age 35 who live together is higher for women than for men. For all five year age-groups after age 35, many more men than women have a life partner.

Figure 3a: Percentage of persons living together with a partner by age, 2000-2010

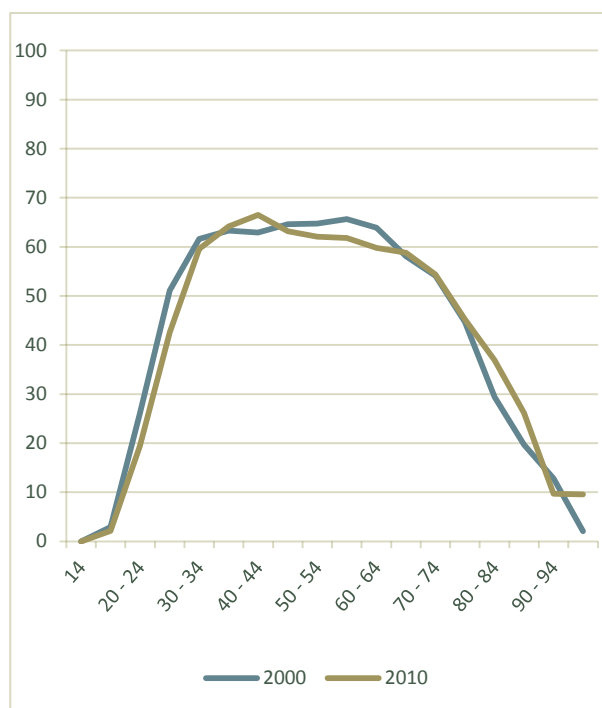
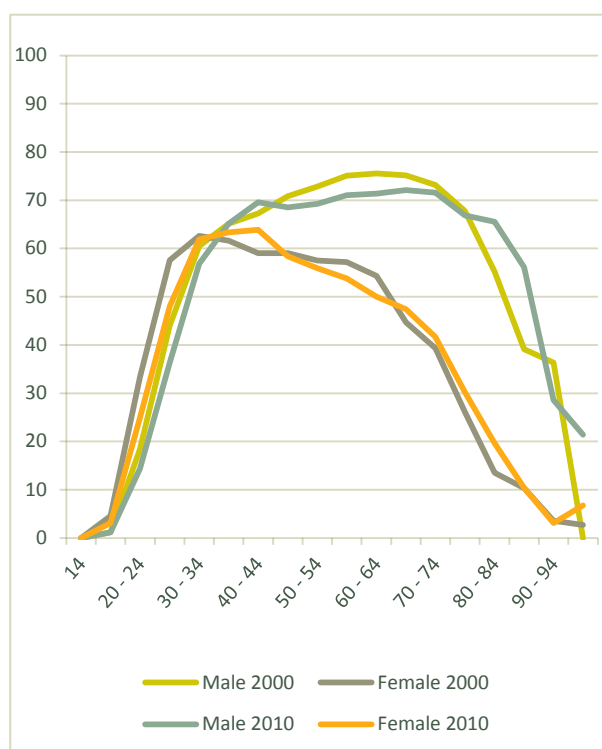


Figure 3b: Percentage of persons living together with a partner by age and sex, 2000-2010



Second, there is evidence that young people start living together with a partner at a somewhat later age in 2010 than in 2000. Between the ages 20 and 25, currently 19.5 percent are living together. In 2000, this was 26.2 percent. A similar trend exists in

the age-group 25-29 years of age: where the percentage living together has dropped from 51.1 to 42.6 percent in the past ten years. The changes are more pronounced for young women than for young men. In 2000 about a third of all women between 20 and 25 years of age were already living together with a partner, now less than a quarter of women in this age-group live with a partner.

Third, men in their eighties now have a much higher chance of still living with a partner than ten years ago. Men between 80 and 85 still have a 65.5 percent of living with a partner against 55.2 percent in 2000. The difference is even bigger for the age category 85-89 years of age: 56.1 percent now against 39.2 percent in 2000. This may be an effect of the rise in life expectancy during the last ten years for both sexes. According to a recent study by the CBS Aruba, currently the life expectancy for women stands at 79.8 years for women and 73.9 years for men. In 2000, the life expectancy for men and women stood at 70 and 76 years⁴.

During the 1990's, a large number of foreign workers came to Aruba to work in the tourist and construction industry. The 2010 Population Census shows that the majority of these foreign workers are women. There is no doubt that the influx of a large group of foreign workers has had an influence on patterns of cohabitation and marriage. To check the difference between foreign born and Aruban born persons in terms of living arrangements we have calculated the percentage of persons of both groups by age and sex (Table 5 and Figure 4).

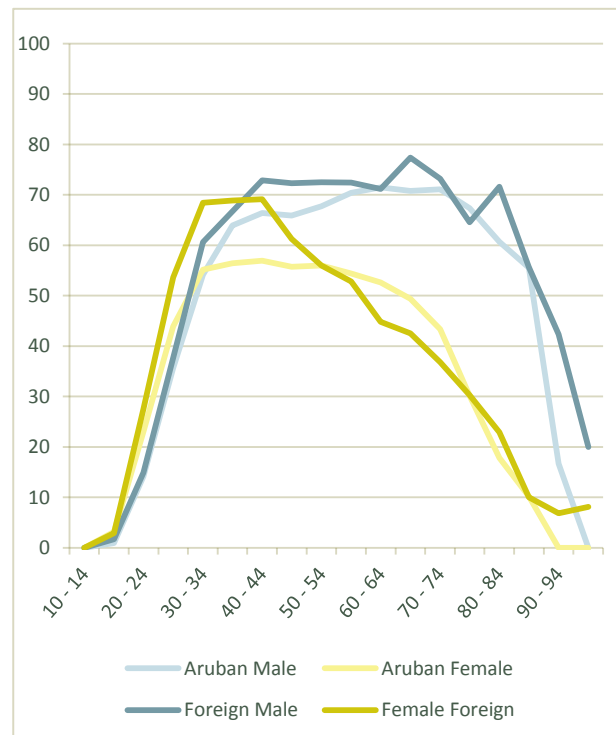
The Census 2010 shows that the percentage of foreign born women living on a durable basis with a partner (married or not) is significantly higher at age-groups up to age 50. Between 50 and 70 years of age, Aruban born women have a somewhat higher chance of being in a union than foreign born women. However, in general no less than 10 percent more foreign born women live together with a partner (married or not) than Aruban born women. For men, the differences are less pronounced, but also generally more foreign born than Aruban men are living together with a partner: 58.3 percent against 51.5 percent. The difference between both groups of men is more prominent before the age of 60 years.

Table 5: Aruban and foreign born persons living on a durable basis by age and sex

Age-group	Aruban born		Foreign born	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
10 - 14	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
15 - 19	0.9	3.2	1.7	2.9
20 - 24	14.1	23.0	14.9	27.5
25 - 29	35.6	43.9	37.7	53.6
30 - 34	54.1	55.1	60.6	68.4
35 - 39	63.9	56.4	66.7	68.9
40 - 44	66.4	56.9	72.8	69.1
45 - 49	65.9	55.7	72.3	61.2
50 - 54	67.7	56.0	72.5	56.0
55 - 59	70.4	54.4	72.4	52.8
60 - 64	71.5	52.6	71.1	44.8
65 - 69	70.8	49.4	77.4	42.5
70 - 74	71.1	43.3	73.2	36.8
75 - 79	67.3	30.2	64.6	30.3
80 - 84	60.7	17.9	71.6	22.9
85 - 89	55.6	10.2	55.7	10.0
90 - 94	16.7	0.0	42.3	6.8
95+	0.0	0.0	20.0	8.1
Total	51.5	43.0	58.3	53.1

Source: Population Census 2010

Figure 4: Percentage of Aruban and foreign born persons living together with a partner by age and sex, 2010



To provide a more detailed picture which groups of persons are not living together we executed another logit regression. In this case, the dependent variable was whether a person was living together on a durable basis or not. The categorical explanatory variables in the equation are: sex, country of birth (8 categories), religion (9 categories), educational attainment and region of residence. Age was included as a control variable. Figure 4 clearly shows that the relationship between living together and age is curvilinear. Therefore, the square of age was also included in the regression equation.

The logit regression confirms that women have a much lower probability of being in a union than men (odds ratio = .692). Also, all categories of country of birth score considerably higher than 'Aruba', the control category. For instance, persons born in the Netherlands have an odds ratio of 1.663 relative with local born persons. Persons born in Venezuela have 77.6 percent higher odds of being in a union than Aruban born persons. Apparently, religion is an important discriminant factor in determining a person's chances of living together. Jehovah Witnesses and atheists have higher chances than Catholics, while all other religions have lower chances. Our analysis shows that persons with no formal education and with only primary education have the lowest probability of living together with a life partner. Also, regional differences exist in terms of living together with a partner. People living in Noord have a somewhat lower probability than those living in Paradera, have almost the same probabilities as those in Santa Cruz and Savaneta, but a higher probability than those living in Oranjestad or San Nicolas.

COHABITATION WITHOUT MARRIAGE

In the previous section we looked at patterns of living together with a partner, irrespective whether the partners were married or not. In this section we will investigate to what extend the state of marriage has shifted. The results from the 2010 Population Census show that the proportion of persons who prefer to live together, without formalizing their union through marriage is on the rise. In 1981, there were 1,664 persons who were living together without being married, in 1991 this number had risen to 3,456 persons, in 2000 there were 6,506 persons and in 2010 this was 8,926.

Table 7 presents the number of persons, currently living together on a durable basis, by age and sex who are married to their partner. Figures for 2000 and 2010 are included. The results of this table are presented graphically in Figure 5.

Table 6: Logit regression living together on a durable basis with selected explanatory variables

	B	Exp(B)
Constant	-5.701	.003
	Age	.223
	Agesquare	-.002
Sex	Male	
	Female	-.368
Country of birth	Aruba	
	Colombia	.257
	USA	.051
	Dominican Republic	.213
	Venezuela	.574
	Curaçao	.255
	The Netherlands	.490
	Other country	.364
Religion	Catholic	
	Protestant	-.183
	Jehova witness	.133
	Methodist	-.538
	Adventist	.412
	Anglican	-.126
	Jewish	-.079
	None	.182
	Other	.078
ISCED diploma category	Less than primary/no education	
	Primary (special) education	.405
	Lower vocational education (EPB)	.695
	MAVO	.686
	HAVO/High School/Bachillerato	.636
	VVO	.761
	Vocational Education, Intermediate (Associate) level (MBO)	.873
	Higher education (Bachelor, HBO)	.874
	Higher Education (WO, Master)	.835
	Higher Education (WO, PhD)	.824
Region of Residence	Noord/Tanki Leendert	
	Oranjestad West	-.254
	Oranjestad East	-.290
	Paradera	.138
	Santa Cruz	.018
	Savaneta	-.048
	San Nicolas North	-.228
	San Nicolas South	-.490

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

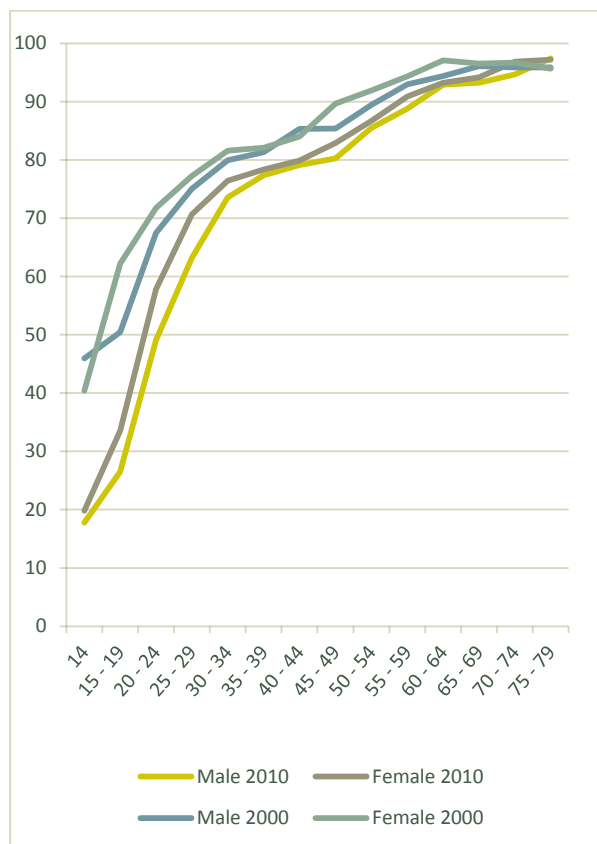
The figure shows that over the last decade the number of persons who live together and who are married to their partner has decreased significantly. Especially at younger ages both men and women feel much less inclined to tie the knot when they start living together. In 2000, still 58.2 percent of all persons in age-group 20 - 24 years of age who were living together were married to their partner. In 2010 this was only 30.9 percent. Similarly, between ages 25 and 30 these percentages are 70.0 and 54.3 in 2000 and 2010. The older the age, the more people are married to their life partner. Also, with increasing age, the difference between the Censuses of 2000 and 2010 diminish. Overall, the percentage of women living together, who are married to their partner, is somewhat higher than the percentage of men.

Table 7: Percentage of persons living together who are married to their partner, by age and sex, 2000-2010

Age-group	2000			2010		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15 - 19	45.9	40.4	41.6	17.8	19.8	19.2
20 - 24	50.4	62.2	58.2	26.5	33.5	30.9
25 - 29	67.5	71.8	70.0	49.1	57.8	54.3
30 - 34	75.1	77.3	76.2	63.2	70.7	67.4
35 - 39	79.9	81.6	80.8	73.6	76.4	75.1
40 - 44	81.3	82.1	81.7	77.4	78.3	77.9
45 - 49	85.3	84.0	84.7	79.1	79.9	79.5
50 - 54	85.4	89.6	87.4	80.3	82.9	81.6
55 - 59	89.4	91.9	90.6	85.5	86.7	86.0
60 - 64	93.0	94.3	93.6	88.8	90.9	89.7
65 - 69	94.4	97.1	95.5	92.9	93.2	93.0
70 - 74	96.1	96.5	96.3	93.3	94.2	93.7
75 - 79	95.9	96.7	96.1	94.6	96.9	95.5
80+	95.9	95.7	95.8	97.4	97.2	97.3
Total	93.6	96.2	94.5	78.3	78.3	78.3

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000, 2010

Figure 5: Percentage of persons living together who are married with their partner, by age and sex, 2000-2010



Many people who are living together without being married to their partner already have a marriage history. Marriages are terminated by divorce or death. Often persons, who have experienced the breakup of their marriage, find a partner and commence a new life. Some of them remarry, and some do not. In the 2010 Population Census, 70 enumeration areas were canvassed with a longer version of the questionnaire. In this long form, some additional questions on marriage were included. Among others, ever married persons were asked how many times they had been married. Table 8 displays the percentage of ever married persons who have been married more than once. The Census showed that very few persons had been married more than twice (less than 1 percent). Therefore, we only used the category 'married more than once'. Remarriage after a divorce or widowhood is higher among men than among women, 13.8 percent against 9.7 percent. It is interesting to see that among men, the proportion who have been married more than once increases gradually by age, until it reaches a peak in the age-group 60 – 64 years. In this age-group, 24 percent of men have been married more than once. After age 65 the proportion who married more than once again decreases gradually. Among women, no clear age pattern exists. Differences between men and women in terms of remarriage are biggest after age 50. The percentage of men above age 50, who were remarried at the time of the Census, was almost twice as large as the percentage of women: 16.5 percent against 9.8 percent.

Table 8: Percentage of ever-married persons currently living together married more than once

Age-group	Male	Female	Total
20 - 24	0.0	4.0	5.1
25 - 29	0.0	6.5	9.6
30 - 34	3.1	9.0	12.7
35 - 39	10.3	13.2	13.9
40 - 44	12.2	12.9	14.2
45 - 49	14.8	10.7	16.9
50 - 54	17.0	15.0	17.1
55 - 59	18.5	8.5	11.8
60 - 64	25.8	10.7	7.1
65 - 69	12.8	3.8	6.3
70 - 74	10.0	0.0	7.7
75 - 79	9.8	0.0	0.0
80 - 84	10.0	0.0	0.0
85 - 89	0.0	0.0	12.0
Total	13.8	10.1	12.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010
Note: number of cases=3,125

Figure 6.a.: Marital status of males living together with a partner, but not married to them, by age and sex

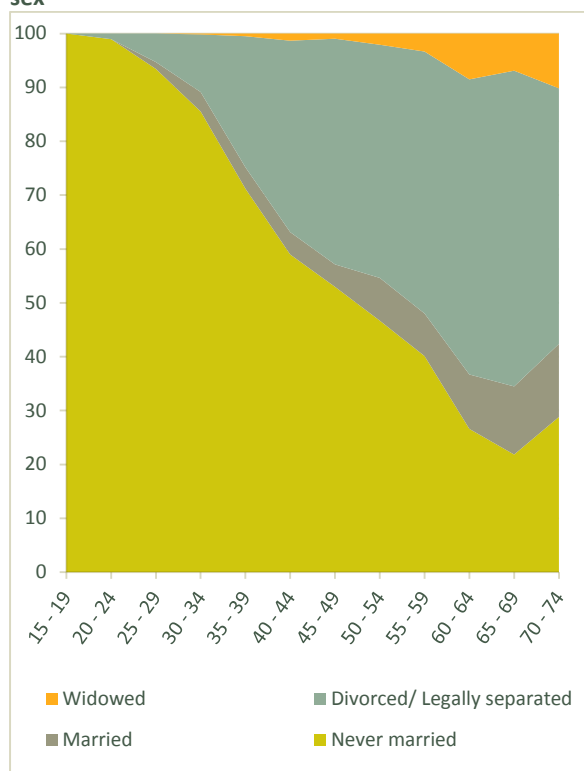
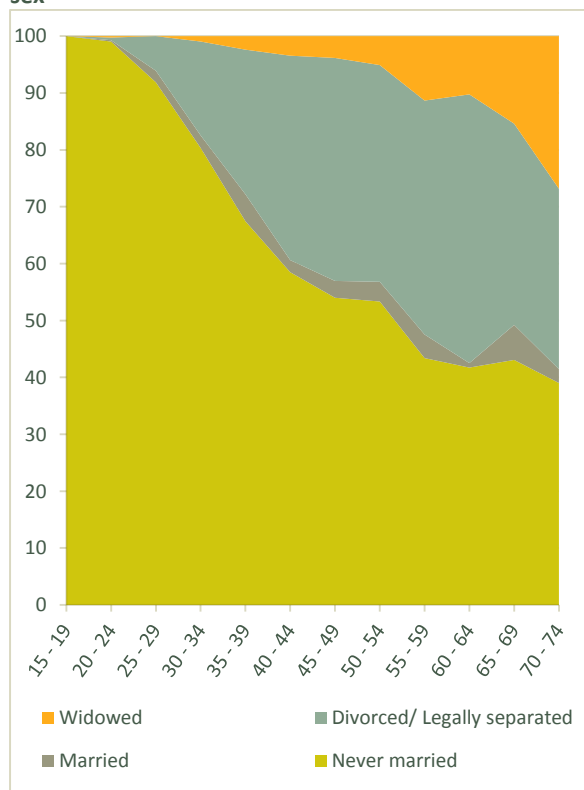


Figure 6.b.: Marital status of females living together with a partner, but not married to them, by age and sex



Figures 6a and 6b show that many persons who cohabit and who are not married to each other, do have a marriage history. Up to age twenty-five, for both sexes, almost all persons are never married. After this age, the number of divorced persons who cohabit, grows rapidly. Between ages 40 and 45, 36 percent of men and women who live together are divorced. In age-group 60 – 64 years, these percentages are respectively 54.8 and 47.2 percent. Especially among older cohabitating women, the percentage that is widowed is quite high, for instance, 15.4 percent of women aged 60 to 65. More than just a few persons - especially men - are married but live together with another woman than their own wife.

GLOBALIZATION OF LOVE

Since the late 1980's a large proportion of Aruban men found a partner, who was not born on the island. In our analysis of the 1991 Census we noted the following: "It seems that during the last two years before the Census, an enormous rise has taken place in the number of Aruban men marrying foreign women. Out of a total of 679 marriages which took place during this period, and where the husband was Aruban, only 372 had Aruban wives. Especially women from the Dominican Republic appear quite popular among Aruban men. Aruban females are less likely to marry a foreign spouse than Aruban males"⁵. The 2000 Population Census also found a large proportion of marriages taking place between Aruban men and non-Aruban women. According to the Census, 646 couples who were married in 1999, only 29.9 percent were unions where both partners were Aruban³.

The trend of internationalization of partner choice has continued over the years and is clearly visible in the 2010 Population Census. Because more and more couples live together without being married, we will look at all men and women who live together irrespective of their marital status. Table 9 shows the number of persons living together on a durable basis by sex, country of birth and country of birth of partner. The upper part of the table shows the absolute numbers, while the lower part gives the percentages in each category of men and women separately. There is a slight discrepancy in the total number of men and women (20,604 men and 20,597 women). This difference is due to the fact that also some same sex couples are included in the table.



Table 9: Number of persons living together on a durable basis by sex, country of birth and country of birth of partner

Country of birth	Male										Female									
	Absolute numbers	Country of birth partner									Total	Aruba	Colombia	USA	Dominican Republic	Venezuela	Curaçao	The Netherlands	Other country	Total
		Aruba	Colombia	USA	Dominican Republic	Venezuela	Curaçao	The Netherlands	Other country											
Aruba	8,759	1,420	47	517	455	245	330	697	12,470	8,782	259	28	157	253	474	350	572	10,875		
Colombia	262	1,155	5	55	61	13	19	36	1,606	1,414	1,157	16	80	180	65	96	173	3,182		
USA	28	16	35	1	3	5	5	10	103	47	5	35	0	3	2	6	9	107		
Dominican Republic	157	81	0	442	30	4	6	30	750	518	54	1	444	71	42	28	63	1,221		
Venezuela	253	179	3	71	281	8	13	35	843	455	62	3	30	277	17	41	58	943		
Curaçao	473	66	2	42	17	69	40	78	787	245	12	5	4	8	69	29	43	415		
The Netherlands	355	99	6	28	41	29	487	141	1,186	325	17	5	6	13	40	491	58	955		
Other country	576	174	9	63	58	42	61	1,876	2,859	694	36	10	30	35	79	139	1,876	2,899		
Total	10,863	3,190	107	1,219	946	415	961	2,903	20,604	12,481	1,602	103	751	840	788	1,180	2,852	20,597		

Country of birth	Male										Female									
	Percentage	Country of birth partner									Total	Aruba	Colombia	USA	Dominican Republic	Venezuela	Curaçao	The Netherlands	Other country	Total
		Aruba	Colombia	USA	Dominican Republic	Venezuela	Curaçao	The Netherlands	Other country											
Aruba	42.5	6.9	0.2	2.5	2.2	1.2	1.6	3.0	60.5	42.6	1.3	0.1	0.8	1.2	2.3	1.7	2.8	52.8		
Colombia	1.3	5.6	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2	7.8	6.9	5.6	0.1	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.8	15.4		
USA	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5		
Dominican Republic	0.8	0.4	0.0	2.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.6	2.5	0.3	0.0	2.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	5.9		
Venezuela	1.2	0.9	0.0	0.3	1.4	0.0	0.1	0.2	4.1	2.2	0.3	0.0	0.1	1.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	4.6		
Curaçao	2.3	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.4	3.8	1.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.2	2.0		
The Netherlands	1.7	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	2.4	0.7	5.8	1.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	2.4	0.3	4.6		
Other country	2.8	0.8	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	9.1	13.9	3.4	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.7	9.1	14.1		
Total	52.7	15.5	0.5	5.9	4.6	2.0	4.7	14.1	100.0	60.6	7.8	0.5	3.6	4.1	3.8	5.7	13.8	100.0		

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

Table 10: Age difference (percentiles) between partners by origin of partners

Percentiles	Aruban male-Aruban partner	Aruban male-Foreign partner	Foreign male-Aruban partner	Foreign male-Foreign partner
5	-6.0	-7.0	-10.0	-8.0
10	-3.0	-5.0	-7.0	-5.0
25	0.0	0.0	-2.0	-1.0
50	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0
75	5.0	9.0	5.0	7.0
90	8.0	15.0	10.0	12.0
95	11.0	19.0	13.0	15.0
Mean	2.4	4.4	1.6	3.3

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

Among all couples living together on Aruba, whether the partners are married to each other or not, 42.5 percent consist of two partners born on Aruba. Among the 12,470 men born on Aruba who live together, 8,759 have an Aruban partner (70.2 percent). Among Aruban born women, this percentage is higher: 80.8. By far the most popular group of foreign partners for Aruban born men, are women from Colombia; 6.9 percent of all unions consist of an Aruban born man and a woman born in Colombia (1,420). In total, 11.4 percent of all Aruban born men, who are living together with a partner, have a partner born in Colombia. Women from the Dominican Republic (517) and Venezuela (455) are the second and third largest group of foreign-born partners. In Aruba, more Colombian women are living together with Aruban born men than with Colombian men. Relatively more men born in the Netherlands have found a foreign partner compared to Aruban born men, many partners are Dutch nationals as well (487). As we saw before, 70.2 percent of Aruban born men have an Aruban born partner. In comparison, more than half of all men born in the Netherlands (58.8 percent) are living together with a foreign born partner, 355 of men born in the Netherlands live together with Aruban born women.

Among Aruban born women, men from Curaçao are most popular (474), followed by men born in the Netherlands (350) and Colombia (259). Only slightly more than half of all women living together with a partner are Aruban born (52.8 percent), 15.4 percent are Colombian, 31.8 originate from other countries.

Results of the 2000 Census showed that “the age difference between spouses is largest for native men marrying foreign-born women: the men are on average four years older. If both partners are born on Aruba, the age difference is 2.5 years”³. To examine whether age differences exists between Aruban/foreign born statuses of both partners, we

first calculated mean age differences between partners according to similarity of place of birth. Subsequently, we drew up a table with percentiles of the age differences between partners. The age difference between an Aruban born man and his Aruban born partner is on average 2.4 years. If the man is Aruban born and his partner is foreign than the age difference becomes 4.4 years. However, if the female partner is Aruban born and the male partner is foreign, then the age difference is only 1.6 years. Foreign men who live together with foreign born women differ 3.3 years in age. Table 10 shows the percentiles between age differences according to similarity of place of birth of both partners. The 50th percentile equals the median, i.e. the value at which the highest 50 percent of age difference between partners is separated from the lowest 50 percent. Twenty-five percent of Aruban men are at least 5 years older than their Aruban partner. But, twenty-five percent are at least 9 years older than their foreign partner. At the higher percentiles the differences between Aruban born male – Aruban born partner and Aruban born male – foreign partner are even bigger: at the 95 percentile the difference is 11 years for the first group but 19 years for the second. Ten percent of Aruban born female partners is 3 years older than their Aruban male partners; but the difference is 7 years if the Aruban partner is together with a foreign born male. Our analysis shows that both Aruban born men and women opt for a younger foreign-born partner than they would if they choose an Aruban companion.

DIVORCE

There is no doubt that the number of divorces has increased significantly during the last ten years. Since January 2002, the sole requisite for a divorce is irreconcilable differences between the partners. The easing of the divorce law led to a sharp increase in the number of divorces after 2001. Figure 7 shows the ratio between divorces and marriages between 1985 and 2008. Figures for the period 2005 – 2009 are presented in Table 11⁶. The number of divorces was highest in 2006. During this year, 528 divorces took place while there were only slightly more marriages (546), implying a ratio between divorces and marriages of 96.7 per hundred. After 2001 the number of divorces per 100 marriages in a year has never been below 60. The ratio between the number of divorces per 100 marriages is only a crude way to study divorce. After all, the incidence of divorces in a given year is not directly linked to the marriages conducted in that same year, but is linked to marriages that may have taken place many years before. A more sound approach to look at the disruption of marital unions is by constructing a divorce table. The divorce table describes the breaking up of marriage as experienced by a fictitious

cohort of 10,000 married men and women aged 15 – 54 years, living in a given year, without the interference of mortality or migration.

Figure 7: Divorces per 100 marriages by year, 1985-2007

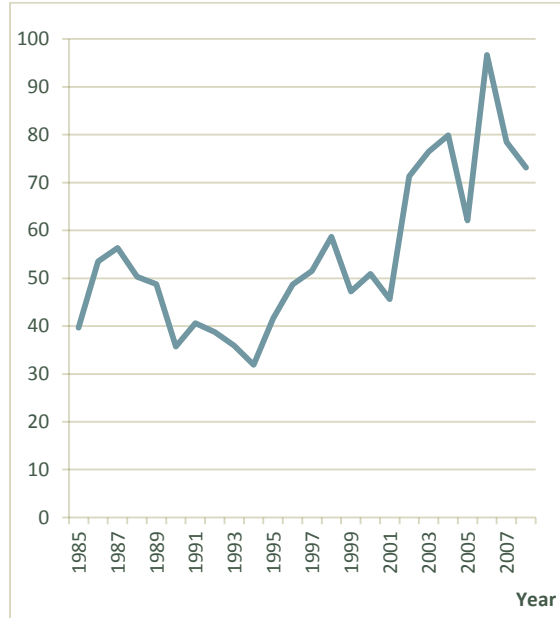


Table 11: Marriages and divorces 2005-2009

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Marriages	715	546	531	405	.	.
Divorces	444	528	417	297	.	433
Divorces per 100 marriages	62.1	96.7	78.5	73.1	.	.

Source: CBS and Population Registry Office

The experience of divorce of the fictitious cohort of men and women is best described by the number of divorces by age in the divorce table between ages x and x+ 5 or by the number of ‘surviving’ marriages at exact age x. The age-specific divorces in the fictitious cohort are depicted in Figure 8a, for males and 8b for females. For the sake of comparison, we have also included the divorces in the fictitious cohort from 2000 and 1991. The divorce tables for the last three subsequent Censuses are presented in Table 12.

The number of ‘surviving’ marriages in the divorce table shows that divorce is high on Aruba. If 10,000 would be married at age 20, and if they would experience the current age-specific divorce pattern throughout their life, then – if none of these men would die or migrate – only 2,676 would still be married at exact age 50. For women this would be 3,038. If the divorce pattern of 2000 would be in operation, respectively 3,380 men and 4,220 women would still have been in marriage at exact age 50 and in 1991 respectively 5,015 men and 4,805 women. Among all men and women in the fictitious cohort, most experience a divorce in the age group 20-24

years: 2,894 men and 2,500 women. Also in 2000 we saw the same trend. However, in 1991 the risk for divorce was higher in age-group 25-29 years than in age-group 20-24 years.

Figure 8a: Age-specific divorces males 1991-2010

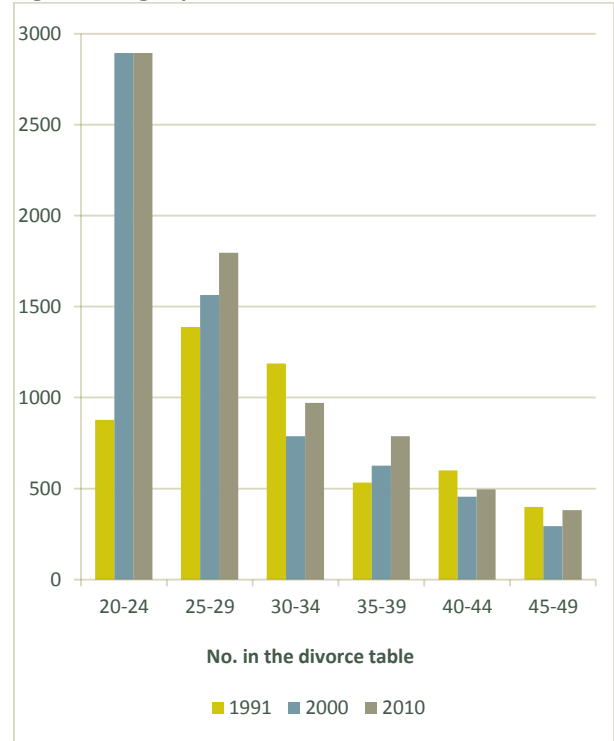


Figure 8b: Age-specific divorces females 1991-2010

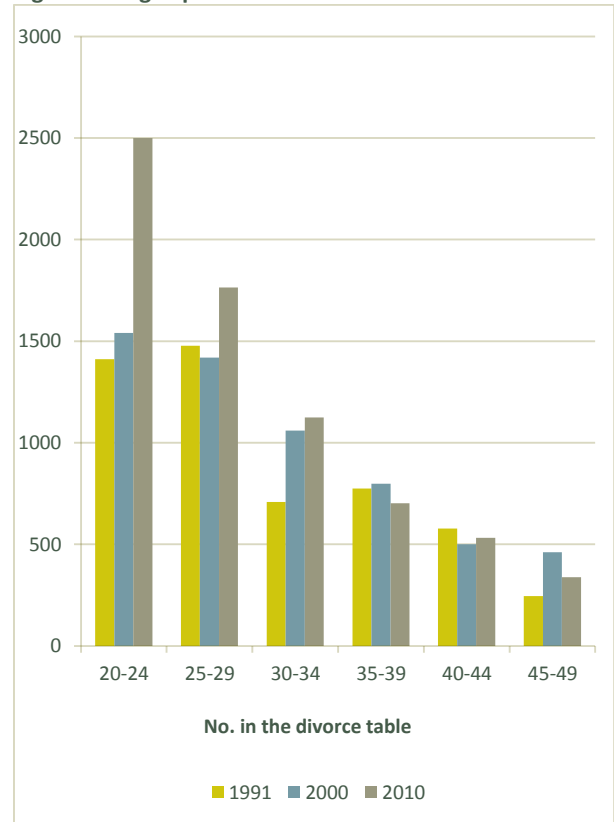


Table 12: Divorce table for males and females, Aruba 1991, 2000, and 2010

2010 Age- group	Males						Females					
	Divorces	Married persons	s(x,x+5)	d(x,x+5)	D(x,x+5)	M(x)	Divorces	Married persons	s(x,x+5)	D(x,x+5)	D(x,x+5)	M(x)
15-19	0	9	0.000	0.000		10,000	0	27	0.000	0.000		10,000
20-24	9	133	0.068	0.289	2,894	10,000	14	245	0.057	0.250	2,500	10,000
25-29	31	536	0.058	0.253	1,795	7,106	49	919	0.053	0.235	1,764	7,500
30-34	48	1,193	0.040	0.183	971	5,311	72	1,656	0.043	0.196	1,125	5,736
35-39	75	1,879	0.040	0.181	788	4,340	69	2,093	0.033	0.152	702	4,611
40-44	68	2,267	0.030	0.140	496	3,552	69	2,364	0.029	0.136	532	3,909
45-49	69	2,600	0.027	0.124	380	3,057	52	2,461	0.021	0.100	339	3,377
50-54	45	2,383	0.019	0.090		2,676	36	2,275	0.016	0.076		3,038
	345	11,000					361	12,040				

2000 Age- group	Males						Females					
	Divorces	Married persons	s(x,x+5)	d(x,x+5)	D(x,x+5)	M(x)	Divorces	Married persons	s(x,x+5)	D(x,x+5)	D(x,x+5)	M(x)
15-19	1	18	0.056	0.244		10,000	2	62	0.032	0.149		10,000
20-24	18	266	0.068	0.289	2,894	10,000	20	599	0.033	0.154	1,541	10,000
25-29	53	1,072	0.049	0.220	1,563	7,106	56	1,529	0.037	0.168	1,419	8,459
30-34	62	2,028	0.031	0.142	787	5,543	68	2,089	0.033	0.151	1,060	7,040
35-39	74	2,624	0.028	0.132	626	4,756	75	2,622	0.029	0.133	798	5,980
40-44	58	2,481	0.023	0.110	456	4,129	48	2,365	0.020	0.097	500	5,182
45-49	37	2,227	0.017	0.080	293	3,673	41	1,977	0.021	0.099	462	4,682
50-54	21	1,753	0.012	0.058		3,380	14	1,569	0.009	0.044		4,220
	324	12,469					324	12,812				

1991 Age- group	Males						Females					
	Divorces	Married persons	s(x,x+5)	d(x,x+5)	D(x,x+5)	M(x)	Divorces	Married persons	s(x,x+5)	D(x,x+5)	D(x,x+5)	M(x)
15-19	n.a.	n.a.	0.000	0.000		10,000	n.a.	n.a.	0.000	0.000		10,000
20-24	n.a.	n.a.	0.018	0.088	877	10,000	n.a.	n.a.	0.030	0.141	1,411	10,000
25-29	n.a.	n.a.	0.033	0.152	1,388	9,123	n.a.	n.a.	0.038	0.172	1,478	8,789
30-34	n.a.	n.a.	0.033	0.153	1,187	7,734	n.a.	n.a.	0.021	0.100	709	7,111
35-39	n.a.	n.a.	0.017	0.081	533	6,547	n.a.	n.a.	0.026	0.121	775	6,403
40-44	n.a.	n.a.	0.021	0.100	600	6,014	n.a.	n.a.	0.022	0.103	578	5,628
45-49	n.a.	n.a.	0.015	0.074	399	5,414	n.a.	n.a.	0.010	0.049	245	5,050
50-54	n.a.	n.a.	0.012	0.059		5,015	n.a.	n.a.	0.008	0.039		4,805

Source: Population and Housing Census 1991, 2000, and 2010, and Population Registry Office
 Note: n.a.=not available

We would like to finish our discussion of divorce with a cautionary note. The results of a divorce table by age may be easily misinterpreted. We constructed a divorce table by age, while ideally we would have to set one up by duration of marriage. Unfortunately, our data are inadequate to compute such a divorce table and we had to rely on a less favorable method. This approach could lead to false interpretations of the results. For instance, our result does not mean that almost three out of fourth men and 70 percent of women living on Aruba have to go through a divorce at least once in the live. One should not forget that the fictitious cohort starts with a cohort of 10,000 ‘married’ men at age 20. In the real Aruban setting, very few men are married at such a young age. As we saw before, the mean age at first marriage for men is 30.5 years and 29.5 years for women. This means that the average person experiences the risk of divorce only after about age 30. This is very important because, as figures 8a-b show, the risk of divorce is by far the highest at very young ages. The divorce table was solely constructed to compare the relative incidence of divorce between both sexes and over time.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

During the 2010 Census, 34,880 households were counted, 34,852 non-collective households and 28 institutional collective households. A total of 480 men and 302 women were living in collective institutional households. Given the total population of 101,484 persons living on the island, the average household size is 2.91 persons (2.89 for non-collective households). Over time, the average household size has diminished considerably. In 1960, there were still on average 4.89 persons per household. Every decade since then saw a further reduction in the household size: 4.04 in 1981, 3.46 in 1991 and 3.09 in 2000. The reduction in household size has gone hand in hand with the drop in the levels of fertility. Since the 1990’s, the immigration of foreign workers has also contributed to smaller household size. Many of these migrants live in their own apartment.

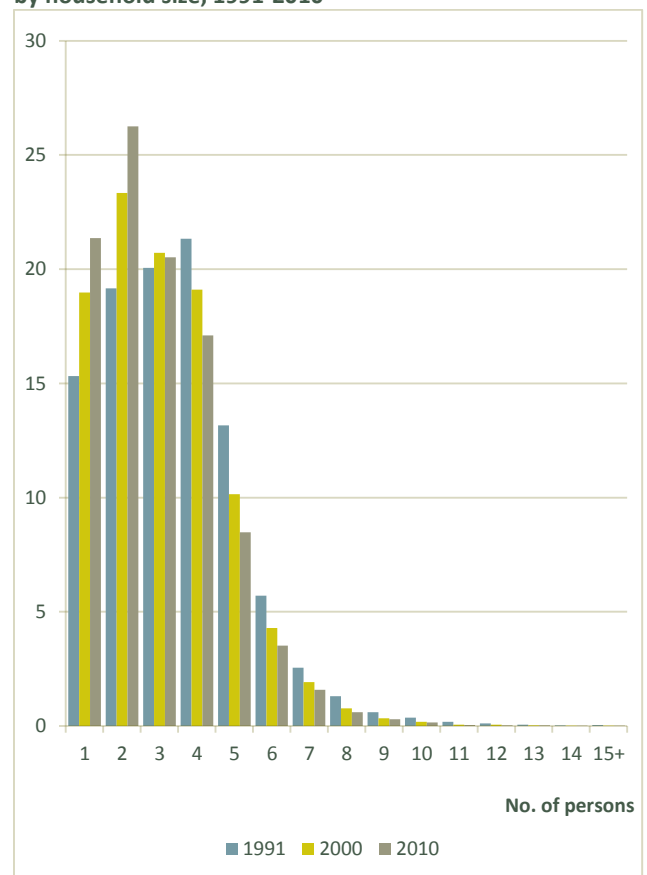
Table 13 shows the number of persons living in non-collective households, by size of household. Figure 9 clearly shows the increase in the number of smaller households since 1991. The relative number of one-person household has jumped from 15.2 percent in 1991 to 21.4 in 2010. Also the percentage of two person households climbed from 19.2 in 1991 to 26.2 in 2010. The number of households consisting of 3 persons has remained fairly equal over time. The proportion of larger households has diminished during the last twenty years.

Table 13: Number of households by size, 1991-2010

No of persons	1991 (%)	2000 (%)	2010 (%)
1	2,950 (15.3)	5,552 (19.0)	7,447 (21.4)
2	3,691 (19.2)	6,825 (23.3)	9,148 (26.2)
3	3,862 (20.1)	6,061 (20.7)	7,152 (20.5)
4	4,107 (21.3)	5,586 (19.1)	5,961 (17.1)
5	2,534 (13.2)	2,968 (10.1)	2,957 (8.5)
6	1,099 (5.7)	1,255 (4.3)	1,227 (3.5)
7	492 (2.6)	563 (1.9)	551 (1.6)
8	253 (1.3)	228 (0.8)	210 (0.6)
9	116 (0.6)	101 (0.3)	105 (0.3)
10	70 (0.4)	55 (0.2)	54 (0.2)
11	36 (0.2)	18 (0.1)	15 (0.0)
12	21 (0.1)	18 (0.1)	10 (0.0)
13	10 (0.1)	7 (0.0)	10 (0.0)
14	5 (0.0)	5 (0.0)	2 (0.0)
15+	9 (0.0)	6 (0.0)	3 (0.0)
Total	19,257 (100.0)	29,248 (100.0)	34,852 (100.0)

Source: Population and Housing Census 1991, 2000, 2010

Figure 9: Percentage of population on households, by household size, 1991-2010



In the 2010 Population Census the following types of non-collective household composition were used:

- One-person household
- Nuclear household
 - Married couple, no children
 - Married couple with children
 - Father with children
 - Mother with children
- Extended household (all members related)
 - Extended household with at least a one single family nucleus and at least one related person
 - Extended household with two or more nuclei related to each other no other person
 - Extended household without a family nuclei but with two or more persons related to each other
- Composite household (not all members related)
 - Composite household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person
 - Composite household with two or more nuclei non-related to each other no other person
 - Composite household without a family nuclei but with two or more persons non-related to each other
- Unclear whether composite or extended

Table 14 shows the number of households, by type according to the 1991, 2000 and 2010 Censuses. The percentages in Table 14 are depicted in Figure 10. The results show that during the last 20 years significant changes have taken place in the household composition on Aruba. First, the number of one-person households increased from 15.3 percent of all households to 21.4 percent. The traditional

household with married father, mother and one or more children has decreased with more than 10 percent from a 32.6 percent in 1991 to 26.1 percent in 2000 to 22.1 percent in 2010. As we saw in the previous section, the percentage of married persons who live together has gone down. This certainly had its effect on the decline of the traditional household. However, the number of households consisting of a married couple without children has increased slightly from 9 to 11.5 percent. Also, the relative number of households where a mother lives alone with her children has further increased. Currently, one in every ten households consists of a mother who lives together alone with her children. Almost ten times less households consist of a father with children than a mother with children. The percentage of extended households, i.e. a household that consists of more than one nuclei/unattached person who are all related to each other, stands at 16.5 percent. In a composite household at least one person is not related to the other household members. Currently, a little more composite than extended households are present on Aruba, 17.0 percent against 16.5 percent.

Table 15a shows the mean number of persons living in the household by type of household. Nuclear households consist on average of 3 persons. Households with the largest mean number of persons are extended households with two or more nuclei related to each other, but with no other person (5.46 persons) and composite households with two or more nuclei non-related to each other but no other person (5.48). We do not take into account the category 'Composite or extended household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person', because only one such household was present.

Table 14: Number of households by type, 1991-2010

Type of household	1991		2000		2010	
	Households	%	Households	%	Households	%
All collective households	20	0.1	15	0.1	28	0.1
All non-collective households	19,257		29,248		34,852	
One-person household	2,950	15.3	5,552	19.0	7,447	21.4
Nuclear household						
Married couple, no children	1,731	9.0	3,058	10.4	4,000	11.5
Married couple with children	6,289	32.6	7,638	26.1	7,723	22.1
Mother with children	1,582	8.2	2,664	9.1	3,569	10.2
Father with children	199	1.0	305	1.0	433	1.2
Nuclear household not elsewhere classified			29	0.1		
Total nuclear households	9,800	50.8	13,693	46.8	15,724	45.1
Extended household (all members related)	3,492	18.1	4,608	15.7	5,755	16.5
Composite household (not all members related)	3,014	15.6	5,367	18.3	5,917	17.0
Unclear whether extended or composite			27	0.1	9	0.0

Source: Population and Housing Census, 1991-2010

Note: please bear in mind that a collective living quarter (such as the prison) can exist of multiple households

Figure 8: Percentage of households by type, 1991, 2000, and 2010

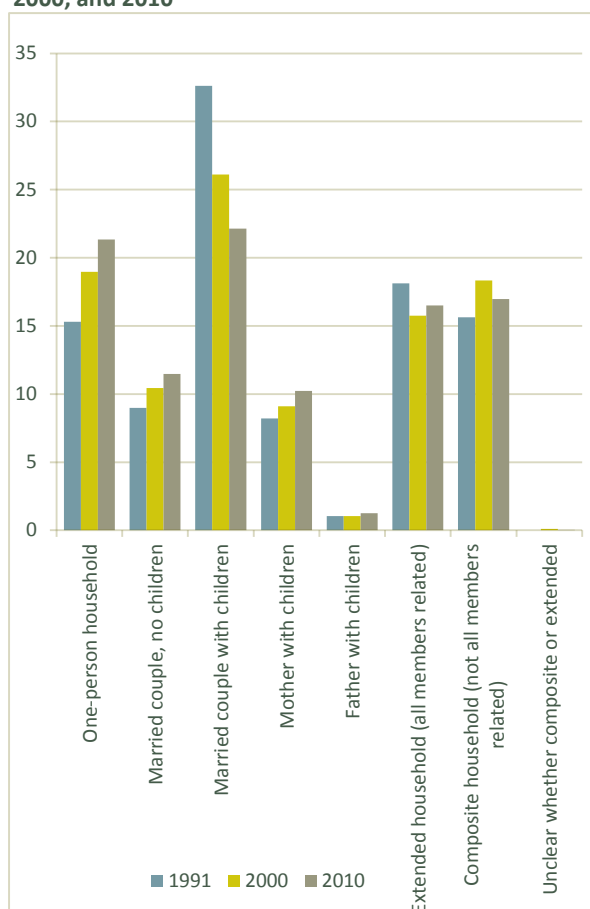


Table 15b provides a further refinement and shows the number of males and females in each household type, together with the relative distribution for each sex. In general, about 5,000 more women than men are present on the island. In each household type, more women than men are present, except in composite households without a family nucleus, but with two or more persons non-related to each other. These household types often consist of foreign workers who are not related, who live together in a trailer, an apartment or a house: here we find a somewhat higher number of men than women present. Proportionally, about the same number of men and women live in a one-person household (7.4 against 7.3 percent). Relatively speaking, a higher percentage of men than women live in a nuclear household (47.8 against 45.7 percent). In general, a slightly higher proportion of women than men live in extended household and a slightly higher proportion of men than women live in composite households.

Table 15a: Mean number of persons in household by type of household in non-collective households

	Number of persons	Number of households	Average number of persons
One person household	7,447	7,447	1.00
Nuclear household	47,381	15,724	3.01
Extended household	23,903	5,755	4.15
Composite household	21,931	5,917	3.71
Unclear whether extended or composite	41	9	4.56
Total	100,703	34,853	2.89

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

Table 15b: Absolute and relative number of persons in non-collective households by type of household and sex

	Absolute		%	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
One person household	3,569	3,878	7.5	7.3
Nuclear household	23,049	24,332	48.3	46.0
Extended household	10,557	13,346	22.1	25.2
Composite household	10,563	11,368	22.1	21.5
Unclear whether extended or composite	24	17	0.1	0.0
Total	47,762	52,941	100.0	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

POSITION OF CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD

The social environment in which a child grows up is important for its development as an individual and often has an effect on its entire life course. The Census is obviously not an in-depth study on the position of children, but can give us some indications on the social environment in which a child lives. In this section, we will look into the position of children in the household and the family.

Tables 16a and 16b show the number of children younger than 15 years of age, by the type of household they live in. The tables are restricted to children who live in non-collective households. In the Census we discerned two types of household compositions: 1) the legal composition and 2) the sociological composition. The difference between both classifications lies in the way a family is treated. In the legal approach, a couple has to be living together and be married to each other to be considered members of the same family unit. In the sociological approach, the couple only has to indicate that they are living together on a durable basis in order to be classified within the same family unit. Table 16a shows the number of children according to the legal and Table 16b according to the sociological

approach. Of all children in the legal approach, 52.2 percent of children below 15 live in a household that solely consist of a family with one or two parents and children. About one in four children in the legal approach live in an extended household. On Aruba, it is not uncommon that grandparents live together with the family of their children. The high percentage of composite households in the legal approach (23.1 percent) is caused by the large number of households in which a couple cohabitates and includes children from one or both the partners. If we look at the figures from the sociological approach, as can be expected a much larger percentage of young children lives in a nuclear household (63.9 percent). The percentage of children in an extended household is about the same in both approaches, while only a small group of children lives in a composite household if we look at household composition from a sociological viewpoint.

Table 16a: Number of children younger than 15 years by household types in non-collective households (legal unions)

Type of household	Absolute			%		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
One person	1	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nuclear	5,632	5,328	10,960	52.6	51.8	52.2
Extended	2,591	2,591	5,182	24.2	25.2	24.7
Composite	2,475	2,370	4,845	23.1	23.0	23.1
Total	10,699	10,289	20,988	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

Table 16b: Number of children younger than 15 years by household type in non-collective households (sociological unions)

Type of household	Absolute			%		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
One person	1	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nuclear	6,866	6,542	13,408	64.2	63.6	63.9
Extended	2,506	2,497	5,003	23.4	24.3	23.8
Composite	1,326	1,250	2,576	12.4	12.1	12.3
Total	10,699	10,289	20,988	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

More important than the type of household the child lives in, is the presence or absence of mother or father or both parents in the household. In the Census a questions was asked: ‘Does the father of this person live in this household?’ and ‘Does the mother of this person live in this household?’ It should be noted that father and mother do not necessary mean the biological parent of the child. No difference is made between foster parents and biological parents. If a man is married to a woman with children living in the family unit, but the married

man is not the biological father of the children, he is considered a stepparent. Table 17 shows the absolute and relative number of children who live with or without a mother or a father (note that the difference in the total number of children is due to rounding). The same figures are depicted in Figure 10. More than a third of all children 14 years of age or younger do not have their father living in the household (33.9 percent). By comparison, the number of children who don’t live with their mother is rather limited (5.3 percent). One would expect that the number of children who don’t have their father in the household would strongly increase with age. Although there is some gradual increase, it is rather limited. In none of the age groups do children without a father present in the household, constitute less than 30 percent. In the case of absence of the mother, percentages are clearly higher if the child is somewhat older. Out of a total of 20,994 children in non-collective households, younger than 15 years of age, for whom data was available in presence of father and mother, 601 (2.9 percent) indicated that neither their mother nor their father was living in the household.

Table 17: Number of children younger than 15 years living without their father/mother, by age of children

Age child	Father present				Mother present			
	Yes	No	Total	% No	Yes	No	Total	% No
0	769	347	1,116	31.1	1,100	16	1,116	1.4
1	872	412	1,284	32.1	1,262	23	1,285	1.8
2	874	421	1,295	32.5	1,249	45	1,294	3.5
3	910	468	1,378	34.0	1,323	55	1,378	4.0
4	990	431	1,421	30.3	1,355	66	1,421	4.6
5	942	505	1,447	34.9	1,387	61	1,448	4.2
6	881	426	1,307	32.6	1,238	69	1,307	5.3
7	932	421	1,353	31.1	1,282	71	1,353	5.2
8	956	459	1,415	32.4	1,321	94	1,415	6.6
9	993	513	1,506	34.1	1,421	84	1,505	5.6
10	947	540	1,487	36.3	1,381	106	1,487	7.1
11	930	543	1,473	36.9	1,361	113	1,474	7.7
12	948	523	1,471	35.6	1,370	101	1,471	6.9
13	989	554	1,543	35.9	1,432	111	1,543	7.2
14	950	543	1,493	36.4	1,398	95	1,493	6.4
Total	13,883	7,106	20,989	33.9	19,880	1,110	20,990	5.3

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

With so many children on the island who are living without their mother or father, the role of grandparents as caretakers is important. In the long form which was used for a subsample of the whole population, three questions were asked related to the involvement of grandparents with the rearing of

their grandchildren: 1) 'Do you have one or more grandchildren younger than 18 years, who live with you in the household?', 2) 'Are you as a grandparent at this moment financially responsible for the care of one or more of these grandchildren?' and 3) 'How long have you been financially responsible for these grandchildren?'. The first question was asked to all adults 30 years of age and older. Note that presence of grandchildren does not mean that the parents of these children are absent. Often these households are three generational. The second and third questions were only asked if the answer to the first question was affirmative. Table 18 and Figure 11 show how many men and women, 30 years of age and over have one or more grandchildren living in the household. As can be expected at the younger age-groups only few men and women have grandchildren in the house, for the simple reason that most people at this age don't have grandchildren. Generally, more women than men live in a household where grandchildren are present. For instance, in age-group 60-64 years of age, 25.2 percent of women live together with their grandchildren against 14.9 percent of men. Even at older ages a significant number of grandparents live in the household with their grandchildren. Between ages 75 – 79, 30.7 percent of women and 26.4 percent of men live with their grandchildren. However, it can be expected that at these ages the care function of grandparent to grandchild is often reversed. Among all persons who indicated that they were living together with grandparents in the households, 30.7 percent of men and 28.9 percent of women are financially responsible for the care of one or more of these grandchildren. About half of these grandparents also indicated that they had borne this financial responsibility for longer than 5 years.

Figure 10: Percentage of children younger than 15 years living without their father/mother by age of children

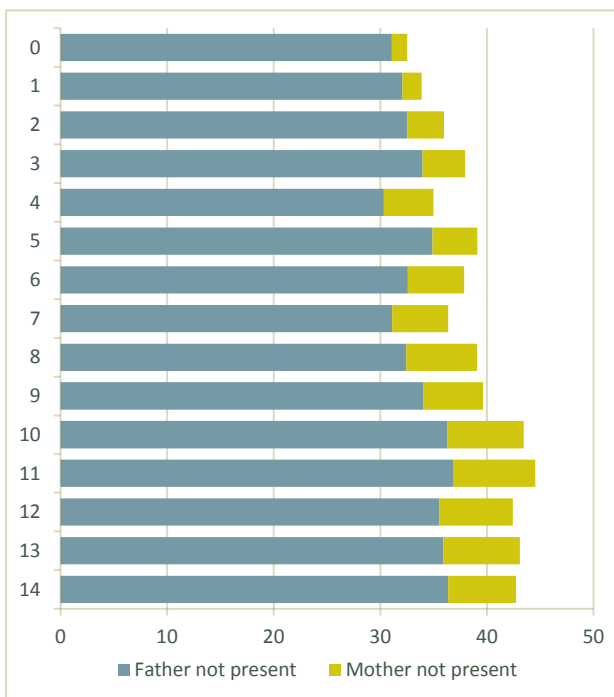


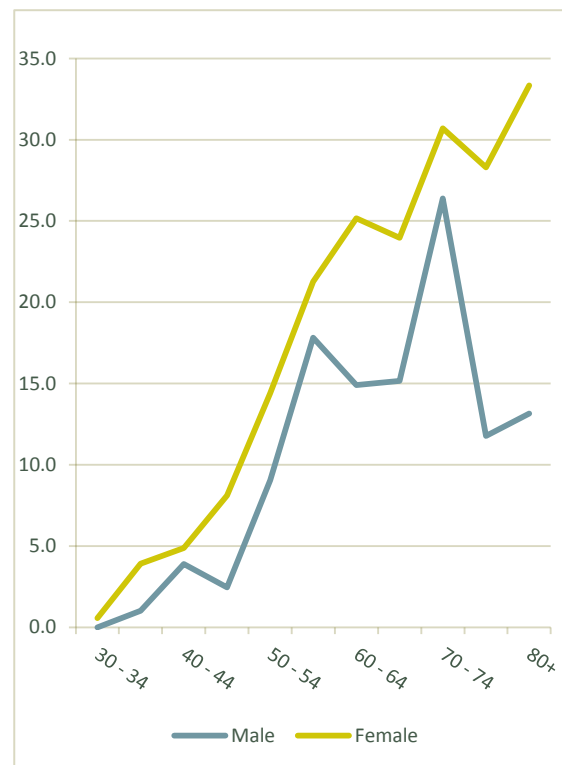
Table 18: Percentage of persons 30 years of age and older by sex and presence of a grandchild in the household

5 year age group	Male	Female
30-34	0.0	0.6
35-39	1.0	3.9
40-44	3.9	4.9
45-49	2.4	8.1
50-54	9.0	14.4
55-59	17.8	21.3
60-64	14.9	25.2
65-69	15.2	24.0
70-74	26.4	30.7
75-79	11.8	28.3
80+	13.2	33.3
Total	8.1	13.5

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

Note: the numbers presented in this table do not refer to the actual numbers in the total population, but to the numbers in the sample covered by the long form

Figure 11: Percentage of persons 30 years of age and older by sex and presence of a grandchild in the household



The presence or absence of one or both parents has a prominent influence on the type of household in which a child grows up. Table 19 shows the type of household children live in, by presence of their parents. The first panel of the table deals with the absence of the father, the second with the absence of the mother and the third with the absence of both

parents. If the father is living with his child, than the likelihood that the child lives in a nuclear household is 60.5 percent, against 36.0 if the father is absent. Interestingly, when the mother is absent, only 17.4 percent of the children live in a nuclear household. More often a father with his children will go live with close relatives than a mother with children: 43.7 percent of children where the father is absent can be

found in extended households, against 55.3 percent when the mother is absent. One would expect that children where one of the parents is absent would more often be found in composite households. One typical type of composite household is a family with a live-in maid. In a one-parent household a housemaid could take care of the children when the single mother or father has to go to work. Our figures show

Table 19: Type of household by presence of parents of children 14 years and younger

Father present on the household		Yes	No	Total number of children	Yes %	No %
One person household		-	-	-	-	-
Nuclear household		8,402	2,558	10,960	60.5	36.0
Extended household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one related person		1,339	1,591	2,930	9.6	22.4
Extended household with two or more nuclei related to each other, no other person		775	1,354	2,129	5.6	19.1
Extended HH without a family nuclei, but with two or more persons related to each other		0	123	123	0.0	1.7
Composite household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person		3,226	1,326	4,552	23.2	18.7
Composite household with two or more nuclei not related to each other, no other person		139	100	239	1.0	1.4
Composite household without a family nucleus, but with two or more persons not related to each other		0	51	51	0.0	0.7
Composite or extended household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person		1	3	4	0.0	0.0
Total		13,882	7,107	20,989		
Mother present in the household		Yes	No	Total number of children	Yes %	No %
One person household		-	-	-	-	-
Nuclear household		10,767	193	10,960	54.2	17.4
Extended household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one related person		2,530	400	2,930	12.7	36.0
Extended household with two or more nuclei related to each other, no other person		2,033	96	2,129	10.2	8.6
Extended HH without a family nuclei, but with two or more persons related to each other		4	119	123	0.0	10.7
Composite household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person		4,338	213	4,551	21.8	19.2
Composite household with two or more nuclei not related to each other, no other person		200	38	238	1.0	3.4
Composite household without a family nucleus, but with two or more persons not related to each other		0	51	51	0.0	4.6
Composite or extended household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person		4	0	4	0.0	0.0
Total		19,876	1,111	20,987		
Both parents absent		Yes	No	Total number of children	Yes %	No %
One person household		-	-	-	-	-
Nuclear household		0	10,960	10,960	0.0	53.8
Extended household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one related person		305	2,625	2,930	50.9	12.9
Extended household with two or more nuclei related to each other, no other person		0	2,129	2,129	0.0	10.4
Extended HH without a family nuclei, but with two or more persons related to each other		119	4	123	19.9	0.0
Composite household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person		123	4,428	4,551	20.5	21.7
Composite household with two or more nuclei not related to each other, no other person		0	238	238	0.0	1.2
Composite household without a family nucleus, but with two or more persons not related to each other		51	0	51	8.5	0.0
Composite or extended household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person		0	4	4	0.0	0.0
Total		599	20,388	20,987		

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

the opposite. A somewhat higher proportion of children where both parents are present live in composite households, compared to children with an absent parent. This may be due to the fact that one parent families are financially more constrained because of the unavailability of a second bread winner and cannot afford a housemaid.

Most of the children who live without both parents live in extended households with at least a one single family nucleus and at least one related person (50.9 percent) or an extended household without a family nucleus, but with two or more persons related to each other (19.9 percent). Obviously, none of them live in a nuclear household.

POSITION OF ELDERLY PEOPLE (> 65 YEARS)

The well-being of older persons is closely related to their social environment and the availability of caretakers. Especially the presence of a life partner and other close relatives is a determining factor for happiness and social comfort. In this section, we will briefly look into the types of households Aruba's elderly population lives in. In table 4 (on page 10) we already showed how much more likely men are to live together with a partner (married or not) on a durable basis than women. This fact has a direct effect on the types of households women can be found in, compared to men.

According to the 2010 Population Census 116 men and 199 women were living in institutional households. The number of men and women, older than 65 who live in non-collective households are presented in Table 20, by type of household in which they reside. Slightly more than a third of all elderly persons on Aruba live in a nuclear household (36.9 percent), while 17.6 percent live on their own. As so many more men than women live together with a life

partner, it should come as no surprise that the proportion of men who live in a nuclear household is considerably higher for men than for women: 46.2 percent, against 30.2 percent. The number of women who live alone at an older age is more than twice as high than the number of men: 1,236 against 561. Also in relative terms, more women than men live on their own (20.9 percent women and 13.0 percent men). Older women are also more likely to live in an extended household than men (36.6 percent against 28.0 percent). Little difference exists between the percentage of women and men who live in composite household.

SUMMARY

In this report we looked into marriage, divorce and the composition of families and households, as reported in the 2010 Aruba Population and Housing Census. The first finding was that in the last ten years people postpone marriage. The mean ages at first marriage for men increased by about a year to 30.5 years, while women marry about three years later than ten years ago (29.5 years). This also means that the age difference between both sexes has diminished and is now only one year. Marriage is far from universal. At age 50, 21.8 percent of men and 19.5 percent of women have not yet tied the knot. In our analysis we found a number of discriminating factors that make some groups in society less prone to get married than other: sex, country of birth, educational level, religion and even region of residence on the island.

Because there are more women than men on the island, there chance of living together with a partner on a durable basis is smaller than for men. According to the Census, 53.9 percent of men and 47.2 percent of women are living with a life partner, married or not. Young people start living together with a partner

Table 20: Number of persons older than 65 years by household type in non-collective households (legal composition)

	Absolute			Percentage		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
One person household	561	1,236	1,797	13.0	20.9	17.6
Nuclear household	1,988	1,784	3,772	46.2	30.2	36.9
Extended household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one related person	618	1,193	1,811	14.3	20.2	17.7
Extended household with two or more nuclei related to each other, no other person	394	353	747	9.1	6.0	7.3
Extended HH without a family nuclei, but with two or more persons related to each other	193	614	807	4.5	10.4	7.9
Composite household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person	353	422	775	8.2	7.2	7.6
Composite household with two or more nuclei not related to each other, no other person	9	9	18	0.2	0.2	0.2
Composite household without a family nucleus, but with two or more persons not related to each other	191	291	482	4.4	4.9	4.7
Composite or extended household with at least one single family nucleus and at least one not-related person	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	4,307	5,902	10,209	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Census 2010

at a somewhat later age now than 10 years ago. This trend is more pronounced for women than for men. The percentage of foreign born women living with a partner (married or not) is significantly higher than for Aruban born women (about 10 percent difference). The same holds true for men at a somewhat smaller degree (7 percent). The 2010 Population Census shows that the group of persons who live together, without the formalization of their union through marriage is on the rise.

Divorce is quite common on the island. Because data to construct a divorce table by duration of marriage were available we constructed a hybrid divorce table, based on age. Compared to ten years ago the incidence of divorce has increased.

Over the years, the average household size on Aruba has diminished significantly. Currently, the average household size is 2.91 persons (2.89 for non-collective households). During the last ten years, a number of changes have taken place in the composition of households on the island. The percentage of one-person households has increased from 15.3 percent to 21.3 percent. The number of nuclear households has decreased with about ten percent since the 1991 Population Census. Currently, 16.5 percent of all households are extended households and 17.0 percent are composite households. In our analysis we looked at the position of children and elderly persons in the household. The Census showed that 52.2 percent of children below age 15 live in nuclear households, with one or two parents (married to each other). It is an important finding that among all children 14 years of age or younger just over a third do not have their father living in the household. About one in 20 live without their mother in the household. The most noticeable fact among the elderly is the fact that so many more older women live on their own than older men. On the other hand, they are also more likely to live in extended households than men. The results of the 2010 Population Census show clearly that the social economic changes that have taken place on the island have had a profound effect on the way people live together. Family formation and household composition have all undergone important changes that affect the lives of a large proportion of people living on Aruba.

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