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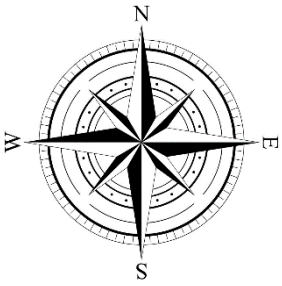
‘Migrating’ within the Kingdom



Mobility patterns and motives to move in the process of migration from the European Netherlands to Bonaire

Master’s thesis

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Cultural Anthropology: Sustainable Citizenship

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Preface

Let us take a moment to reflect on the freedom in which this research has been accomplished. The numerous universities in the European Netherlands offer the possibility of doing a wide variety of courses and the freedom of speech make sure we can express ourselves in a way that fits our perspective. Freedom of speech is sometimes experienced as ordinary, as normal, but must be acknowledged as privileged. Utrecht University has offered me various opportunities to expand my skills, enrich my language, and achieve a certain mindset. This research on Bonaire was stimulated and supported by Utrecht University, which shows an openness and flexibility in pursuing personal goals. Most importantly, this research is made possible with the help of a number of people. The danger in mentioning these people is that I forget someone, but I would still like to thank the following people:

- *Dr. Yvon van der Pijl*

She is my thesis supervisor, who has followed me critically and helpfully during all phases of this research, has given feedback on submitted papers, and has encouraged me when I was less optimistic. She made me think about what I wrote and questioned me on what that means in anthropology. She was a crucial factor in my personal and professional development; she helped me create an awareness and mindset that suits the context of my research and warned me of scientific pitfalls. Something that I will take to the next phase in my life are the fruitful discussions about the sensitivity of language: “our planet is always on the move”. I am deeply grateful for our cooperation!

- *All the research participants*

No name, no fame? Anonymity must be guaranteed, but that does not mean that their efforts, help, and openness are not recognized or mentioned. These participants coloured my research, added warmth that cannot be missed, and gave lifeless words an existence. I want to thank all the people who helped me reach an understanding of their lives. I want to thank them for their hospitality, support, and conviviality. Welcoming a stranger in their life, sometimes in their home, symbolizes trust and kindness. Certain but unexpected friendships have completed my experience on the island. I think the best way to describe this adventure is that I felt at home in a place other than home.

- *A friend from then and now*

A journey that one friend took some years ago unintentionally influenced my present. He was the one who triggered me to follow and understand the direction he took. A special thanks for his friendship, which in this research has been embodied in accommodation and a job on the island. This formed the base from which I could conduct research and opened the possibility of interacting with potential research participants. It took some weight off my shoulders, which motivated me to move.

Abstract

This thesis examines an annually-growing migration flow from the Global North to the Global South in general, and in particular from the European Netherlands to the Dutch Caribbean, with a focus on Bonaire. This movement takes place in the specific context of the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands. The aim of this thesis is to understand what kind of motives and incentives exist for the European Dutch migrant to move to Bonaire, and what kind of mobility patterns are involved in that movement. Due to the little existing literature about North-South migration within Dutch Caribbean Studies, it has not been clear until now what kind of forces drive, restrict and produce this mobility. The context of this migration offers more understanding of this form of mobility, where a late-modern Kingdom with a long colonial past changed its political structure in 2010. This newly-restructured Kingdom finds itself in a fast-paced era full of developing global technologies, systems, and policies that connect different parts of the world with each other. The 'new mobilities paradigm' of Sheller and Urry (2006) offers a deeper understanding of this fast-paced era: they argue that new travel and communication technologies have enabled social life at a distance, and that in this new paradigm travel becomes necessary for social life and becomes a lifestyle. Four groups of European Dutch migrants on Bonaire are identified in this research: expatriates, residential tourists, pensionados, and fortune-seekers. All four groups of migrants can be understood by Bauman's concept of a late-modern tourist (1996), but all four have personal motivations and incentives. These migrants from the Global North have a relatively great freedom in their movement and can easily move between the European Netherlands and Bonaire. It is a privileged migrant, with access to time and capital, who experiences freedom in their movement. However, this seemingly privileged position of the European Dutch migrant can alter during a pandemic, which shows the restrictions of late-modern mobility. The effects of the Corona pandemic (COVID-19) in 2020 have shown how the borders function within the boundaries of the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands, and have immobilized the ability of the 'privileged' migrant from the European Netherlands to move freely within the boundaries of that Kingdom.

Keywords: North-South migration, new mobilities paradigm, migrants, mobility, late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands, Bonaire, Dutch Caribbean Studies.

I hope I chose the words that fit the stories,

I hope those stories tell what they mean,

I hope one understands what is meant,

but does that mean that one understands?[1]

[1] My words.

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1. Introduction

"Nothing happens until something moves"[2]

Movement shapes the world around us, it helps define things we know, it indicates direction, and it often reveals something about the freedom of a particular movement. Movement is a means to indicate difference, where stationary differs from moving, but also where, for instance, the movement of people can indicate a difference of origin, 'local' versus 'migrant'. It takes movement to see how the world is interconnected, and it shows a difference in privileges between certain people who can move and others who are more restricted in their movement. The contemporary world is characterized by the movements of people, and the increasing interconnectedness of this world creates an environment where one's 'origin' becomes central to the ability and acknowledgement of the right to move (Ali and Hartmann 2005). Recent reports of *het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* (CBS, 2019a and 2019b) presented significant statistics about an annually-increasing form of migration from the European Netherlands to the Caribbean. This increasing number of European Dutch migrants raises the population on the different Caribbean islands, and the European Dutch migrants have an evident preference for Bonaire, nine out of ten immigrants from the European Netherlands settle on this island (CBS 2019a). Why is this number of European Dutch migrants increasing every year now? And why specifically Bonaire? Something happened because it moved. A large amount of literature within Dutch Caribbean Studies is written about the migration from the Caribbean to the European Netherlands (Oostindie 1988; Van Amersfoort and Van Niekerk 2006; Sharpe 2005; Van Niekerk 2002), aimed at the so-called South-North migration. However, little research has examined the other way around, the North-South migration from the European Netherlands to the Caribbean. This makes it interesting to investigate European Dutch migrants' motives and incentives more deeply, and at the same time, to find out which patterns of mobility play a role in this form of migration.

Literature about North-South migration (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017; Salazar 2013) helped create an awareness about mobility that connects with the movement of the European Dutch migrants and is used as a guideline during this research. Salazar (2017) explained that mobility has drastically changed due to the highly interconnected world we live in these days. The concept of mobility has become central to the structuring of people's lives, where freedom of movement can be determined by variables like nationality, wealth, profession, history, or gender. Strikingly, Salazar (2017; 2010b) mentioned that movement often is seen as an improvement for oneself, where voluntary geographical movement can be understood as 'moving up', which is typical for North-South migration. The movement from the Global North to the Global South allows a number of relatively privileged migrants to expand transnationalism southwards, mainly because of the symbolic and economic power of the privileged global social position of their country of origin, in this case that of the European Netherlands. Sheller and Urry (2006) speak of a 'new mobilities paradigm': they argue that new communication and travel technologies have enabled the distribution of connections at a distance, and those distant connections are key in holding social life together. This 'new mobilities paradigm' tries to look at what kind of forces drive, restrict and produce movement, that is focused on the systematic movement of people for leisure and pleasure, for politics and protest, and for work

[2] Albert Einstein

and family life. Examining these forces is needed for creating an understanding of the migration from the European Netherlands to Bonaire. Not only has the concept of mobility changed in the contemporary world, also the migrants have changed through modern society. It seems if travel in modern society is becoming part of people´s social activities, where it forms a necessity for social life, and eventually becomes a lifestyle (Sheller and Urry 2006; Bauman 1996). The literature studied, focused on North-South migration, indicates that three categories of migrants often can be appointed in this form of migration, namely the residential tourists, expatriates, and pensionados. It is interesting to find out whether this is also the case on Bonaire. The body of literature about mobility in this research symbolizes the first step to understanding how the European Dutch migrant moves.

The second step is to examine the historical context of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It is of great importance to understand where these migrants came from, which conditions were needed, and how this Kingdom evolved over time. What makes this form of North-South migration unique is that it moves within the boundaries of the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands. This Kingdom has a long history of colonialism, and some crucial moments in the past shaped and reshaped the political structure of the Kingdom of the Netherlands into what it is today. Even though Bonaire is located 7,863 kilometres away from the European Netherlands, it is still directly connected to the European Netherlands as public body. This relatively new political status of Bonaire within the Kingdom was established in 2010 and has played an important role in understanding this annually-increasing migration flow from the European Netherlands.

Now we are two steps closer to understanding how these European Dutch migrants move, but is this enough to see the 'complete' picture? Only by walking on the island and together with those migrants can I answer the following question:

Which kind of mobility patterns and motives to move emerge in the process of the North-South migration from the European Netherlands to Bonaire of people that have no hereditary ties with the island?

At the beginning of February this year, I started my eight weeks of research on the island. The plan was to stay for thirteen weeks, but that was abruptly interrupted by the global pandemic of COVID-19. This pandemic had a major impact on the way I could gather information and interact with my research population, which led to reshaping my strategy. This new strategy is focused on the relatively strong findings out of the first eight weeks and is supplemented and supported by extending literature. The next paragraph describes the methodology that is used during this research.

Before I set foot on the island, I knew that my position as researcher was something of importance. I, as a Dutch citizen of the European Netherlands, was part of the population I was researching. This meant that it was of great important to keep my distance, to avoid a biased position, but also to draw from that position. It gave me a 'privileged' position, where empathy already existed about an understanding of the environment of the European Netherlands, where these migrants came from. One of the motivations and interests for doing this research started with a friend that migrated to Bonaire two years ago. He unintentionally guided me towards this current flow of migration, and eventually played a crucial part in realizing and conducting my research on the island. Not only did he facilitate accommodation in a resort he worked for on Bonaire, but he also helped me find a job as

bartender in that resort. The accommodation formed the base from which I could reach my research participants by scooter on the island, and the job as bartender gave me access to a variety of people I could talk to. I came to the island with two addresses of European Dutch migrants on the island, designated from my personal network in the European Netherlands. These two addresses became the start of a popular method for finding new research participants, namely 'snowball sampling' (Noy 2008). Not only did I arrive on the island with two addresses from my personal network, I had also collected two more addresses of two European Dutch ladies who were sitting next to me in the plane to Bonaire. Therefore, I started my research with four addresses that eventually proved to be valuable. By combining the networks of European Dutch migrants on Bonaire that I spoke with, and the many small conversations I had on the island, I was able to conduct a total of 14 semi-structured interviews (of which two were via Skype due to COVID-19). Ultimately, four groups of migrants could be distinguished on Bonaire, namely residential tourists, expatriates, fortune-seekers, and pensionados. The composition of these 14 semi-structured interviews consists of four residential tourists, five expatriates, four fortune-seekers, and one pensionado. A more detailed description of these different migrants can be found in Chapter Four of this thesis, but the information is limited because of protecting the research participants' privacy (Bonaire is a small island). I used fake names to describe some of my research participants, and as importantly, all research participants gave informed consent for me using their story and ideas. An important way to understand the movement of these migrants is by moving with them, or in other words, participant observation (O'Reilly 2009). I have used this technique of participant observation throughout the whole research, from participating in volunteering, to joining social gatherings, or just drinking a cold one together at a local bar. It helped me to better understand the daily lives of these European Dutch migrants, and it helped in creating a more detailed description of who these migrants are. Driving on Bonaire with my scooter allowed me to explore the place, to move like my research participants, and to experience the atmosphere of the island. Drinking a cup of coffee at places that I regularly visited and having small conversations with people present was part of my daily routine to gather information.

In addition to COVID-19, this study has a number of other not insignificant limitations. For example, it does not address what this migration means for the receiving population, and forced migration is also not included in this study.

I would like to give the reader of this study a reading guide of what can be expected in the upcoming chapters, starting with Chapter Two. Chapter Two provides a theoretical framework that is needed to understand how the concept of mobility is used in this study. Different patterns of mobility in this migration become visible, and the 'new mobilities paradigm' of Sheller and Urry adds more depth into the concept of mobility. This perspective on the concept of mobility brings the reader closer to understanding how people can move in the contemporary world, specifically from the Global North to the Global South. Chapter Three is the next step in examining and understanding the migration from the European Netherlands. Here, it is of importance that the historical context of the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands is described. This description of the late-modern Kingdom helps to explain how Bonaire became part of the Kingdom and shows shifts in power relations that formed the political structure of the island today. The theoretical framework of Chapter Two, together with the historical context in Chapter Three, underpins the findings in Chapter Four. Chapter Four is the first moment where the research findings are translated into different categories of European Dutch migrants on Bonaire. It reveals similarities between the different migrants on the way they move as migrants, and reveals differences in the motivations and incentives of those migrants, but also brings

them together again by their participation in volunteering. Chapter Four creates an image of how these migrants move. Chapter Five provides a look at how a seemingly privileged migrant suddenly becomes immobilised by a global pandemic. It sheds light on the position of the European Dutch migrant within the Kingdom during a pandemic, where the idea of borders and boundaries is becoming more visible. Chapter Six presents the conclusions of this research, and supplies thoughts for future Dutch Caribbean Studies and studies of mobility.

2. A new era of mobility and migration

Our planet is always on the move: animals follow the seasons, plants adapt to the climates, and the humans constantly construct paths on the earth, through the sky, and in the oceans. An ancient form of mobility is migration. Whether it is a human, animal, or a plant that is on the move, we all tend to migrate. But what motivates us to migrate? Or an even better question, what does migration mean? When I looked up the definition of migration in different dictionaries, the various answers circled around a common idea of migration. One definition points to the idea that it is a "process of people travelling to a new place to live, usually in large numbers"[3], another dictionary explains that migration is a "movement from one region to another and often back again"[4], and another talks about "displacement of the population"[5]. All three insist on a movement from one place to another, two of them talk specifically about human movement, and one even thinks that is important that one returns. In a short period of time, one can understand that we do not know exactly what migration means. This is because migration, like mobility, is always in flux and has no fixed meaning. Social sciences, when studying migration, identify not only physical movement but also a more deeply embedded cultural and socio-economic structure in this process (Salazar 2010, 63). This means that when examining mobility, one always needs to analyse the specific context in which it occurs.

Nowadays, the concept of mobility has drastically changed in the ways it is used and functions in an interconnected global world. The flows of goods and ideas has almost no hindrance of distance and time anymore. The process of integration and interaction among people, governments, and companies makes sure that our planet opens connected paths that guide us towards each other. Migration always reveals something about the culturally rooted understanding and motivations of the kind of mobility patterns that are involved. Some people are forced to migrate from one place to another, others migrate with hopes of better futures, and others migrate because they can. People have to cross social, economic, and geographical boundaries to find new places. Entering those places demands freedom in their mobility, which can be determined by numerous variables, like, for example, nationality, wealth, profession, gender, accessibility, history, etcetera. Thus, to understand the form of migration that is being examined depends on the way the specific context is understood, when the motivations to migrate are known, and where the different patterns of mobility are described.

Salazar (2017, 5) mentioned in his article that the concept of mobility has become central to the structuring of people's lives; in other words, mobility can be seen as a deciding factor in belonging to a contemporary society. Figures of mobility, like the 'tourist' or 'migrant', are often used in social sciences to describe 'the self' and 'the other'. To give mobility meaning, it first has to be materialized through objects, words, people, and other embodied forms (Chu 2010, 15). But this given meaning would not describe the endless, and highly unequal, ways people become part of translocal and transnational linkages and networks (Salazar 2017, 5-6). To understand the process of how mobility is visualized, distributed, and materialized, it is important (2017, 5-6), according to Salazar, to look at how mobility is linked to three positively valued characteristics: the freedom or ease of movement,

[3] Cambridge dictionary
[4] American dictionary
[5] Van Dale

the ability to move, and the tendency to change quickly or easily. These three characteristics are highly dependent on various variables, for example, one's nationality, economical position, profession, financial status, political environment, health, etcetera. A striking assumption that Salazar mentioned in his article is that movement is often seen as an improvement for oneself. Therefore, people often link voluntary geographical movement to some sort of 'moving up', a positive development in its social, cultural, or economic environment (Salazar 2017, 6). In this way, mobility is used as an indicator of access to various forms of capital and technology. It helps in making distinctions, which eventually produce culturally inflected notions of mobility, in terms of 'local' versus 'migrant' (Salazar 2010b). Thus, mobility is much more than only movement; it is a powerful stratifying factor in our contemporary world. Transnational mobility could, for instance, lead to a global hierarchy of movements, where the movement of some people could create or reinforce inequality and immobility for others (Salazar 2010; Bauman 2000).

Something that has to be taken into account is that everyday life, cultural practices, and economies are strongly shaped, structured, and limited by complex mobility regimes (Kesselring 2014, 1). These complex regimes govern individuals, collectives, and even nation states in their way of managing social relations over distance. This includes complex power settings made up of norms, rules and principles that are focused on the way people stay in contact with other places, people, and organizations (Kesselring 2014, 1). According to Witzgall, Vogl, and Kesselring (2013), these mobility regimes are highly ambivalent phenomena: on one side, they make mobility available and accessible for more people and so decrease social inequalities, but on the other side, they socially exclude people who do not have the necessary skills to manage complex mobilities or lack access to relevant infrastructures and technologies. Another intensifier of social exclusion by mobility regimes is, for example, a guarantee of specific functionalities in organization (Kesselring 2014, 2). Bauman (2000) adds to this that our contemporary world, where economic, social, and political developments are geared toward worldwide interconnected structures of interaction, stimulates the exchange and constant flow of digital, social, and physical units that cause a fusion of social, spatial and cultural relations. In other words, it is a dissolving of the exclusiveness of spaces that are being reshaped and pervaded by socio-material networks, that influence the restriction and enhancement of mobility (Kesselring 2014, 2). Globalisation is key to the existence of these changes in an interconnected high-tempo world of flows. It is important to keep in mind that not everyone and everything is mobile, rather potentials and paths for mobility are more defined and regulated in this interconnected high-tempo world. Kesselring (2014, 5) emphasizes how infrastructures (like roads, air traffic, intercontinental waterways, etcetera) link cities to the rest of the world, and so create new forms of mobile practices and mobility constraints: "It gives rise to constantly changing mobile forms of work and lifestyles". Freedom and restrictions of mobility are not only influenced by infrastructures, but also by legal frameworks of global mobilities, like the European Union (EU). Think for instance about mobility regimes focused on immigration, where a difference is defined between EU and non-EU members, or differences between risky and non-risky travellers from specific countries (Kesselring 2014, 8).

For examining and analysing mobility focused on migration, one needs to know the context of the movement, the motivations that started the movement, and the different patterns of mobility that produce and emerge from the movement. In the case of the annually-increasing flow of European Dutch migrants moving towards Bonaire, one needs a literary understanding of the specific form of mobility to examine this movement more closely. This movement seems to fit in the concept of

North-South migration, where it finds itself in a fast-changing era full of global technology, systems, and policies that connect parts of the world with each other, and further exists in a context full of colonial history within the boundaries of a late-modern Kingdom. My analysis of this form of migration starts with the understanding of North-South migration. After an understanding of North-South migration is created, it is important to relate this form of migration to a shift in mobility in our contemporary world. The 'new mobilities paradigm' of Sheller and Urry (2006) shows how particular patterns of mobility are influenced by a rapidly-changing technological world that is becoming crucial for holding social life together.

2.1 North-South migration

When one speaks of North-South, one frequently refers to the socio-economic and political division of our planet (the Global North and the Global South). The Global North is often correlated with the 'First World' and the 'Western world', along with much of the 'Second World'. Meanwhile, the Global South largely refers to 'the Third World' and 'the Eastern world'. These distinctive terms are often defined by looking at the economic developments, levels of wealth, democracy, economic and political freedom, and income inequality of countries. The Global North tends to be less unequal, wealthier, and seen as more democratic than the Global South. Southern countries are generally less wealthy, with fragile forms of democracy, and regularly share a historical past of colonialism by the Northern countries. I do not want to approve or confirm the characteristics of these terms, but these terms are frequently used in literature, and need a global description for understanding the position in which one finds oneself.

North-South migration is a form of transnational mobility, where people migrate from the Global North to the Global South. These migrants move from 'developed' countries towards 'developing' countries, in search of better lifestyles and opportunities (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017, 116). A changing global political economy is key to the emergence of North-South migration, where "the symbolic and economic power of privileged global social positions are increasingly moved across borders to take advantage of emerging individual arbitrage opportunities in a globalized social field" (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017, 117). The mobility regimes from the Global North allow these relatively privileged migrants to expand transnationalism southwards, to avoid, or maybe escape, a changing social, economic and political environment back at 'home'. This form of mobility seems to have connections with, or rooting in, a colonial history, but is nowadays mobilized against the picture of a declining and restricting social, economic and political environment. Hayes and Pérez-Gañán (2017, 118) explain that policies of 'developed' countries illustrate continuities of colonial power in the way that social positions, prestige and status are assigned to individuals who inherited their citizenship, and indirectly the benefits of freedom in their mobility.

In the context of a late-modern Kingdom, an important mechanism for transnationalism in the process of North-South migration is universal citizenship. Universal citizenship gives a citizen of that Kingdom the status of an individual that is recognized by law as being legal and belonging to the Kingdom. This should mean that all citizens should experience the same freedom in movement within the boundaries of the Kingdom, but often this is not the case. Universal citizenship opens the door to countries within that Kingdom for the migration of investors, skilled professionals and retirees, "thus accentuating existing inequalities of movement" (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017, 118). This process of North-South migration is highly intertwined with various types of state regulations that govern the freedom and restriction in the movement of individuals differently, depending on

their citizenship status or country of origin (Salazar 2013, 189). How this relates to the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands, the context of this research, is explained in more detail in Chapter Three of this thesis.

When a country within the boundaries of a late-modern Kingdom has a consistent economic growth, political stability, and development in education, a high demand for skilled workers will be generated. This pull factor is part of a strong two-way network that results from a history of migration from the Global North. When the government of such a country invests in education policies, they transform the productive base of its country, and with that they can achieve higher rates of development (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017, 124-25). However, this change in policies often calls for the knowledge of skilled migrants from the Global North, also called expatriates. These migrants from the Global North not only find motivation to migrate in the fact that they will experience less competition in the Global South, and that their educational experience and credentials have, probably, greater symbolic power than that of the locals. However, it also shows "an inherited structural advantage that reproduces colonial relations", privileging the colonizer's country (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017, 125). A deeper understanding of the expatriate can be found in Chapter Four.

Over the last ten years, Bonaire has seen intensive development all around the island (CBS 2019b): development in education, expansion in healthcare, the introduction of new laws, growing infrastructure, increasing tourist facilities, and the accruing frequency of arriving planes and cruise ships. It finds itself in a consistent state of economic growth and development in education and healthcare, which demand skilled migrants. The motives to migrate of some of my research participants confirm the findings of Hayes and Pérez-Gañán: they indeed were pulled to Bonaire for their skills and knowledge. At one moment during this research, when my research participant and I were sitting at a small restaurant by the water, I was curious why this individual had made the journey to Bonaire. My research participant did not seem like someone who had come here for sun, sea and beach. He had a certain determination in his eyes, and often gave a substantiated answer to my questions. When I asked him what motivated him to migrate here, he replied:

"it offered chances and possibilities that I would never have had in the Netherlands."

Thus, for him, migrating to Bonaire meant a new chance to boost his professional career. Professionally, it makes sense to grab this opportunity, but it is only part of the story that tells something about this form of migration. Other choices are made by different people, the same destination with different reasons. In the next chapter I will discuss more about the context of this North-South migration, which helps to understand why these people can migrate to Bonaire.

Another motivation for North-South migration is often found in the migrant's desire for maximizing the quality of his life by moving consumption to the best value-for-money location. A lifestyle, where salary earned at high cost locations is being transferred, or relocated, to lower cost locations. This is a part of the North-South migration that is not only experienced by the migrants as an adventure, but also as an escape of tight budgets and high economic costs (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017, 121). An important thought exists about, that these migrants have some sort of idea about maintaining or creating a lifestyle that they think they should have had in the Global North. Those migrants are often connected to categories like 'pensionados' or 'residential tourists'. These two types of migrants will be further explained in Chapter Four. The growing presence of these Global North migrants in

the Global South redefines and reproduces a map of discursive and geographic representations that fit in colonial relations, privileging the Global North. It forms part of an increasing integration of a global civil society that is highly unequal, where structural advantages are characteristics of a globalised neo-colonial world (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017, 120). With the motivation of maintaining lifestyle, North-South migration bears risks of reproducing class, caste and status inequalities in receiving destinations, often not in the favour of the poorer inhabitants of the lower branches of the global market.

Distinctly, the majority of North-South migrants express a desire to return to their country of origin (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017, 125). Their lives will in some way always be orientated towards the Global North, and specifically their country of origin. A crucial factor in the returning to the Global North of these migrants is that their experience can be accredited by authorities for pursuing research or academic careers that likely would not be possible in an economic migration to other European countries (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017, 126). This fits in a colonial context, where passing through a 'developing' (Global South) country for one's own personal and professional goals "reproduces social relations of domination based on race and ethnicity" (Walsh 2010). The way that this North-South migration is permissively regulated highlights the colonial power that plays a part in the mobility regimes of the contemporary global world.

It is important to understand that well-intentioned individuals of the North-South migration can be confronted with their colonial advantages, and it is hard for them to escape the structural advantages that their history and birth produces. One could unwantedly be identified with a privileged status in a receiving community. But one who is identified as privileged must remember how utilitarian expectation of improving life through migration could locally be interpreted as a motive to overconsume the receiving place and people. Taking a step back, the one who migrated to the new place can be seen by the 'local population' as part of the bigger flow of migration that perhaps is seen as the overflow and domination of their place by others. One of my research participants understands this thought closely. He first came to Bonaire in 2010 and migrated to the island in 2013. He has seen a lot of economical and socio-cultural changes between the first time he came to Bonaire and now. An interesting observation showed his reflective view on this situation:

"In ten years the island became 'booming', it changed so much and rapidly, the Bonaireans… they do not know what hits them"

His quote refers to the many construction sites on the island, the massive flows of tourists, and the arrival of a large number of European Dutch migrants to the island. In ten years, he has seen and experienced the enormous changes on the island, and he told me that he can understand how this flow of migration and development can feel for the 'Bonairean' like a dominant takeover of 'their' island.

Hayes and Pérez-Gañán have explained the North-South migration in a way that focusses on economically- and professionally-motivated reasons for migrating to the Global South, wherein a particular image is created by the migrant over a specific lifestyle in the receiving place. This literature connects well with the situation I examined on Bonaire, where migrants of the Global North largely show similarities in characteristics and motivations, as mentioned by Hayes and Pérez-Gañán. However, not all my research participants are economically motivated; they also show other motivations and desires. Some are looking for an adventure, "something new and thrilling"; others

stated that they want to have “a place to escape to”. It seems that they migrate for reasons of freedom, reasons of flexibility, or reasons of escapism. To understand what allows this variety of motivations and reasons to exist is largely dependent on understanding the context it takes place in, namely a late-modern Kingdom with a large colonial history in a rapid changing technological era. Before we take the step that brings us to a description of this late-modern Kingdom, we first have to examine the era we live in, where mobility is undergoing a shift.

2.2 ‘The new mobilities paradigm’

Literature about mobility shows that there is a paradigm in social sciences that focuses on a shift in mobility. Sheller and Urry (2006) speak of a ‘new mobilities paradigm’, where they argue that communication and travel technologies have enabled the distribution of connections at a distance, and those distant connections are key in holding social life together. The call for a new paradigm in mobility came as a response to the way social sciences tend to ignore or bend “the importance of the systematic movements of people for work and family life, for leisure and pleasure, and for politics and protest" (Sheller and Urry 2006, 208). This new mobility paradigm tries to look at what kind of forces drive, restrict and produce movement, by not seeing people as static and tied to specific places, or as nomadic and placeless in a globalized life. Sheller and Urry (2006, 209) examine this mobilities paradigm by exploring its motivations, the theoretical substantiation, and methodologies. They emphasize the importance of automobility, which signifies a forceful socio-technical system that has impact on local public spaces and opportunities for coming together, but also on social and familial networks, aspirations to modernity, national images, or global relations in the form of transnational migration (Sheller and Urry 2006, 209). They (2006, 215-217) use six theories that support the mobilities paradigm. These theories are focused on the increasing tempo of urban life and the need for precision in location and timing (Georg Simmel), mobile sociotechnical systems that link hybrid geographies of nonhuman and human components, the concept of ‘spatiality’, how contemporary information technologies create broad but weak ties across space and time, how “mobilities seem to involve the analysis of complex systems that are neither perfectly ordered nor anarchic”(Urry 2003; Capra 2002), and seeing the corporeal body as an emotional vehicle through which we sense movement and place, and build emotional geographies (Sheller and Urry 2006, 216).

An emphasis in this mobilities paradigm can be found in the idea that all places “are tied into at least thin networks of connections that stretch beyond each such place and mean that nowhere can be an ‘island’”(Sheller and Urry 2006, 209). It goes beyond “the imagery of ‘terrains’ as spatially fixed geographical containers for social processes” (Sheller and Urry 2006, 209). The speed of movement of images, information, people, and money in the contemporary world has intensified, compared with a century ago, and causes social sciences to pay attention to how social entities comprise machines, people, images, and information in systems of movement (Bauman 2000). This could mean that new technologies and places enhance the mobility of one, and heighten the immobility of the other, “especially as they try to cross borders” (Graham and Wood 2006). A distinctive approach of this new mobilities paradigm is to shine light on the context in which both nomadic and sedentary accounts of the social world operate, and to seek to understand in what way that context itself is mobilised. In the sense of this research, the new mobilities paradigm can help to develop a deeper understanding of how, for instance, ‘globalisation’ and ‘transnationalism’ play parts in the North-South migration. To understand the patterns of mobility within this North-South migration, we have

to take a step back to see what kind of infrastructures, technologies and policies may drive, restrict and produce these forms of movement.

An airport, for example, is one of the most significant infrastructures in the movement of people. It symbolizes movement when it is actually an immobilized structure. Besides the fact that an airport supports arriving and departing airplanes, facilitating the movement of people from one place to another, it also forms an important place where technology systems connect different places and nations with each other. In other words, an airport is a place where people are transmitted into global relationships, which facilitates the shrinkage of the globe, and with that the transcendence of space and time (Gottdiener 2001). It links places together, forms networks that bring connected places closer together, and at the same time distances places that are not so connected (Sheller and Urry 2006, 219). Therefore, it seems that an airport is an indicator to distinguish which places belong to a network, and which do not. The one and only airport on Bonaire connects it to the world, and in other words, allows tourism to enter the island. The airport itself symbolizes an articulation of state effect, where the airport serves to "materialise political visions for connectivity, modernity, and political sovereignty" (Reeves 2017, 730). Adey and Bevan (2006) think that an airport is a place of 'cyber mobilities' in which the software that keeps the airport functioning smoothly transforms it into a place that sorts travelers as they pass through automated surveillance systems (for instance an iris recognition system). In this way, the airport produces a difference in status, "a kinetic elite", that has more ease in their mobility than that of the low-speed majority. Other systems, like the passport control at immigrations, also have a distinctive character. Information on a passport can determine what kind of freedom or restriction in movement can be expected. Take, for example, the fact that for most countries a tourist visa is needed, to determine the time someone can travel within the boundaries of a country, or a work visa, to indicate that someone has permission to work for a limited time within those boundaries. Interestingly, if a European Dutch citizen wants to work on or travel to Bonaire, they experience the freedom in their movement to travel for six months on the island, and work for three months on the island, and do not need a visa. Their Dutch passport is enough proof for the system to achieve more freedom in movement than people without a Dutch passport following that route. Therefore, a technology integrated in an immobile infrastructure can organize the intermittent flow of information, people, and images, and serves to channel, limit, and regulate movement (Sheller and Urry 2006, 212).

A striking observation within this new mobilities paradigm is that travel is becoming a bigger part of the complex patterning of people's diverse and changing social activities. It seems that travel is becoming necessary for social life; it becomes a lifestyle. Physical movement can, for instance, refer to upward and downward social mobility, and virtual or physical movement between places can be seen as a source of power and status (Sheller and Urry 2006, 213). Analysing this movement involves examining consequences for the different people present, where Sheller and Urry (2006) use the distinctive terminology of 'the fast lane' and 'the slow lane' of social life. The fast lane of social life will enjoy more freedom in movement than the slow lane (which often refers to a form of immobility).

Another interesting thought in the new mobilities paradigm exists about places. The new mobilities paradigm argues that places are not given, fixed, and separate from the ones visiting, and should not only be seen as pushing and pulling people to visit (Sheller and Urry 2006, 214). Rather, a complex rationality of persons and places is connected through performances. Places are dynamic places of

movement, where the place itself does not necessarily stay in one location. The new mobilities paradigm sees the places themselves as travelling, within networks of human and nonhuman agents, a short or great distance, or at a slow or fast pace (2006, 214). “Places are about relationships, about the placing of peoples, materials, images, and the systems of difference that they perform” (Sheller and Urry 2006, 214). For us, it is important that we understand ‘where we are’ by looking at ‘vision in motion’ that is practised by the alignment of images, material objects, maps, and a moving gaze. However, to understand the place one finds oneself in, it is crucial to examine the history and context of such a place, to explain why particular people are in that place at that time.

♦

This chapter forms the theoretical framework of this thesis; it provides a lens through which the movement from the European Netherlands to Bonaire can be seen. Mobility is the leading concept in this research, and a specific understanding of this concept is needed for describing the European Dutch movement towards Bonaire. This movement is consistent with the literature about North-South migration, which shows a relatively privileged migrant from the Global North that expands transnationalism southwards. A demand for skilled migrants and an idea about achieving a particular lifestyle attract different types of Global North migrants (expatriates, residential tourists, and pensionados) to the Global South. Important to take with us to the next chapter is the idea that mobility changed over the years; it shifted. The new mobilities paradigm of Sheller and Urry explains this shift by emphasizing a fast-changing era full of global technology, systems, and policies that connect parts of the world with each other. Hardly any research has been conducted on mobilities of North-South migration within Dutch Caribbean Studies, and it is not clear what kind of forces drive, restrict and produce this mobility. Whether it can entirely be analysed within the conceptual framework of recent North-South migration and the new mobilities paradigm remains unclear in this chapter. Maybe we should also understand this mobility as a part of a larger and longer history of movement of people within the Kingdom of the Netherlands? It could be that this very recent form of mobility can be seen as a continuation of an older historical movement, a more colonial one. The next chapter takes a closer look at the historical context of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and provides more clarity about this movement.

3. History of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

'Kingdom' is a recurring term in this thesis, and it requires a deeper explanation. Starting this chapter with the current composition of the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands will help to understand the historical context and power relations that were crucial in its formation.

3.1 Late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands

The present late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands is both a sovereign state and a constitutional monarchy, with parts of its territory in Western Europe and some small West Indian island territories in the Caribbean Sea. The countries within the Kingdom participate on a basis of equality, governed by a kingdom's government and the king of the Netherlands. This late-modern Kingdom is on a basis of democracy, which means that citizens can vote, and the king's will is not absolute. The division of authority and domain, which once was the responsibility of only the king, is now a political construction between a government and a king. The construction of the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands is not an ordinary one. The Kingdom consists at this moment of four constituent countries - the (European) Netherlands, Curaçao, Sint Maarten and Aruba - and three islands in the Caribbean that function as public bodies, or special municipalities, of the Netherlands - Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, and Saba (BES islands). Therefore, part of the Kingdom is located on the European mainland, and a part, consisting of islands, is located in the Caribbean, of which some islands are autonomous countries within the Kingdom and others form part of the European Netherlands. Interestingly, the BES islands are integrated with the European Netherlands, and formally are part of the European continent, but are located in the Caribbean. Strikingly, this Kingdom has a king who has no absolute power, and the BES islands are no member of the European Union (EU), but their population is politically seen as European citizens. How did this come about? And what tensions does all this create?

When climbing down to the historical roots of this late-modern Kingdom, one finds that certain moments in history were crucial in forming the present. Important to remember is that history is often about forgetting (cf. Anderson 1991), choosing a narrative to depart from, and looking through a specific lens. This chapter provides an understanding of how particular moments in time were important for forming the political structure of the Kingdom today, where a colonial past played a decisive and crucial role. It helps in creating an awareness about the context this research takes place in, and without this awareness one cannot fully understand the connections and relations between the European Netherlands and Bonaire: in other words, what made it possible for the European Dutch migrant to move to and move on the island. Paragraph 3.2 departs from the sixteenth century and chronologically works its way up to the point where we are now. Paragraph 3.3 focuses on the status change of Bonaire within the Kingdom, based on the dissolution of the Netherlands Antilles on 10-10-2010. Next, paragraph 3.4 describes the movement from the European Netherlands to Bonaire by examining the pull and push factors of the island.

3.2 Crucial historical moments

The Dutch presence in the Caribbean can be linked to a long colonial past that was largely initiated by Dutch interests in expanding their global trade. These interests in expansion started in a period where Dutch science, military, art, and trade made enormous developments and could be seen as among the most esteemed in the world during much of the 17th century. Some call this period 'the

Dutch Golden Age' (1581–1672); this is a highly contested and sensitive term that needs to be handled with care, but it is often used in history for referring to this period of time. Two major Dutch companies made it possible to expand the Dutch global trade in the seventeenth century: the Dutch East India Company (VOC, 1602-1799) and the Dutch West India Company (WIC, 1621-1792). These two companies were focused on trade in spices, textiles, silks, and slaves. Places in the world were needed for acquiring these spices, textiles, silks, and slaves. When those places were found by the VOC and WIC, they were slowly turned into colonies by force. The Dutch colonies formed by the VOC and WIC were located in South Africa (Cape of Good Hope), South America (Strait of Magellan), the East Indies (later became Indonesia), and the West Indies (region of the North Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean). The colonies formed a series of global trading posts that were mainly administrated by the VOC and WIC. The focus in this thesis is on the Caribbean, specifically on Bonaire, and therefore, it is important to address that particular part of Dutch colonial history more closely.

Despite the enormous economical and geographical growth of the global Dutch trade in the seventeenth century, the Dutch were less successful in the Atlantic. The Portuguese and the British fairly quickly reconquered the first two Dutch colonies in the Americas: Dutch Brazil (1630-1654) and New Netherland (1609-1664). The Dutch shifted their focus onto the Caribbean and Guyanas, which eventually led to the Dutch occupation of the six Antillean islands (Saba, Sint Eustatius, Bonaire, Sint Maarten, Aruba, and Curaçao), and Suriname (Oostindie 2008, 2). Strikingly, colonial expansion in Asia was seen by the Netherlands as of great importance for geopolitical, cultural, and economic growth, and the transatlantic expansion would be of lesser importance (Oostindie 2008, 2). However, the lasting impact that the Dutch legacy has left in Asia is relatively limited, compared to that in the Caribbean (Oostindie 2008, 3). A deciding factor lies, according to Oostindie, in the pre-colonial demography and the climate of the place: "only colonies with a moderate climate attracted large numbers of Europeans" (Oostindie 2008, 3). The migration to tropical areas was mostly connected to bonded and semi-bonded labour, which was mainly on a voluntary basis for Europeans and largely forced for Africans. The large-scale human migration to the Caribbean caused a change in the local populations, where European colonists, Suriname Asian indentured labourers, enslaved Africans, and peripheral Amerindians formed massive majorities (Oostindie 2008, 3-4). In other words, colonial migrations shaped and reshaped the Dutch Caribbean. The Netherlands encouraged other European nationalities to establish themselves in its colonies, and even opened the door for other religions. This made way for motives to migrate, not only for climate or labour, but also for escaping religious repression. Not surprisingly, most of the Dutch colonial settlements were by no means a perfect reflection of the European Dutch culture (if that even exists). Dutch colonialism was dependent on Europeans from other nationalities, and it creolized the populations in the Caribbean both culturally and demographically. A significant new chapter in Dutch colonial migrations is not focused on further developments of Dutch colonialism, but more on its demise (Oostindie 2008, 17).

The dismantlement of the Dutch colonial empire started in the mid-twentieth century, in the period of the Second World War. In 1942, the East Indies were taken over by the Japanese, which made way for the full independence of Indonesia. The transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to Indonesia started waves of 'repatriation' to the metropolis. The metropolis became the receiver of large groups of postcolonial migrants: "colonialism has literally come home to the metropolis" and "we are here because you were there" (Oostindie 2008, 19). Interestingly, this indicates a movement from former colonies to the metropolis, but how does that work the other way around, in the Caribbean, where these days a significant flow of Dutch migrants is moving towards former colonies

of the Netherlands? The first indication of this North-South movement will be explained in paragraph 3.3.

In 1954, after international pressure to carry out decolonisation (as an outcome of the Second World War), '*het Statuut*' (the Charter) was formed. This document defined the Kingdom of the Netherlands as a voluntary treaty between three internally-autonomous countries: The Dutch Antilles, The Netherlands, and Suriname (Oostindie and Klinkers 2012, 23). These 'equivalent' countries would regulate a number of kingdom-related matters together, like citizenship, defence, foreign policy and ensuring good governance. Decisions were made within the kingdom's government, composed of the Dutch cabinet, which is extended with an authorized minister for each of the Caribbean countries. The Charter symbolizes the autonomy of individual countries that, on the basis of voluntarism and equality, chose to stay together in a political context. It forms an example of good governance and democracy, but it lacks a legitimizing Kingdom parliament (Oostindie and Klinkers 2012, 28-29). The Charter is still of great importance these days; it is a document that places responsibilities on the parties involved, especially in times of a disaster, which will be further discussed in Chapter Five. According to Oostindie and Klinkers (2012, 32), a belief exists in the (former) Dutch Antilles that '*Koninkrijksbanden'* (Kingdom ties) are crucial, but the multiplex of administrative interference from the Netherlands is constraining. This interference is, according to the Dutch cabinet, necessary to improve the quality of good governance, but it indirectly shows a difference in power relations between the countries in the Kingdom of the Netherlands (it lacks equality). The Charter brought a change in power relations between the countries within the kingdom, but the desired balance between independence and interference was not yet found. Something had to change again.

The constitutional relationship between the Netherlands and its former West Indian colonies was captured in the Charter, with the intention of keeping the six islands together. The first who wanted to secede from this political construction was Aruba. After a consultative referendum in 1977, Aruba acknowledged the desire for secession from the Netherlands Antilles, and became in 1986 a separate and autonomous country within the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the Dutch crown (on condition of becoming fully independent in 1996, but it eventually never would). The composition of the Netherlands Antilles as a country within the Kingdom had strained relationships between the six islands, often politically. This is not strange if you think about the fact that geographically the Leeward Antilles (Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire) and the Leeward islands (Sint Maarten, Saba, and St. Eustatius) lie 1,000 kilometres apart. Where the Leeward Antilles are culturally more connected to South America, where they speak a Dutch-Portuguese creole language (Papiamento), the Leeward islands are more connected to English-speaking Caribbean. More and more, the idea of 'independence' became a topic of conversation in the Netherlands Antilles and sparked the beginning of various referendums. A referendum in 2005 made way for Curaçao and Sint Maarten to become countries of their own in the Kingdom, and the other three islands (Bonaire, St. Eustatius, and Saba – BES islands) would be directly part of the Netherlands. In 2006, a closing agreement ('*slotakkoord'*) was signed that the BES islands would become public bodies ('*openbaar lichaam'*) of the Netherlands.

3.3 Status change within the Kingdom

The dissolution of the Netherlands Antilles became a fact on 10 October 2010 (also known as 10-10-10). This meant that Curaçao and Sint Maarten officially became constituent countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, like Aruba, and the BES islands officially became public bodies of the

Netherlands. Laws were formed that formulated the establishment and organization of these public bodies, the composition, the powers of their boards, the public nature of their meetings, the supervision of these structures and the relation with the State (Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal 2010). Some special laws were introduced for the BES islands, which do justice to the character, culture and requirements of the islands (Rijksoverheid 2010). These laws were focused on the islands' own healthcare insurance, own environmental laws, own tax system, and own currency (American Dollar). The government from the Netherlands would retain the responsibilities over the fire brigade, taxes, police force, social security, public health, state old age pensions, unemployment, youth care and education (Rijksoverheid 2010). This would be in close connection with the island authorities of Sint Eustatius, Saba and Bonaire through the Regional Service Centre, based on Bonaire, that became the new administrative centre of the Caribbean Netherlands. This left the local government with handling most of their current tasks, with an addition of tasks in consultation, which could leave the local influence considerable. By designing the BES islands as a public body, instead of as a municipality, rules that can deviate from the rules in the European part of the Netherlands may apply to the BES islands (Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal 2010). Dutch legislation will be introduced gradually on the islands, and the public bodies fall directly under the State because they are not part of a province (Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal 2010).

All these changes transformed the Caribbean into something politically new, a new political construction of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, but what kind of local effect has this change had on the islands? Veenendaal and Oostindie (2018, 26) explain that these Caribbean islands enjoy growing legitimacy through their new political status but share their own distinct problems as non-sovereign entities when it comes to federacy relationships and political arrangements. This generally arises from their small scale and their lack of full autonomy but can also be linked with their colonial history. This colonial past is characterized by negligence, denigration, slavery, brutal exploitation, and racism. In the contemporary federacy arrangements, the islands are in some way still subsumed under the authority of the metropolis, where they have to deal with repetitive metropolitan officials and interventions (Veenendaal and Oostindie 2018, 26). Their representation in the institutions of the metropolitan power is often insufficient, which undermines the political autonomy of these island even more (Veenendaal and Oostindie 2018, 26). Why then did the majority choose to be in this position? Often, small non-sovereign entities are economically better off when they can rely on the protection of the metropolis, focused on human rights, the functioning of democracy, possession of the metropolis's passports, and the right of abode there (Veenendaal and Oostindie 2018; Oostindie and Klinkers, 2003; Baldacchino and Milne 2006). These benefits apparently weigh up against the lack of autonomy. Veenendaal and Oostindie (2018, 32) argue that the inhabitants of the Dutch Caribbean islands feel that the Kingdom guarantees to deliver liberties, human rights, democracy, and territorial integrity that provide development funds and give the island a more trustworthy character for foreign investors. Dutch citizenship for the inhabitants of the islands means movement with the right of abode in the European Netherlands (and the European Union at large), where one has access to a large labour market, high-quality education, and the extensive welfare and medical provisions of the metropolis (Veenendaal and Oostindie 2018, 32-33). This increases the mobility of the islanders, but at the same time opens the door for an increasing European Dutch interference on the island. This increased Dutch interference facilitated a need for skilled migrants from the Global North, or in other words, it amplified the migration flow from the European

Netherland to the Dutch Caribbean, and in particular to Bonaire. A document that regulates these matters, briefly mentioned in paragraph 3.2, is the Charter or *'Het Statuut'*[6].

We see how the Kingdom of the Netherlands, politically and economically, has changed over time, and these changes have had social and cultural impacts on its citizens. All citizens of the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands are now, in some way, legally connected to each other, and this has had an impact on people's freedom of movement within the boundaries of the Kingdom.

3.4 Movement to Bonaire

In the previous chapter, about mobility, we have seen that the movement of people is highly connected to history, and that the form of mobility depends on the era in which it takes place. New communication and travel technologies reinforce the freedom of movement of people, and facilitate the shrinkage of the globe, time-space compression (Harvey 1989). By combining these two chapters, we can take the next step in understanding the annually-increasing migration from the European Netherlands to Bonaire.

First, the new political status of Bonaire, public body of the Netherlands, increases the interference of the European side of the Kingdom. This political status connects Bonaire directly to the European Netherlands, which means that both places use the same passport and therefore experience an increased freedom of movement within the boundaries of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. *Het Statuut* obliges all members of the Kingdom to uphold fundamental human freedoms and rights, good governance, and the rule of law (De Jong and van der Veer 2018, 27). In other words, the Kingdom must ensure that the countries do so. This form of good governance opened the door for the government of the Netherlands to intervene in Bonaire's police force, social security, taxes, fire brigade, public health, state old age pensions, unemployment, youth care and education. For the good governance of these sectors, the Netherlands wanted skilled individuals from the Netherlands (the Global North) to develop and maintain a certain level or standard on the island.

Second, the colonial history of Bonaire within the Kingdom of the Netherlands brought European Dutch customs, language, religion, and people to the island. This colonial history, together with the status of public body, created an environment with recognizable Dutch elements in a tropical climate. Explained in paragraph 3.2, one must remember that Bonaire is a place of various nationalities, including Dutch.

"One need only ask a European living in the colonies what general reasons induced him to expatriate and what particular forces made him persist in his exile. He may mention adventure, the picturesque surroundings or the change of environment. Why then, does he usually seek them where his own language is spoken, where he does find a large group of his fellow countrymen, an administration to serve him, an army to protect him?"

(Memmi et al. 2003, 47-48)

Out of the findings in Chapter Four, my research participants indicated that they all have, in some way, motivations to migrate in search of an adventure. However, connecting to the quote of Memmi et al. (2003), Bonaire is exactly a place where Dutch is spoken, where many European Dutch migrants

[6] http://www.dutchcaribbeanlegalportal.com/about-us/41-laws/state-and-administrative-regulations/71-charter-for-the-kingdom-of-the-netherlands-dutch

are, and where their own administration serves the European Dutch migrant, and a Dutch army protects them: not really adventurous.

Third, the status of public body makes Bonaire directly part of the Netherlands; all Bonaireans are Dutch citizens with a Dutch passport. To register on the islands as a European Dutch migrant is relatively easy and contains forms of flexibility (the decision to register can be turned back when one wants to return to the European Netherlands). This takes weight off the decision to migrate and leaves the word 'permanent' out of residency. Gordon, a participant from Chapter Four, showed that he could easily decide from one moment to the next to migrate to Bonaire, and strikingly, showed that he could return to the European Netherlands with that same ease when he had "seen it all". A more detailed description of Gordon can be found in paragraph 4.2.4.

Combining findings from different interviews with my research participants helped to create a general understanding of why people want to leave the European Netherlands and why they choose Bonaire as their new 'home'. This understanding is not generalizable for all my research participants, but it gives a deeper understanding. It also gives an understanding of how the colonial history of the Kingdom of the Netherlands created a place that attracts an annually increasing flow of European Dutch migrants to the island. I start with a description of pull factors for migrating to the island, using features mentioned by my research participants. This is followed up by a description of push factors, both focused on push factors to leave the island (often back to the European Netherlands) and to leave the European Netherlands.

3.4.1 Pull and Push

When my research participants were asked, during interviews and conversations, what motivated them to migrate to Bonaire, and combining those descriptions, they explained their movement to the island in the following way:

Bonaire is a place that feels safe, friendly, green, relaxed, warm, adventurous, calm, healthy, and challenging for the European Dutch migrant. "Living by the day" and "it will be all right" are feelings radiated by the island´s atmosphere. It seems if Bonaire can take responsibilities off one's shoulders, where pressure is not experienced as a burden, and where freedom is described in various ways. A sense of openness welcomes the migrant to test its luck, taste novelty and difference, and feel rejuvenated. Being outside is what some of the European Dutch migrants describe as the core value of the island, becoming close to nature by being outside in the tropical climate and the picturesque surroundings.

To understand where these feelings and characteristics come from, it is important to see how the colonial history with the changed political structure of the Kingdom created an environment that invites those feelings to become part of the daily life on the island. To start with, one key player in attracting migrants from the Global North is the growing local economy (mainly focused on tourism). This growing economy offers plenty of business opportunities for entrepreneurs (fortune-seekers) to test their luck, and in combination with the relatively favourable tax constructions of the island, it becomes even more attractive to test that luck. The status of public body of the European Netherlands makes Bonaire an accessible place for this entrepreneur, and all the other European Dutch migrants, where he finds freedom of movement with his Dutch passport. This status has also brought a lot of changes in the island's healthcare, police force, and education, which created a great demand for skilled migrants from the Global North. This demand for skilled migrants attracted

European Dutch expatriates, where the possessed skills and knowledge of that migrant distinguishes them on the island. Besides that, it could give the migrant from the Global North a possibility to boost their career, which possibly could not be done in the European Netherlands. One of the biggest pull factors of the island is its climate; this is mentioned numerous times before but needs another notification. This is the biggest motivation for pensionados and residential tourists from the European Netherlands to move to Bonaire. The climate together with the 'relaxed' atmosphere of the island makes it a perfect place to start a life as a kind of endless tourist, with close connections with the European Netherlands.

Besides the pull factors of the island, there are also some push factors to identify, starting with the push factors of European Dutch migrants who leave the island to return to the European Netherlands.

Bonaire's education is in development; a decent educational level for primary schools exists on the island, but it becomes very limited after primary school. It is possible to develop skills in a small number of directions, but it is very restricting when one does not want to follow one of those directions. This means, for European Dutch families with children on the island, that the parents have to decide whether their children will educated on Bonaire (with limited options) or in the European Netherlands, with many more opportunities and a higher quality that may give their children a better chance in the future. Another push factor is related to family and friends. Bonaire is 7,863 kilometres away from the Netherlands, and airplane tickets are expensive. This makes it difficult for European Dutch migrants on Bonaire to meet their friends and family. All of my research participants indicated that family and friends are important aspects of their migration and could possibly be a deciding factor to eventually return to the European Netherlands. A final push factor comes from the pensionados on the island. A pensionado is in their last phase of life, where often concerns exist about one's health. This means that a relative high demand for care exists, and Bonaire has few health care facilities that can support serious illnesses or conditions. This could be a deciding factor for a European Dutch migrant to return to the Netherlands.

At the beginning of this paragraph, I showed a description of feelings and characteristics of Bonaire that pulled migrants from the Global North to the island. These migrants were pulled to the island, but only because at the same time they were pushed from the European Netherlands. Combining the various descriptions of my research participants, the migrants from the Global North were pushed from the European Netherlands and described this in the following way:

The European Netherlands is experienced as unkind, cold, busy, selfish, hard, highly regulated, structured, precise, rushed, and pressured. Daily life in the European Netherlands feels like a 'rat race', where people are caught up in a way of life, where a fiercely competitive battle for wealth and power takes place. A high social pressure exists, where its citizens move in masses within systems that control the desired behaviour (quick, efficient, and useful). These systems contain large numbers of rules and laws, which causes suffocating feelings. For migrants, it is time to leave and feel free again.

♦

To recapitulate, the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands is a peculiar political construction coming from a long history of colonialism: a construction with one part of the Kingdom belonging to the European mainland, and another part that finds itself in the Caribbean, where one and the same country, the European Netherlands and Bonaire, lie 7,863 kilometres apart from each other. Some of the countries within the boundaries of the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands are autonomous; others, like Bonaire, became public bodies of the European Netherlands. According to Veenendaal and Oostindie (2018), the smaller Caribbean islands, including Bonaire, chose to decline the offer of becoming autonomous countries within the Kingdom, because those islands are better off when they can rely on the protection of the metropolis (human rights, democracy, metropolis's passports, and right to abode). However, this protection comes with an increase of interference by the Dutch government on the island. That interference facilitates an increasing demand for skilled migrants from the Global North, and together with an historical transfer of Dutch customs, language and customs, Bonaire became an environment that seemingly is significantly attractive for European Dutch migrants. A pleasant climate, with a growing economy, and development in healthcare, police and education pulled different types of migrants from the Global North to the island. In the next chapter we look specifically at what type of migrants can be identified in the migration flow from the European Netherlands to Bonaire.

Image 1: Map Bonaire[7]

[7] Caribbean Travel World. "Bonaire Maps". Retrieved from https://www.caribsurf.net/bonaire/mapsbonaire.html

4. On the move

The previous two chapters of this thesis tried to identify what kind of forces produce, drive and restrict the patterns of mobility that are involved in the migration from the Global North to the Global South in general, and in particular from the European Netherlands to the Dutch Caribbean, with the focus on Bonaire. We have seen that mobility is much more than only physical movement, and that this form of migration connects well with literature about North-South migration. This North-South migration takes place in an era where mobilities took a turn, where Sheller and Urry argue that new communication and travel technologies enabled the distribution of connections at a distance that are key in holding social life together. The next step we took in understanding this form of migration was in a more historical environment, where the colonial history of the Kingdom of the Netherlands showed the construction and development of its political structure these days. This gave an idea as to why and how the migration flow from the European Netherlands to Bonaire became possible, and why it has intensified over the last ten years. However, it does not tell us anything yet about who these European Dutch migrants are. In this chapter we examine the classifications of these migrants on Bonaire more closely. Before examining the classifications of the European Dutch migrants on Bonaire, it is important to take a moment for some thoughts of sociologist and philosopher Zygmunt Bauman about the movement of people. Bauman understands the movement of people as a late-modern phenomenon, which fits well in the context of this research, and he has used a vocabulary that suits my understanding of this movement, which helped in identifying the different types of migrants.

4.1 We are all on the move

Bauman (1996) explains that people always have been on the move with different reasons and varying motivations. Different types of people are involved in various ways of movement, specifically people who can move in relative freedom and have access to resources. He paints a picture of a historical story of why these people move. Bauman departs from the idea of a pilgrim who is slowly turned into a tourist by features of modern society and time. He concludes that large numbers of people are on the move in late modernity, and some of those moving individuals can do that out of a free will and a certain luxury, as if they are permanent tourists, who do not go on holiday but move in those freedoms of a holiday. Important to remember is that these individuals move on a voluntary basis. He describes four different types of people on the move: the Stroller, the Vagabond, the Tourist, and the Player (Bauman 1996, 26). These different types of people on the move help to understand and describe the European Dutch migrants on Bonaire in this research more closely, but not completely. Below, three of Bauman's types of people are described (Stroller, Vagabond and Tourist), which show connections with my research participants. These short descriptions are needed to understand the connection between Bauman's types and my research participants, and show the importance of how lifestyles are created around these types.

The Stroller - All parts of the modern life are met and connected in the amusement and experience of the stroller. Bauman (1996, 26) explains that strolling means "rehearsing human reality as a series of episodes, that is as events without past and with no consequences." A stroller would imagine themself as a director and scriptwriter, with them pulling strings of other people's lives without perverting and injuring their fate (Bauman 1996, 27). They are motivated by relaxation and do this in

their leisure time. For the stroller baits would feel like desires, seduction like decision-making, pressure like intentions, and dependence dissolves in freedom, where freedom seeks dependence (Bauman 1996, 27). “The stroller had all the pleasures of modern life without the torments attached” (1996, 27).

The Vagabond – This was someone with no master, and being masterless could refer to notions of being ‘out of control’, ‘on the loose’, or ‘out of frame’ (1996, 28). This apparent freedom to move would escape locally-based control and was unpredictable with no set destination. Every place the vagabond visits is a stopover, and the time they will spend there remains always a question. The vagabond can never be ‘the one with roots in the soil’, ‘the settled one’ or ‘the native’, and therefore, they will be a stranger in every place they visit (1996, 28). This means that the out-of-placeness colour the vagabond wears allows them to keep the options open and gives all decisions an until-further-notice character (1996, 29). Interestingly, the early modern vagabond moved through settled places; the settled were many and the vagabonds few, but postmodernity has reversed that ration, and nowadays there are few settled places left (1996, 29). This means that forever settled residents find the place (in the land, life and society) to which they ‘belong’ in a state that they do not recognize. Today, the vagabond is not a vagabond because of their aversion to settling down, but because of the few settled places that are left. The vagabond would probably meet other people in their travels who are other vagabonds of today or of tomorrow.

The Tourist – The tourist is, like the vagabond, on the move, but their movement is on purpose (or so they think). The pull factor of a place is what attracts the tourist, and the goal of their journey is finding new experiences. As a systematic seeker of experience, they try to temporarily escape the familiar and want to submerge themself in novelty and difference, experiencing bizarre and strange elements that create a thrilling and rejuvenating feeling, on condition that this experience will not stick to the tourist’s skin and can be shaken off whenever one feels like it (1996, 29). Nowadays, the tourist’s adventure is domesticated, tame, no longer frightens, and is wrapped in safety. This produces a world that seems gentle and obedient to the tourist’s wishes and is ready to oblige and transform for the purpose of pleasing, amusing, and exciting the tourist (1996, 30). “One may say that what the tourist buys, what he pays for, what he demands to be delivered (or goes to court if delivery is delayed) is precisely the right not to be bothered, freedom from any but aesthetic spacing”(1996, 30). One must not forget that a tourist has a home. A home is part of the safety package; it is a place where nothing has to be proven or defended, where everything is familiar, obvious, and just there (1996, 30). Home is the reason that a tourist moves but is also the reason that they come back. Strikingly, life itself becomes an extended tourist escapade, where a tourist conduct becomes a mode of life, and where it is less clear which of the visited places can be called home (1996, 30).

The overarching idea of Bauman, that we are all on the move, is a topic with a growing importance to understand in the contemporary world. The impact that movement of people has on the world is being made visible by the development of certain lifestyles of people in particular areas. The North-South migration of European Dutch migrants to Bonaire shows a specific form of mobility that has great influence on the social, economic and demographic environment of the island. People have different incentives and motivations to move, and interestingly, my research population is generally very typical of that of Bauman’s contemporary tourist. However, Bauman’s characterization of a tourist gives little detailed explanation about my research participants; one is not the other.

Therefore, this characterization of a late modern tourist shows only parts of the story but does not tell who is in it. Literature about North-South migration, e.g. Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017; Salazar 2013; Walsh 2010, predicted the presence of expatriates, residential tourists and pensionados in the movement from the Global North to the Global South. These three types of migrants can be found in the movement from the European Netherlands to Bonaire, but the literature about North-South migration does not identify a fourth group. This is a group of migrants with a relatively great variety of motivations and incentives, which lacks a specific time schedule. I called this group 'Fortune-seekers'. All four different groups of migrants ('Expatriates', 'Residential tourists', 'Pensionados', and 'Fortune-seekers') fit in the description of a late-modern tourist of Bauman. Besides some characteristics of the late-modern tourist that can be found in the qualifications of these four categories of migrants; one can observe, among other things, that some resemble the Stroller or the Vagabond that Bauman is also talking about. These connections can be found in the next part of this chapter. It is also possible that my research participants show connections and similarities with more than one of the three identities, and thus could be identified as a combination of Bauman's classifications.

4.2 Same migration, different migrants

February the fifth 2020 was the moment that my flight left from Schiphol Airport in Amsterdam to reach the southern parts of the Netherlands, 7,863 kilometres away, leaving the cold and rainy mainland behind, escaping the winter, to find the always-sunny tropical island of Bonaire. It was a smooth process, where my passport showed the customs where and who, where the people in the plane spoke the way I did, and where no pandemic demanded social distancing. The plane was the first place where I physically met potential research participants; it was the first time that I could move with and to my research population. It was a plane filled to its capacity, with mainly Dutch-speaking travellers who all had personal motivations and incentives to be in this plane and going the way the plane was going. I was sitting in a middle row with three seats next to each other, somewhere in the back of the plane. Next to me sat two middle-aged ladies who spoke Dutch, and clearly had something in common: Bonaire. One had recently bought a house on Bonaire, and the other already lived there for multiple years. I could understand that the two had never met before by the way they interacted, but that did not matter for having an ongoing friendly conversation, discussing local events and developments on the island. I became involved in the conversation and explained why I was going to Bonaire, conducting research on people like them. Both responded in a supportive way and indicated that my topic of research is something that they experience themselves on a daily basis. I asked them if they would like to drink a cup of coffee with me, to informally discuss their lives with me, after they both had acclimated to the island again. They liked that idea, and without second thoughts shared their contact details with me. A sense of relief became present in my body; I had already met two potential research participants that wanted to talk with me, without setting one foot on the island. During the ten-hour flight, I observed the other people in the plane as well, and found more Dutch-speaking individuals, where most of them differed in age. The plane for me was the first place and moment where interests, doubts, and assumptions about my research were tested. Sights of different Dutch speaking individuals moving to Bonaire could be an indication that the relevance of my research was on point, and it motivated me to find out more about this movement.

This small vignette describes my first encounter with my research population, and being present in that plane made me indirectly part of the movement from the European Netherlands to Bonaire. It was exciting to experience literature in real life, and it gave me the opportunity to test whether this

North-South migration actually would include privileged migrants, and if more motivations and incentives than the ones mentioned in Chapter Two could be discovered. During my time on the island I found multiple connections between the literature and the people I have talked to, but also found missing links. In the next paragraphs we examine the four groups of European Dutch migrants I have identified on Bonaire, starting with the expatriates.

4.2.1 Expatriates

To begin with understanding the expatriate on Bonaire, I chose to use the example of two of my research participants, who I call Roland and Merel (not their real names). A small story about Roland and Merel helps to understand how they became expatriates on Bonaire, and what their lives look like on the island.

Roland is a psychologist with Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) certificates, and Merel is a psychiatrist, both educated in the European Netherlands. Roland and Merel always had a desire to leave the European Netherlands, to leave the crowded city of Amsterdam – no more traffic jams – and find quietness. In 2011, an opportunity was presented by the psychiatric institution Merel worked for in the European Netherlands. That psychiatric institution had a cooperation with the local government and hospital on Bonaire to further develop the department of psychiatry. Merel was one of the first professionals who helped in developing and structuring the different parts of the department of psychiatry in that hospital. She did this for approximately eight months, and then returned to the European Netherlands. Working on Bonaire was not on a regular basis for Merel. Roland worked as psychologist at the VUMC in Amsterdam but decided to take a sabbatical in 2012 to go to Bonaire to experience the quietness of the island. With Merel hopping on and off the island, and with both developing connections and affection with the island, they decided to buy a piece of land on Bonaire to build a (vacation) home in 2014. The house they built is part of a gated community, which accommodates modern villas. To be part of this community means that one has access to capital. They still own an apartment in Amsterdam, which directly ties them with the European Netherlands. Roland started working in the hospital as part of the ICT department and did that till 2018. Finding steady work for Merel as a specialist on Bonaire proved to be more difficult, because of the hospital's system of ongoing changes in the formation of specialists. Therefore, this meant that Merel worked most of her time at the psychiatric institution in the European Netherlands, and Roland as an ICT specialist on Bonaire. During my time on the island I spent time with Merel and Roland to understand their lifestyles. Both individuals were involved in volunteering on the island and invited me for two different activities: 'one-hour-beach-clean-up' and 'the mangrove maniacs'[8]. These two activities will be further examined and discussed in paragraph 4.3. Besides that, they also opened up their network of friends on the island, when they invited me for a barbecue on Donkey Beach[9]. Both activities form part of the understanding of the life of an expatriate on the island, but also have connections with that of the residential tourist, which will be explained in paragraph 4.2.2.

Expatriates on Bonaire are mostly found in the sectors of education, healthcare, law, police, and tax authorities. Time of residence of the expatriate on the island is often not specific but staying for three years and then returning to the 'home country' is not unusual (where most of them still own

[8] Referring back to image 1 on page 26 (map of Bonaire).

[9] Referring back to image 1 on page 26 (map of Bonaire).

property or a house, like Merel and Roland). Permanent residency is not something that characterizes the expatriate on Bonaire, but it can eventually be turned around in some cases. The expatriate is officially registered at the Immigration and Naturalisation (IND) on Bonaire and remains a Dutch citizen (because Bonaire is a public body of the Netherlands). These expatriates on Bonaire often have high positions in companies and earn a relatively high salary, and keep in mind that a place like Bonaire offers some expatriates more professional chances to boost their career because they experience less competition on the island. Others, like Roland, use the possibility of a demand for their skill to explore more of the world, to leave the high-tempo character of the European Netherlands behind and enjoy the calmness and freedoms of Bonaire, something that Bauman's late-modern tourist would agree with.

Job-related motivations are not the only thing that attracts the expatriate to Bonaire. Two other research participants have told me during one of our conversations that they always had an ambition to make some sort of difference on Bonaire. Both participants are working in different areas of healthcare on the island, and remarkable, both have an age that is coming closer to the age of retirement. One desired "to stimulate the local economy and share my knowledge", and the other said, "I want to leave something that the local society can still use after five years". Both pronounce notions of humanitarianism[10] in their motivations to migrate. Strikingly, all of the expatriates I have talked to are involved, in some way, with volunteering on Bonaire, from removing plastic on the beaches to digging canals in the mangroves. Paragraph 4.3 in this chapter will go deeper into the idea of volunteering on the island, because other groups of migrants are doing this as well. Something that kept coming back during the interviews with the expatriates is that they also seek a form of adventure, a new experience in a warm climate, or in the case of Roland, quietness. This is something that all of my research participants have in common and that connects them with Bauman's idea of the late-modern tourist. Expatriates often have property or a home in their 'home country', in this case the European Netherlands, and that brings motivation to move in the form of safety and freedom (one can return). Interestingly, this apparent freedom in movement of these European Dutch migrants is questioned in Chapter Five.

The social movement of the expatriate on the island is mainly in relation with fellow European Dutch migrants. According to the largest part of my research participants, interaction with 'local Bonaireans' (a definition that has a wide interpretation, but is often used by my research participant to refer to a dark-skinned local resident that mainly speaks Papiamento[11]) happens on a daily basis, but it sticks largely to work environments. On the other side of social interaction on the island, all my expatriate participants indicated that expatriates, or in general the European Dutch migrants on the island, easily mix and get along with each other. O'Reilly (2000) states that because expatriates move within a global market that they can experience difficulty in socio-psychological acculturation, and therefore experience stereotypes (like other migrants) that separate the migrating 'expatriate community' from the local community. Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014) emphasizes that expatriates

[10] For more information about humanitarianism: Ticktin, M. 2014. "Transnational Humanitarianism". *Annual Review of Anthropology 43*, pp: 273–89.

[11] Papiamento is a creole language that is most widely spoken by the local population and is used as primary language on the island. Dutch is the official language on Bonaire, and Spanish and English are the other (lesser) spoken languages on the island.

do not experience the same exclusion and racism as other migrants often face, especially in poor countries. The expatriates can selectively integrate according to their tastes and needs, which often leads to segregated transnational lifestyles that are largely insensible to local values and customs (Beaverstock 2002). This is largely the case on Bonaire, where most of the European Dutch migrants stick together[12].

As a short reminder, expatriates often bring a partner to the new place, and this partner does not have to be an expatriate, but that someone is also part of the migration flow. That person is affected by the motivations of their partner but has their own motivations to migrate and has their own role or identity on the island (often a mix of residential tourist and fortune-seeker). Roland had mentioned during the interview that he and Merel have the desire, when they retire, to live six months a year on Bonaire and the other six in the European Netherlands. This shows a connection with the characteristics of the residential tourists, which means that an expatriate could eventually change his lifestyle into that of a residential tourist. This is an example that shows how difficult, or how impossible, it is to create a category that fits all. One always should remind oneself that a category, like that of the expatriate, is more a guideline than a manual. The next in line to discuss are the residential tourists.

4.2.2 Residential tourist

The first time I met residential tourists on the island was during a barbecue on Donkey Beach. This barbecue was organised jointly by European Dutch migrants (Merel and Roland were also present) including expatriates, residential tourists and fortune-seekers, who together formed a 'curry club' on the island. 'Curry club' is a name that they had given me for explaining what this group was about. Preparing and eating curry (Indian dish) was on a regular basis with regular people, and every time someone else from the group had to prepare a particular element of the meal. The barbecue took place on the beach, under some trees, and close by the ocean. Chairs to sit on, a table to eat at, cold drinks to consume, and variations of curry to enjoy were brought by those present. It was a social activity, where one could interact with close friends on the island. Before we sat down at the table to enjoy the food, people went into the water for some snorkelling and others were drinking a cold beer and watching the sun going down. I remember this moment as something from a movie, a perfect setting in a beautiful environment surrounded by kindness where worries seemed not to exist.

This moment felt like Bauman's idea of a stroller, where this moment of relaxation in leisure time felt like an event without past and with no consequences, an event where the pleasures of a particular lifestyle symbolize freedom and escaping dependence (Bauman 1996, 26-27). It connects well with the description of the residential tourist on Bonaire.

Residential tourism is, according to O'Reilly (2007), "the affluence that enables residential tourists to turn tourism, to some extent, into a way of life, and to construct fluid, leisured lifestyles betwixt and between places, and in which even when they ostensibly try to settle they still remain in some ways outside or above the community they had moved to". Residential tourists on Bonaire are always highly connected with the European Netherlands, and Bonaire serves as a second home. This second home can be seen as a refuge to destress and unwind. The residential tourist can decide whenever they want to move, one way or the other, and often do this multiple times a year. A 'permanent' residence or own home on the island makes it possible to do so. 'Migrating' multiple times a year

[12] See the quote of Memmi et al. 2003, on page 23.

causes responsibilities on the island for them to drop, and they often live in a sort of vacation-bubble that protects them against local socio-cultural disunity, and makes Bonaire a place where the sun always shines. This out-of-placeness character allows one to keep the options open and gives all decisions an until-further-notice character. This characteristic of the residential tourist places them in Bauman's description of a vagabond, so a residential tourist on Bonaire fits in Bauman's stroller and also in Bauman's vagabond.

Residential tourists on Bonaire are relatively prosperous in their access to capital, which allows them to enjoy a lifestyle focused on multiple places. Their access to capital is becoming visible by the fact that they have the possibility to own two homes in two different places, and travel multiple times a year between those places. A way to partly finance this lifestyle is using the second home on Bonaire as an income: "we are only here for a couple times a year, so the rest of the time we rent out our house. It is an excellent return, I must say". Therefore, the second home on Bonaire not only brings the physical freedom for them to move between two places, it also brings financial income to support the movement between the two places.

When present on the island, the residential tourists enjoy substantial freedom in their movement. Few responsibilities on the island make sure that time is on the side of the residential tourist, and routines of leisure activities fill the parts of the days. These routines are part of the residential tourist's character as a systematic seeker of experience, but these experiences are on a level where one is more familiar with that experience, and where one knows what to expect of the 'novelty' and 'difference' of that activity, which gives a connection with Bauman's tourist. This means that a residential tourist fits in all three of the mentioned descriptions of Bauman, which makes them unique. Volunteering on the island is something that can be described as a leisure activity for the residential tourist, where one has the time and access to capital to undertake such an activity. Important to mention, the residential tourist can largely shake off this experience when they have had enough, because they have the safety of their home in the European Netherlands. A residential tourist on Bonaire is registered in the European Netherlands but can sustain their lifestyle on Bonaire and in the European Netherlands because of their Dutch passport and their access to capital. Residential tourists are often retired but are not the same as pensionados on the island (see paragraph 4.2.3).

At the barbecue on Donkey Beach I met two residential tourists, who showed interest in my proposal to talk about their lifestyle during an informal interview. They agreed to meet me at their home on the island. Both individuals are retired and visited Bonaire for the first time in 2012. They fell in love with the island, and decided to visit the place each year, and eventually bought a house on the island in 2015. The island has a beautiful nature with a warm climate, a diversity of wildlife, gave an immense sense of freedom, and felt safe: a place to make a second home. During the interview I recall two interesting things that were said:

"It is a pity that the island is getting more crowded, with all the horrible cruise ships, and all the tourists on it"

&

"It is difficult when you go to Donkey beach, and see all young white men that are here for a year, bending things to their will and try to take over the place"

The first observation says something about a self-reflection on his own position as residential tourist on the island, which apparently is different from that of a short-term tourist coming from a cruise ship[13]. Tourists in his observation seem something negative and something unwanted. It gives the feeling that for my research participant a guideline exists where demands and regulations should exist on how crowded Bonaire can be for him to enjoy the island the most. Strikingly, he himself is part of the movement of people that make the island more crowded. It should also not be forgotten that those tourists shape and maintain the economy of the island, which created facilities and activities that he himself enjoys. The second quote could describe a stereotype of a white imperialist individual of the Global North, who with his temporary stay presumably influences and changes the place. However, he, as a residential tourist, is practically doing the same, comes and goes and takes what he desires. This unawareness of being part of the flooding of the island, and his position in that flooding, could be a characteristic of a residential tourist. This thought can be strengthened by the way he socially interacts on the island, where he almost solely interacts with a European Dutch migrant community. This form of interaction became visible during the barbecue on Donkey Beach. Sheller and Urry (2006) would say that residential tourists on Bonaire are living in the fast lane of social life (mentioned in Chapter Two), where one enjoys little restriction in one's movement.

The residential tourist on Bonaire behaves like a stroller, like a vagabond, and in most ways acts like Bauman's late-modern tourist. The characteristics of this residential tourist partly correspond with that of the pensionado on the island; the main difference lies in notions of home. However, like the expatriate, the residential tourist can eventually change his lifestyle, and finds the best correspondence in changing it into that of the pensionado.

4.2.3 Pensionados

"I came here for the quietness of the island, but it is only getting busier, and the people who arrive on the island now find it nice and quiet"

This observation came from one of the pensionados on Bonaire I interacted with on a regular basis, who I call Willem. Willem's observation shows a comparison of his experience with the island at the moment he arrived with the present, and clearly indicates that changes have taken place on Bonaire during his time on the island. The definition of quietness is not the same anymore for Willem. Does this imply that the definition itself has changed? That people just think differently than Willem? Or maybe that the island itself is not the same place it was and cannot not deliver the same quietness as before? I do not know, but Willem's observation helps to think about what Bonaire means for him as pensionado, and it is important for creating an understanding of what pensionados look like these days.

For this particular group of European Dutch migrants in this research, I need to start with a disclaimer for the upcoming findings and descriptions of this paragraph. As mentioned in the introduction, my research was stopped abruptly by the arrival of the corona virus, which culminated in not finding more research participants (besides Willem) in the category of pensionados. I spent relatively much time with Willem, and therefore I can produce a general description of what the pensionado looks like on Bonaire, focused on Willem's perspective. Keep in mind that this category is not generalizable or exclusively for all (former European Dutch) pensionados on the island. Still, Willem does give a clear picture of this specific category and is therefore important to describe further to understand

[13] Referring back to image 1 on page 26 (map of Bonaire).

the North-South migration in a more complete way. I used additional literature about pensionados to find more scientific depth. To protect Willem's privacy I will leave some personal details out of the picture.

In the year 1980 Willem came in contact with the island for the first time. A friend of his recommended a hotel on the island, which made way for a decade full of visits. After years of temporary visits, he started to acclimate to the flows of the island. Not only were times of leisure important for his connection with the island, also a specific career opportunity made sure that he could stay on Bonaire. In 1992, he decided to buy a house on Bonaire to ignite the beginning of his new home. Willem was attracted by the quietness of the island, the warm climate, the friendly islanders, and the overall feeling of tranquillity (something the European Netherlands could not offer him): a perfect balance between place and people, which he described as "cozy". One could say that Willem partly could be identified as Bauman's late-modern tourist, where he submerges himself with novelty and difference, in the form of quietness. However, Willem cannot shake off this new experience, and he does not have the safety of a home in the European Netherlands anymore. Neither can Willem be identified as Bauman's stroller or vagabond, which indicates that a pensionado cannot fully be understood by Bauman's thoughts. Willem's social network on the island consists of a mix of 'locals' and other European Dutch migrants. He explained during one of our conversations that he is part of a local billiards club, consisting of 'local islanders', who accept him as a 'Bonairean'. During that conversation he told me "I feel like a local, I am no migrant anymore, and the locals greet me on the streets". It feels as if Willem adapted well to the routines of the island and had little problem integrating with the 'local community'.

However, when one pays attention to the observation of Willem in the beginning, one understands that something has changed in the place he loves: something where the balance between place and people is no longer the same, and where something had disturbed the quietness that made way for noise.

"I can remember the time when number plates of cars went up to 5,000, and today we are well over 10,000"

Again, this is an observation that refers to a place, Bonaire, where it seems if that place got more crowded, or in other words, where that place lost its quietness. When I asked Willem about this returning topic, he responded in a way that connects changes on the island with a moment in 2010. This moment in 2010 was the moment where Bonaire became a public body of the Netherlands. He explained that from that moment in time "things became Dutch on the island". A new sort of European Dutch migrant has arrived on the island, who is, according to Willem, a sort of fortune seeker who does not love the island the way he does. Someone who brings 'Dutch customs' (impatient, part of a rat race, lack of empathy, and arrogant) to the island, where one does not seek contact with the local community and shuts oneself out. He refers not only to people who are attracted by economic incentives, favourable tax rates, but also to other pensionados, and especially the amount of pensionados is of importance here.

Blaakilde and Nilsson (2013, 9) explain that the number of seniors involved in this sort of migration has grown considerably within the last two decades, by means of increasement in mass tourism and as a result of the generally stronger finances of those seniors. Not only is humanity growing older, but retirees have a more active lifestyle, with a better health, stronger finances, and a life-long

experience of tourism and travelling (Blaakilde and Nilsson 2013, 10-11). The increase in their movement can be understood as a way of achieving a certain quality of life (Walters 2000). This could be the case on Bonaire, where a relatively privileged migrant from the Global North has access to capital, which could be a fundamental precondition to leaving one's home. Baltes and Carstensen (1996) refer in this case to a 'lifestyle migration', where one voluntarily migrates from the northern colder countries to southern warmer places, to find "purpose-built destinations for tourism, a holiday atmosphere of freedom, relaxation, and enjoyment" (Blaakilde and Nilsson 2013, 17). Probably, when Willem first set foot on the island it was a relatively underdeveloped touristic destination, but due to all economic and political developments (largely started in 2010) on the island it became more attractive for a similar but different (larger) group of migrants from the European Netherlands. This group is part of a specific form of lifestyle migration, namely retirement migration, where a highly diverse, continual, and flexible form of mobility is involved (Gustafson 2008). It seems if these retirement migrants are continuously mobile, moving between two countries depending on the season (Longino and Marshall 1990).

Willem does not have a second home in the European Netherlands, which could indicate that this is a different sort of pensionado on the island. However, Willem told me that he has the desire to have a second home in the European Netherlands, which allows him to live six months in one place and six months in the other. This desire fits well with the understanding of the residential tourist on the island, which indirectly could mean that an overlap exists between the four categories of European Dutch migrants. Willem, like the 'new sort of pensionado' (Blaakilde and Nilsson 2013, 21), is closely connected with the European Netherlands and he travels twice a year to the European Netherlands to visit family and friends, which seems to be characteristic for pensionados (Gustafson 2008; Huber and O'Reilly 2004). It is important to have a heart for the island, according to Willem, and doing something back for the island should be part of that heart.

One observation that Willem made during one of our conversations was that not only the migrant has changed over the years, but also society itself. Willem told me: "I was amazed that nowadays commercials are made to sell your old clothes, we used to give them to the thrift store…". He refers to the fact that our society is extremely focused on consumption, and "it is all about money". He explained that the European Dutch migrants who arrive on the island these days have the same attitude as those commercials. These migrants make Bonaire a noisy and unsociable place and turned it into something that Willem does not recognize anymore.

4.2.4 Fortune-seeker

This group of European Dutch migrants on Bonaire is the broadest and the most difficult to define of the four. This is because it is an overarching category that contains migrants with different motivations and incentives to migrate, but with binding similarities. It could be possible that more migrants can identify themselves in this category, but this is based on the findings of my fieldwork.

The term 'fortune-seeker' can have multiple meanings and does not describe one person. One can be a fortune-seeker when one voluntarily or out of necessity moves to another place, without concerns of resources, to acquire fortune and prestige. One can be a fortune-seeker when one leaves one's home without a well-constructed plan to explore the world and test its luck, to taste the adventure. Finally, one can be a fortune-seeker to maximize one's quality of life by moving consumption to the best value-for-money location. A fortune seeker is, like this research, dependent on the context they

move in. In general, the fortune-seeker is someone who can easily decide to move in a short period of time, and responds to chances that are in reach. This someone is often a young person without a relationship or children but can also be a seasoned entrepreneur. The European Netherlands is an important connection in their life, that symbolizes a place that one always can return to, but the fortune-seeker is registered on the island. They do not know when they will leave the island (if they do), which makes them unpredictable. The fortune-seeker benefits from the economic environment of the island, and often creates employment possibilities on the island. Their access to capital can vary from money for two months to a stretched-out wallet. They show minimal connections to volunteering on the island.

On Bonaire, I interacted with one fortune-seeker the most, named Gordon. This fortune-seeker is someone I had already met in the European Netherlands, and I had his contact details in my phone to reach him when I had landed on the island. Gordon is someone with whom I spent a lot of time with on the island, almost on a daily basis. Gordon is a great example of a fortune seeker, but that does not have to mean that this is representative of the other fortune-seekers. Below, a description can be found of the way Gordon became part of the island, where he has lived for almost two years now, and it gives an impression of what his lifestyle looks like.

Gordon's first encounter with Bonaire was in 2015, where he and a friend had the desire to leave the European Netherlands, to experience something different, something with a warmer climate, a different culture, and in a tropical environment. His friend found a job offer as a bar manager at a beach resort on Bonaire, and within a month found a possibility for my research participant to join him in this new adventure. They worked for ten months together at the resort, where a healthy balance between work and recreation kept the adventure real. After that period of time, my research participant returned to the European Netherlands while his friend stayed on the island. Gordon mentioned during our conversation that he returned to the European Netherlands because he had the feeling that he had seen it all: "I knew the island, the people on the island, the parties, and at some point it all became the same". He emphasized that it was not specifically the intention to go back to the European Netherlands and stay there, but it was more the intention to go back to the European Netherlands, to save a bit, and then go somewhere else. This is typical behaviour of Bauman's late modern tourist, where one can shake off the experience whenever one feels like it. Gordon explained that his time on Bonaire left him with a financial debt, and the European Netherlands offered the possibility to get rid of that debt. After two and a half years, one ex-girlfriend later, and with no debt on his shoulders, Gordon returned to Bonaire, but then with a different motivation than the first time. He wanted to start something for himself, being his own boss, and "Bonaire has a lot of business opportunities, mainly in the touristic sector". An upcoming economy with an annual increase of tourism offered the perfect place for him to test his luck.

Gordon illustrated a path where one sort of fortune-seeker turns into another with time. He started as someone who was looking for adventure, someone unpredictable with no set destination, someone who visited the place as a stopover; in other words, a vagabond. However, when Gordon returned to the island, he was no vagabond any longer. His mind was set on achieving an inner desire of becoming his own boss, and he was ready to settle on the island, becoming the 'settled one'. Bonaire offered a freedom in movement for Gordon in that he could move with ease between the European Netherlands and Bonaire without any time restrictions. The European Netherlands served for Gordon as a place, or maybe even as a stopover, where access to capital could be managed, in

order to achieve a lifestyle that fits his desires. The orientation of Gordon towards the European Netherlands and the search for achieving and maintaining a typical lifestyle is characterizing for North-South migration, as explained in Chapter Two. On top of that, his movement showed connections with the idea of physical movement that refers to an upward social mobility, which brings him into the fast lane of social life. It showed a privileged global position as migrant.

Interacting with Gordon on a daily basis gave me an idea about how his lifestyle was constructed on the island. Three weeks after my arrival on the island, Gordon had taken over the bar that is part of a resort where he was working. He had to make sure that the bar ran smoothly, and at the same time was setting up a small pizzeria on the grounds of that same resort. Being an entrepreneur is something that fits well in the idea of being a fortune-seeker, and Gordon is a great example of that. Gordon is what you can call "as busy as a bee"; his days are filled with all sort of tasks that need attention and reaction: moving to all corners of the island, connecting problems to solutions, unifying supply and demand, and doing business with locals to serve the tourists. His movement on the island supports the local economy, and helps maintain the island's strength, namely tourism. When Gordon finds himself in times of leisure, then he would interact with friends, mostly European Dutch migrants, hanging out in some local bars or hitting the beach. His income on the island offers him a relatively large access to capital, which increases his possibilities of movement on the island. Most of his income will be saved for future plans; he desires to build small apartments that can be rented out to tourists. Tourism is for Gordon, as for almost the whole island, of great importance, and seeing this sector annually growing strengthens his motivation to keep on moving. However, focussing on one sector only can be risky in times of a pandemic (Chapter Five).

At one moment during my time on the island, Gordon had organized an event at the resort that had to attract potential investors and other entrepreneurs to invest in the resort. It was an interesting moment, where Gordon, as a fortune seeker, offered other fortune-seekers a possibility of success, so he himself could possibly come closer to finding success. Being a mediator is characteristically for fortune-seekers like Gordon.

Gordon is an example of how a fortune-seeker comes in contact with the island, and it was clear how this interaction had changed him and his lifestyle. It is important to have a category like the fortune seeker, to better understand how various migrants with similar and also different motivations connect in some way with each other, where one can eventually assign them together to a particular category. As already mentioned in the beginning, Gordon is not necessarily typical for a fortune seeker; all Gordons are fortune-seekers, but not all fortune-seekers are Gordon.

The last paragraphs about the qualifications of the four identified groups of European Dutch migrants on Bonaire clarified the difference between those migrants. The next paragraph presents a link that connects all four groups of migrants with each other.

4.3 Connecting in volunteering

All four identified groups of European Dutch migrants in this research fit in Bauman's description of the late-modern tourist; this connects them with each other but does not show the individual qualifications of these different migrants. These European Dutch migrants did not come as a group to Bonaire; they all came with different motivations and incentives, where they experience different forms of mobility on the island, which sets them apart from another and adds some distinctions into Bauman's description of his late-modern tourist. However, they all do one thing that appears to go

through those categorizations and connects them with each other, namely volunteering on the island. This volunteer work consists largely of activities that have influence on the protection and preservation of the island's natural environment, and all four categories of European Dutch migrants have, in some way, connections with volunteering on Bonaire (with the smallest participation of the fortune-seeker). Why are they doing this? In this paragraph we take a closer look at two activities of volunteering on Bonaire in which I participated, to find an answer to this question. An invitation of Merel and Roland (who are regulars in these events) gave me access to participate in these two activities. The first activity that is discussed is called 'the one-hour-beach-clean-up', and the second is named 'the mangrove maniacs'. These two activities help understanding why European Dutch migrants are volunteering on the island, and it seems that a connection can be found with volunteering and a need for social interaction among my research participants.

4.3.1 One-hour-beach-clean-up

The one-hour-beach-clean-up[14] is a citizens' initiative organized by an expatriate (medical specialist), where a small core of regulars with additional volunteers each Saturday clean up plastic for an hour from one part of a beach at a time. Starting at one point of the island, they clean one polluted area at a time and continue this process throughout the year. The event is promoted by the use of personal conversation and Facebook. This event started with a caravan of pick-up trucks, which drove together to the designated location. When the group was fully unloaded, thirty people were ready to collect plastic. Strikingly, all thirty individuals were white-skinned individuals, and some of my research participants explained that a large part of that group consisted of migrants. This was remarkable for me because we were on an island in the southern Caribbean, where I maybe expected more a mixture of dark-skinned and white-skinned individuals. For me, this was the first moment that day where I noticed that there was something particular about this activity. After an hour of cleaning up the beach, I started to ask people who they were and why they were there. Besides the fact that I found more participants to interview for my research, I also collected interesting information on the spot. The motivation for volunteering, among the people I spoke to, was mainly focused on the idea of "doing something back for the island". It almost felt like that they were motivated to volunteer by understanding it as a sort of admission requirement to be on the island. One individual explained that she was motivated by a more aesthetic reason: "it is a horrible sight when this beautiful surrounding is ruined by all that plastic". As if she had an image in her head of a picturesque surrounding that the beach should look like.

This triggered me to ask my research participants during the interviews about this activity, and how they explained the composition of that group (all white-skinned individuals, where most of them are migrants). Of course, this could be a coincidence and it does not have to say anything about other people, but it is certainly striking. Multiple research participants who I asked about this referred to the idea that this activity is something typically (European) Dutch, and that European Dutch people are more "aware", "educated" and "exercised" in being sustainable than 'local Bonaireans' (whatever that may mean). I cannot confirm or reject these claims because I did not talk to and interview 'local Bonaireans' about this topic, but probably neither can my research participants. From a more general perspective, three observations can be made about the composition and motivations of the group that day.

[14] https://www.facebook.com/OneHourCleanUpPower

First, these migrants seem to have easy access to time and capital. A relatively luxurious lifestyle, with many opportunities for leisure activities, increases the migrant's freedom of movement on the island. Being able to participate in such activities can in this way be seen as a luxury, and maybe even part of a touristic and social event.

Second, the motivations of doing volunteer work could have something to do with a feeling, or a need, to justify their presence on the island. Think about the comment "doing something back for the island". By participating in volunteering they spent time, effort, and sometimes money in the preservation and protection of Bonaire's core feature: the natural environment. Therefore, in this way it seems that these migrants try to connect themselves more closely to the physicality, or appearance, of the island. Often, when one tries justifying something it involves the acknowledgement of other human beings, but in this case, it is more focused on the island itself than on the people living on it. During two interviews, this caretaking of the natural environment was explained on a more personal level. One research participant stated, "selfishly, I also do it for myself, it makes me feel good", and another, "It is a bit of redeeming your soul". Therefore, not only does participating in volunteering connect people with the physicality of the island, it also brings people into a certain mental state, where one balances one's impact on the island with one's protection of the island, and in that way justifies one's presence on the island.

Third, this volunteering activity was filled with social interaction between the participants. It was not uncommon to see pairs of people cleaning the same area together while having a conversation, or even to completely stop collecting plastic and take the time for interacting with another. When the hour was past, the whole group came together and made one big pile of plastic garbage bags. Around this pile of bags small groups of people were chatting, talking about what a difference they made during this hour, and often pointing to the big pile. This was also a moment for me to talk to familiar faces that I had seen at the beach barbecue on Donkey Beach. These were other European Dutch migrants, friends of Merel and Roland, who became part of this activity in the same way I did, by invitation of Merel and Roland. Therefore, volunteering activities are a great opportunity to meet new people, form new relations, and reinforce existing relations. It is a moment of socializing, while doing something 'good'. This activity gave me the feeling of achieving a certain social status that connects with the other people present, a social cohesion created by volunteering. This could probably have the same effect for my research participants, that by volunteering they are becoming part of a volunteering (migrant) community, and maybe reinforcing an existing connection to such a social community.

These three observations show an extra level in my research participants' social movement on the island. Volunteering seems, in this case, not only about sustainability, but also about being a social activity that my research participants can undertake together, while doing something back for the island: an activity that shows some form of responsibility towards the island, where European Dutch migrants can form connections between one another and increase their social network and movement on the island. This apparent freedom of movement is characteristic for North-South migration of migrants from the Global North. To substantiate the argument that volunteering on the island is less about sustainability and more about social mobility is the next example of volunteering, which seems less attractive to undertake for the European Dutch migrant.

4.3.2 Mangrove maniacs

The second activity of volunteering, in which I participated multiple times, was with a group called 'mangrove maniacs'. This is a group of volunteers and professionals that are dedicated to opening up the channels in the mangrove forest of the Lac area on Bonaire[15]. Opening up these channels is of great importance for biodiversity, for the coral, and for fish and bird populations on the island. This is a weekly activity, where small boats loaded with saws and shovels cross the sea lagoon of Bonaire National Marine Park to enter the mangroves. Almost three hours of hard labour, digging into the mud and sawing enormous roots three feet underwater with zero visibility, describe parts of the physical work that had to be done. Feelings of great achievement arrive when finally a giant obstacle of roots is removed and makes the path visible for a slowly upcoming canal: root by root, metre by metre, slowly making steps towards the goal to accomplish. After a morning of intensive labour, the day is discussed and celebrated together at a table filled with warm snacks and cold drinks. The composition of the group is, like the beach clean-up, different every time with a small core of regulars that is supported by volunteers on temporary basis. Different from the beach clean-up, this group consisted of Dutch European long-term migrants/residents and Dutch Caribbean locals, a mix of white- and dark-skinned individuals.

It seemed that this activity of volunteering is slightly different than the beach clean-up, where a higher level of participation is asked of its participants. Both are volunteering, "doing something back for the island", but the beach clean-up is apparently more popular with migrants than the mangroves (looking at the participation rate of both activities). Of course, this could have something to do with the promotion, the accessibility, the physical demands of the activity, but two important differences between these activities probably influence the participation rate of the activity: the level of participation and visual results.

Volunteering on Bonaire is largely focused, according to the interests of my research participants, on protecting and preserving the natural environment of the island. In paragraph 4.3.1 it was noted that one participant had a picturesque image of how things should look, so that showed some importance of visual confirmation and results from such a volunteering activity. Working in the mangroves has fewer visual results than the clean-up; it is a long-term project that takes years to create visible canals. The mangroves are not directly in sight of popular local and touristic areas; it is always some distance away. When I asked one of my research participants if she knew where the mangroves are located on the island (it is a very small island), she replied "I think I have been there once, but I cannot remember where it was. I know that there were a lot of mosquitos". The answer she gave me shows a lack of interest in the mangroves, and she only remembered a particular (negative) feature of the place.

The level of labour that is needed in the mangroves is very different from that of the beach clean-up, and demands a greater effort. Not only will this activity physically drain the energy out of the body, it also causes clothes and the body to be wet, dirty and smelly. In the mangroves, social interacting while digging and sawing is an art, where the physical condition and the mental state of the body have to communicate well in order to socially interact. Small talk is preserved for the end, but often will be minimized by tiredness.

[15] Referring back to image 1 on page 26 (map of Bonaire).

Combing the visualities of the activity with the level of labour that is needed separates the two activities from each other. The activity in the mangroves calls for a greater level of participating and offers fewer chances to socially interact, compared with the one-hour-beach-clean-up. It seems as if the activity of the mangrove maniacs is less known, or perhaps less popular, among European Dutch migrants on the island. The point I am trying to uncover is that volunteering on Bonaire for my research participants is not only about undertaking such an activity, but their participation in a particular activity is dependent on the effort that has to be delivered. This means that the importance of volunteering on the island has limits for my research participants. Volunteering is important till a certain point, where one decides if the activity will bring the expected results and feelings with the amount of participation one wants to invest. This raises the question whether volunteering is something important for social purposes or environmental purposes. It could be a combination of both, but it seems that one activity offers more social freedom and movement with less effort for my research participants.

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This chapter showed how individual migrants from the European Netherlands all came with different motivation and incentives to the island, but all can be seen as Bauman's late modern tourist. Bauman's descriptions of this late-modern movement of people are translated into three interesting types of people on the move, which help identify different categories of European Dutch migrants on Bonaire. The literature from Chapter Two and the historical context in Chapter Three helped form a framework in which the ideas of Bauman could translate my research findings into four categories of migrants. Each of the four categories (expatriates, residential tourists, pensionados, and fortune-seekers) have specific characteristics, but they are not static. This means that individuals within a particular category can develop and create new motivations, which creates a different lifestyle than before and lets them gradually move to another category. All four identified categories of European Dutch migrants on Bonaire have a relatively great freedom in movement to and on the island, thus can be considered privileged. This privileged position of Global North migrants on Bonaire became visible during the one-hour-beach-clean-up. Involvement in voluntary work, in which all four categories of European Dutch migrants participate, could show that one has access to time and capital to do this. In addition, it seems that these migrants not only participate for the idea of sustainability, but also have a social aspect in mind. Such an event can be an opportunity for the European Dutch migrant to find more social interaction on the island, or to maintain or expand his existing social network. This chapter indicates a relatively great freedom of the European Dutch migrants on Bonaire, which is typical for this North-South migration; however, these migrants are not always privileged in their freedom of movement. The next chapter investigates what this freedom means in times of a pandemic, and whether this still could be considered then as a freedom.

5. Standing still

The development on 10-10-10 mentioned in Chapter Three, where Bonaire became a public body of the Netherlands, caused a change in the political structure of Bonaire within the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands. The influence of the European Netherlands on the island increased due to polices of good governance, which meant interfering in Bonaire's police force, social security, taxes, fire brigade, public health, state old age pensions, unemployment, youth care, and education. This good governance opened the door for skilled individuals from the European Netherlands (like Merel and Roland), but also attracted a greater variety of European Dutch migrants to the island. An already familiar European Dutch environment on Bonaire, started during times of colonialism, with the arrival of European Dutch customs, language, religion, and people, formed a steady base for migration from the Global North. More and more people from the European Netherlands moved to the island to enjoy those recognizable cultural aspects, but in a more tropical climate. The relative ease in which these migrants can decide to move to the island, and can move on the island, is characteristic for this North-South migration, which symbolizes a movement of privileged migrants from the Global North. It seems as if these migrants have access to a global highway, where one is allowed to move two ways, with favourable regulations and few time restrictions, and are welcomed by their Dutch passport. It seems as if these European Dutch migrants live in a world of freedom, a world wherein movement is not seen as an obstacle, and a world wherein the migrant decides where to go. However, one moment during my time on the island suddenly changed that perspective.

On March 11, 2020, the World Health Organisation (WHO) officially declared, according to their standards, that the world is in possession of a pandemic, "the corona pandemic". COVID-19, an infectious disease caused by a virus that spreads rapidly around the world, originated from China's Hubei province's capital, Wuhan. When I first heard about it, it looked far away. It did not bother me too much, it seemed as if the media was creating a sensationalist story again. However, I was wrong; it quickly changed my whole research schedule, and within a week after the message of the WHO I booked my flight back home. Strangely, I did not book my flight back because the virus had reached the island. I did not book my flight back because the only hospital on the island could not accommodate all people when the virus would hit the island. I booked my flight back home because of the prediction of closing borders. Closing borders meant for me that I would be stuck on the island, nobody knows for how long. Being stuck on the island meant that I could not travel in case of emergency, and for instance family or close friends could not be reached when needed. In this situation I still had the choice to return to the European Netherlands, but this was not the case for every citizen of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The virus showed the (political) boundaries of the Kingdom and emphasized the way those borders function in times of fear. What kind of citizen is allowed to cross the borders within the Kingdom these days, and who is not? The next paragraphs will more closely examine what kind of implications this virus had on the movement of people in general, and specifically on that of my research participants.

5.1 Be aware

'Corona' is a word deriving from Latin, which means 'crown'. This crown does not refer to the traditional symbol made of gold and diamonds, which is carried by an individual who unites a

Kingdom. No, it refers to the characteristic appearance of virions (the infective form of the virus), which is carried by a virus that takes social interaction out of the physical world.

Corona spreads through close contact with someone who is infected or by touching contaminated surfaces and objects. The virus turned out to be a global problem, not a local one, and it has had enormous effect on the way people can move. The contemporary world is highly intertwined with all sorts of connections between places, where new travel technologies make global movement accessible. Imagine a life-threatening microbe that hitches a ride with a person who boards a plane and is on another continent when symptoms of illness strike (Sheller and Urry 2006, 220). “The virus’ DNA is coded to directly attack our deepest neoliberal urges and logics”, the social urge to move or to host gatherings (Manderson and Levine 2020, 369). The global spreading of COVID-19 causes governments to think about the collective and about society; how can the citizens of their country be safe from the virus? It has brought global solutions in the forms of social distancing, restricting business activities, closing public places and closing borders. Political leaders and business owners are forced to decide under enormous pressures what to keep open, what to close, what workers to keep and who to retrench (Manderson and Levine 2020, 367). This is a time where the collective needs to be prioritized over the individual. According to Manderson and Levine (2020, 367), “the fear and panic come less from the risk of infection and more from the growing reality of its fall out”, and what makes COVID-19 unprecedented is the reaction of nation-states to contain viral spread. Especially in an age of heightened mobility and heightened (in)security, the slippery category of community becomes something of great importance; it allows the government to selectively define who is a biological threat, and who can be defined as a “good global health citizen”(Briggs and Nichter 2009): in other words, who qualifies as a citizen (Mason 2012, 127). This brings me to an interesting situation within the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands, where Bonaire functions as a public body of the European Netherlands, where the citizens of both places have Dutch passports, but are treated differently when they want to travel.

5.2 Do not move

A solution for a government to protect their citizens against the virus is closing the borders for incoming travellers. This results in heavy regulations and restrictions for incoming planes, boats, and cars. Closing the borders of the European Netherlands means that only people who are registered in the European Netherlands can return to the country, and nobody can leave the country without the approval of the government. This also means that Dutch citizens of Bonaire cannot enter the European Netherlands. Therefore, it seems that in prosperous times, Bonaire and the European Netherlands are closely connected and share the same passport that offers freedom in movement within the boundaries of the Kingdom, but in times of a pandemic, they both have clear borders that cannot be crossed with that same passport. The effect of the virus on the world gave an insight into the mobility of the citizens of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, where the apparent freedom of privileged migrants from the Global North seemed not so privileged anymore. My research participants, most of whom are registered on the island (besides the residential tourists), became in various ways immobile on the island.

The daily lives of the islanders on Bonaire have been drastically changed by the effects of COVID-19. People can no longer leave the island, and people are restricted in their movement on the island. This means for the European Dutch migrant that they can no longer move between two places, between the European Netherlands and Bonaire. The close connections with the European

Netherlands become more distant, family and friends are now physically out of reach, and holiday plans for the upcoming summer are out of the window. The awareness of the inability to travel can have a great mental impact on people, when for instance, family or friends who live in another country who get ill, or maybe even die, cannot be reached. This results in a social, emotional, and physical immobility and inability to leave the island for most of my research participants. However, the freedom of movement of my research participants on the island is also limited now. One of the measures against the virus is social distancing: not only should someone always keep 1.5 metres' distance from others, but social interacting with groups is not allowed anymore. Therefore, Roland and Merel cannot enjoy the company of the 'curry club' these days. And what about volunteering? Volunteering on the island has been temporarily stopped as a precaution. This means that another social aspect of the life of the European Dutch migrant on the island has been disabled by the virus. Interestingly, "doing something back for the island" means in this situation to stay home, and staying home is more focused on the safety of the islanders than on the island itself (unlike what paragraph 4.3.1 indicated). The loss of social interaction of my research participants makes them socially and physically immobile. Little room to physically move and lesser opportunities to socially interact makes a small island even smaller. It is a time of uncertainty and fear; nobody knows for how long the virus will stay and nobody knows where the virus will be, or already is. This uncertainty can be reinforced by the idea that the island has only one hospital with limited facilities for a relatively great number of people. When I left the island, COVID-19 was not yet detected on Bonaire, but what if the virus reaches the island? One cannot go anywhere else than the island; one is trapped. The residential tourist will go home to the European Netherlands, where they are registered, where their income is coming from, and where they can shake off this experience. However, the other three groups of European Dutch migrants are 'stuck' on the island. Luckily, it is a tropical island with lots of activities to do, where plenty of bars and restaurants can be found, and… oh wait… that has all changed too. On the bright side of this pandemic, Roland and Willem can enjoy the quietness of the island again, and one of the residential tourists will see the island becoming temporarily less crowded (if he is still on the island).

All the restrictions and regulations for fighting the virus on the island mean that there is no holiday for tourism at this moment on Bonaire. An island that is almost completely dependent on tourism to keep the local economy going is, in times of Corona, disrupted. No more planes or cruise ships mean no more tourists, and no more tourists means no income. Bonaire needs tourism to keep the island's economy alive, or with other words, to keep its inhabitants alive. All islanders are economically struck by this disaster; many have lost their job or missed out on income; it seems if the island itself became a place of immobility because of the virus. The fortune-seeker in this case is maybe struck the most of the four categories, focused on the example of Gordon. Gordon is dependent on opportunities coming from tourism to find his success. Fortunately for Gordon, the Statute obliges the European Netherlands to promote human rights and good governance for the public body of Bonaire. This form of good governance became visible in a plan of an emergency package for entrepreneurs and employees in the Caribbean Netherlands, at the end of March 2020 (Rijksoverheid 2020). Eventually, the Cabinet of the European Netherlands decided that companies and entrepreneurs on Bonaire may be eligible for contribution to labour costs and liquidity support (Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland 2020). This is also one of the advantages of being a public body, instead of an autonomous country, within the boundaries of the late-modern Kingdom of the Netherlands. However, this only brings support on a temporary basis.

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Sometimes it seems as if things are what they look like, but those things look different in another light. While access to time and capital seems to be an indication of being privileged, and often is, this can, in times of a pandemic, be of lesser importance. Being able to move is what seems privileged, and therefore, not being able to move can feel like exclusion. COVID-19 not only hinders people in their movement, it also shows the (political) relations between countries, specifically within a late-modern Kingdom. Borders are becoming more visible than ever before, and the status of 'the citizen' is being challenged. New communication and travel technologies are becoming more important in times of a pandemic, where they enable the distribution of connections at a distance that are key in holding social life together (Sheller and Urry 2006, 208). Therefore, not only is the historical context of a place needed to understand how people became part of the place, not only is it needed to understand what kind of mobility patterns are required to reach that place, but also a virus was needed to uncover a hidden layer in 'being privileged'. It means that the seemingly privileged freedom in movement of the European Dutch migrants on Bonaire has restrictions and is limited.

So…

"Sometimes we need a disaster to show what the real world looks like,

sometimes we need to experience distance to understand what is close,

and sometimes we need to stand still in order to move on."[16]

[16] My words.

6. Arrivals of European Dutch

The cradle of this research can be found in a specific moment two years ago, where a close friend of mine suddenly chose to migrate to Bonaire. I was intrigued by his motivation to do this, and wanted to know what made this possible to do, and what impact it had on his life. My interest in his journey was reinforced by readings on anthropology of mobility, where ideas of being mobile are discussed, and show how mobility is structured and envisioned in our contemporary world.

Reading literature about mobility, and specifically migration, helped me narrow down my research aim. It became clear that my friend was part of a larger but relatively unknown form of migration, namely the North-South migration. This form of North-South migration takes place in a specific context, the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands, where he migrated from the European Netherlands to Bonaire. Not only is the form of mobility important to understand his movement, but also one needs to know that his movement takes place in a fast-paced era full of developing global technologies, systems, and policies that connect different parts of the world with each other. Sheller and Urry (2006) bring more detail and depth to this understanding, where they speak of a 'new mobilities paradigm', and argue that communication and travel technologies have enabled the distribution of connections at a distance, and those distant connections are key in holding social life together. Sheller and Urry made a striking observation in this 'new mobilities paradigm', where they think that travel is becoming part of the complex patterning of people's social activities, where it seems that travel becomes necessary for social life and becomes a lifestyle. This is exactly what I experienced on the island: different European Dutch migrants who created various lifestyles around their (freedom in) movement. However, due to the little existing literature about North-South migration within Dutch Caribbean Studies, it was not clear what kind of forces drive, restrict and produce this mobility.

My friend is part of a movement within the boundaries of the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands. This Kingdom has a broad history, in which colonialism formed a crucial part. The times of the WIC and VOC (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) were times where the Kingdom expanded towards the Global South, and six Caribbean islands first became colonies of the European Netherlands and later on became part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (including Bonaire). Some crucial moments in history politically structured the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the way it functions on this moment. Important here is that particular shifts in power relations between the European Netherlands and the former six Caribbean islands formed and structure the political environment of the Kingdom, which is key for the movement of my friend. The new political status of Bonaire, as a public body of the European Netherlands, made way for an annually increasing North-South migration from the European Netherlands to the island. Three aspects in the development of the Kingdom are crucial in the motivations and incentives of the European Dutch migrants:

1. The new political status of Bonaire in 2010 opened the door for the European Netherlands's government to interfere in the island's police force, social security, taxes, fire brigade, public health, state old age pensions, unemployment, youth care and education. This increased the island's demand for skilled migrants of the Global North.

2. The colonial history of Bonaire within the Kingdom of the Netherlands had already brought European Dutch customs, language, religion, and people to the island. This created an environment with recognizable European Dutch elements in a tropical climate.
3. Because Bonaire is directly part of the European Netherlands, which includes a Dutch passport, it is relatively easy to move to and register on the island for a European Dutch migrant. It takes weight off the decision to migrate and leaves the word 'permanent' out of residency.

A more detailed translation of the different incentives and motives of the European Dutch migrant on Bonaire, based on push and pull factors, is described in Chapter Three of this thesis.

At this moment in my research it became more clear what kind of forces drive, restrict and produce this form of migration, but this did not reveal anything about who these individuals are. On February the fifth 2020, I travelled, like my friend, from the European Netherlands to Bonaire, packed with bags for three months and a research question to answer:

Which kind of mobility patterns and motives to move emerge in the process of the North-South migration from the European Netherlands to Bonaire of people that have no hereditary ties with the island?

My movement on the island was all about interacting, networking and socializing with European Dutch migrants. I came in contact with these migrants by means of snowball sampling during qualitative research and used the environment of the island to find more research participants by melting the ball. Conducting semi-structured interviews, using participant observation, engaging in small talk, and just observing the island and its inhabitants helped me to understand these different migrants on another level. Therefore, the combination of fieldwork with examined literature made me able to form different and detailed categorizations of the European Dutch migrants present on the island.

The thoughts of one individual formed a source of inspiration and support during my examination of the literature and during my time on the island; that individual was sociologist and philosopher Zygmunt Bauman. Bauman's explanation (1996), that people always have been on the move with different reasons and varying motivations, helped in explaining how migrants are involved in various ways of movement. Specifically, when he talked about people who can move in relative freedom and have access to resources. I used his idea of a late-modern tourist to understand and describe the European Dutch migrants on Bonaire. Bauman used, besides the late-modern tourist, other metaphorical types (Stroller, Vagabond, and Player) to explain how modern society has changed the way people travel, and this gave an extra level of understanding why the European Dutch migrants move, but did not explain anything about who these people are. Some literature about North-South migration (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán 2017; Salazar 2013; Walsh 2010) offered me a prediction of three types of migrants in the movement from the European Netherlands to Bonaire: expatriates, residential tourists, and pensionados. All three types are identified on the island, but I noticed that a fourth type was needed that formed a less clear and overarching category of people with varying motives without a definable timetable: 'the fortune-seeker'. This means that four categories of European Dutch migrants (expatriates, residential tourists, pensionados and fortune-seekers) can be discerned in the migration from the European Netherlands to Bonaire. All four categories are generally very typical of that of Bauman's contemporary tourist, which makes them the same. All four categories have specific incentives, motives, access to time and capital, and freedom in

movement, what sets them apart from another. All four categories are in some way connected with volunteering on the island, which connects them again with each other. Keep in mind that these categories are dynamic concepts, in which there can be a partial or total shift between the categories, in which for example, an expatriate can become a residential tourist over time.

After participating in two different activities of volunteering on the island, I began to notice that sustainability was not the only motive to participate for the European Dutch migrant. Motives to participate in volunteering on the island for the European Dutch migrant seem to contain a desire for social interaction. The purpose of these two activities was sustainability, but the means appears to have more social aspects. A desire exists for "doing something back for the island" among my research participants, but the pull factor of the activity is the social aspect of it. Findings from my observant participation during those activities showed that these activities were an opportunity for European Dutch migrants on the island to make social connections and reinforce existing networks. The composition of people during the activities mainly consists of migrants, which in all probability has something to do with their access to time and capital. This access makes them privileged in their movement on the island and makes them part of the fast lane of social life.

Not only does their access to time and capital indicate a privileged position as a migrant, but the ease with which they can move between the European Netherlands and Bonaire makes them more privileged. Interestingly, in times of a pandemic this idea of a privileged migrant from the Global North is not so privileged anymore.

In the beginning of March 2020, the global Corona pandemic (COVID-19) made the world a place of fear, uncertainty, and immobility. It made countries close their borders, it forced governments to introduce social restrictions to the public, and it increased the visibility of boundaries and borders. This meant for Bonaire that tourism was no longer welcome on the island, and limited possibilities existed for people to return to their home country. In other words, the largest and most important feature of the island's local economy was disabled, and the seemingly privileged freedom in movement of the European Dutch migrant on the island was immobilized because they are registered on the island. One who normally moved in ease and freedom to places within the boundaries of the Kingdom is now restricted to following directions to designated and controlled areas. The effect of this global pandemic shows how an interconnected late-modern Kingdom emphasizes borders within the boundaries of the Kingdom in times of fear. This means that the freedom in movement of the European Dutch migrants on Bonaire has restrictions and is limited.

Finally

Conducting research with people is always challenging. A relationship between researcher and research participant is dependent on a basis of trust, a balance of give and take, and a form of empathy that allows one to describe the other. During this research, it helped me to create trust by being transparent about my research aim and methods. Trust allowed me to enter one's world of life, and here I could prove my willingness of finding empathy. Being present in one's world of life allowed me to perform participant observation, a crucial part in describing the other. However, my field of research is one that needs caution and understanding. Colonialism is a recurring and sensitive topic within this field of research, and I took my position as European Dutch citizen into account when doing research. Another thing that proved to be difficult for myself is that I tried to avoid a position of being judgemental about my research participants. By describing the other, one indirectly

forms a judgement about the things one sees and experiences in the other's world of life, and eventually puts them in a category (which no human likes). Luckily, a category is more a guideline than a portrait. Literature used in this research helped in forming an anthropological lens to see and understand migration on a different level. It enabled me to see a large amount in a short period of time and gave me a base on which I could fall back.

The findings of this research can be used as additional literature in Dutch Caribbean Studies and Anthropology of Mobility, with a focus on North-South migration. Dutch Caribbean Studies can draw from this research to form a deeper and broader understanding of the movement from the metropolis, European Netherlands, to the Caribbean, and specifically to Bonaire. This study not only offers a description of why these people can move, and why that movement has intensified in the last ten years, but also who these people are who move. The understanding of this annually increasing form of migration, with different types of migrants, can help in future policies pertaining to the way the Kingdom is governed. However, this research has not focused on the receiving population's experience of this increasing migration. Therefore, it is crucial that future research examines the receiving population on Bonaire to form a more 'complete' picture of this specific form of migration, which can eventually be used together with the findings of this research. Using snowball sampling for finding new research participants turned out to be effective in this kind of research and environment and can be recommended as a technique in a follow-up study on the experience of the receiving population. For Anthropology of Mobility, it is interesting to see that a new category of North-South migrant can be established, namely the fortune-seeker. This is an overarching category that needs further examination. However, one must remember that the categories mentioned in this research tend to overlap with each other and sometimes even shift completely. The migrants within these categories are not static and develop over time, as it seems that travel is becoming a lifestyle for them.

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