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”WE HAVE SPACE FOR YOU”

Promoted migration and selective inclusion?

Dutch migration in a Swedish context

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Abstract

Every year, a big number of Swedish municipalities market themselves through an Emigration fair in Holland, with the aim to attract Dutch workforce, or more generally, bring new inhabitants to their respective region. In the marketing campaigns, specific stereotypic images of Sweden emerge, that are said to be specifically attractive to the putative Dutch migrants. The municipal representation in the fair began in 2006, and since then the participation has been steadily high and well documented in local newspapers and other media. This study, through a discourse analysis of press material from 2006-2019, investigates which kinds of narratives that are being created around Dutch migrants, and how these can be understood to relate to images of 'Swedishness' and it is further explored how ideas of 'Europeanness' and 'whiteness' come to play through these. The study finds that alongside ideas of shared 'European values', a perceived similarity between Dutch and Swedish 'culture' and values influence the ways these migrants are understood to be able to contribute to Swedish society and welfare. This perceived likeness can be seen as strongly shaped by notions of 'whiteness', of the Swedish nation and of the Dutch migrants, as portrayed in the material. At the same time as creating a sense of belonging and basis for inclusion for some, this simultaneously forms boundaries for exclusion of groups of people that are created as 'different' or 'Other'.

Key words: Intra-EU migration, skilled work, bordering practices, gender, 'whiteness'

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1. Introduction

"The exhibition hall smells of spruce. Recorded blackbird song and sparkling water flow from speakers. Here are also small falu red cottages with white corners. The information booths attracts with slide shows and panoramic images. According to [name], information manager in the municipality, visitors like what they see. - When they see Kinna in the pictures, the reaction is "wow".

Östgöta correspondenten 2011-02-16 (my translation¹)

This thesis sets out to investigate what kinds of narratives that have been and are currently taking shape around the particular phenomenon of Dutch migration to Sweden in the last two decades, in the form of mass media coverage and news paper articles. It situates these in a context of larger predominating discourses on migration in Sweden and Europe today and explores how the emerging narratives relate to ideas about national identity, cultural values and belonging, and furtherer analyses how different exclusionary and inclusionary practices are built around these.

Dutch migration to Sweden has been growing in high proportion since the turn of the millennium, presumably partly as a consequence of Sweden joining the EU some years earlier, but also explained by a number of socio-economical so called push- and pull factors that will be discussed further on in this thesis. Holland has since the early 2000's been acknowledged for an overall relatively high emigration rate amongst its population (van Dalen & Henkens 2007), and Sweden has been one of the most common destinations for this emigration (Eiermann 2017:121). Between the years of 1995 and 2012 the number of Dutch moving from Holland to Sweden increased by 180 percent, as such representing a bigger relative increase than the number of Dutch emigrating to neighboring countries such as Germany and Belgium, and also largely higher than the Dutch emigration to other Scandinavian countries (ibid.).

This particular migratory relationship between Sweden and Holland can, probably as both cause and consequence, also be seen in the high representation of Swedish municipalities and employers in Emigrantien Beurs (Emigration Expo), an emigration fair held yearly in the

¹ All quotes that will be presented in this thesis were originally in Swedish and have been translated to English by me.

Dutch town of Houten on the outskirts of Utrecht. The overall aim of the fair is to match jobseekers with employers and in other ways facilitate the emigration process, mainly between countries within Europe, but to a smaller extent also to countries outside of Europe. Since 2006, when the first Swedish municipality entered the stage of the fair with the aim to recruit new workforce, the Swedish participation has been growing more or less steadily. In the latest expo, held in February 2020, close to one third of all Swedish municipalities were represented (Emigration Expo 2020). The municipalities participating span from different parts of the country, but the majority are situated in rural and more sparsely populated areas of Sweden (ibid.).

In news media and official information leaflets, these initiatives are most often described as success stories, and the migration from Holland is posed as a remedy for issues of drastic depopulation and shrinking tax bases for local welfare services. One factor that seems to be extra highlighted in the the Swedish regional marketing is Sweden's supposed abundance of space. This corresponds well with the fact that Holland has a high population density, which is often used to explain its high emigration rates (van Dalen & Henkens 2007). Accordingly, in one of the Expo editions, the message 'We have space for you' formed the main slogan of one of the participating regions (Modin 2013).

This statement stands in strong contrast to another story about migration, dominating the public talk on migration in both Sweden and the EU today. In this version, Europe is portrayed to be 'flooded' or 'invaded' by 'waves' of uncontrolled migration, posed as a severe threat to the welfare state and evoking sentiments of 'true belonging' (Yuval-Davies et al 2019). In this story, as stated, there is definitely no abundance of space for 'migrants'. This kind of rhetoric was reinforced with the so called 'refugee crisis' in 2015, but has long before that applied to both refugees, asylum seekers and so called 'economic migrants' or 'irregular/illegal migrants'. In these stories, discussions on cultural differences tend to identify and essentialize difference, deviancy and remoteness to certain kinds of migrants, and consolidate ideas of normality and inferiority (Schierup & Ålund 2011) and it is to these, 'problematic' and 'culturally remote' migrants that dominant discourses and debates on migration seem to refer. At the same time there are assumptions made about the migration that is not seen as 'problematic', which can be strongly linked to certain forms of 'whiteness'². As whiteness

² When using the concept 'whiteness' throughout this thesis, I refer to it primarily as a social construction, but choose here to use it without citation marks in order to create a more fluent reading.

refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed, this creates a kind of 'invisibility' that can be seen to constitute a central aspect of white privilege, seen not the least in migration policy and discourse (Lundström 2014).

There are undoubtedly crucial differences between the different forms of migration as categorized above, such as asylum migration and the intra European migration that the Dutch migration to Sweden studied in this thesis represents. This regards not only the dominating driving forces, motives and conditions prior to migrating, but also distinct legal frameworks and regulations that applies differently to different categories of migrants. However, these crucial differences notwithstanding, two very different stories about Sweden and EU emerge in relation to migration, connoted with asylum seekers and 'economic migrants' on the one hand, and on the other, affluent migrants, mainly from Western Europe or other parts of the world seen as belonging to 'the West'. The discrepancy between these different stories, or discourses, can be seen as the point of departure for this thesis and the questions posed herein.

Feminist thinkers and scholars have been deeply engaged in questions about the inherently gendered and racialized aspects of the construction of nation states (see e.g. Yuval-Davies 1997, Sharma 2015) and their ties to notions of belonging (Anderson 2013;2015, Westwood 2000). This research is often embedded in or overlapping with postcolonial theory (through a feminist lens) and offer understandings of how ideas of nation, nationhood and national belonging are also deeply affected by structures where 'race' and racialization alongside with gender are still influential (Puwar 2004). To investigate narratives on Dutch migration in Sweden through a feminist, postcolonial framework is relevant for the field of gender studies because it shows how notions of gender is central to issues regarding national belonging, but also belonging to communities such as 'the West' or 'Europe'. As these in turn so crucially shape debates, policies and discourses on migration, as will be discussed throughout this theses, gender can be seen to play an important role in deconstructing these discourses.

1.1 Aim and research questions

The aim of this study is to explore the connections between ideas surrounding national identity, cultural values and belonging, specifically in terms of ideas regarding 'Swedishness' and 'Europeanness', and dominating discourses on migration in Sweden today. More

specifically, I want to, through the narratives around Dutch migration to Sweden, investigate how ideas of ‘Swedishness’ and ‘Europeanness’, are mobilized and how they might play a part in the creating and upholding of boundaries that have an inclusionary function for some, and works as a basis of exclusion for others. This research aim translates into several research questions:

- What kinds of narratives have been and are currently taking shape around Dutch migration to Sweden, and around Dutch migrants?
- Which ideas are expressed about Swedish identity in such narratives?
- How do these relate to ideas about European identity and ‘Europeanness’ and how can this be understood in the light of currently dominating discourses on (perceived ‘problematic’ or ‘undesirable’) migration?
- How can these narratives be seen to relate to particular forms of (Swedish/European) ‘whiteness’ and notions of gender?

1.2 Delimitations

During the course of writing this thesis, a friend of mine made an important comment, wondering if it was not obvious that the Swedish municipalities in their aim to attract new inhabitants, prioritize when they can, Dutch migrants before ‘others’? This, my friend argued, would be due to what one could assume about Dutch labour migrants; education levels, language skills, being European, being more informed about welfare systems in general, having similar work place experiences, etc., than many other people migrating to Sweden, including from other parts of Europe. This was a helpful contribution to my writing process, as if not explicating these questions, they would probably at least for some, remain through the reading like ‘the elephant in the room’. I think this comment points to some of the core themes of this thesis, and some of its limitations, that need unraveling.

Firstly, this thesis do not set out to criticize or value the strategies or practices the individual regions engage in in their aim to attract new inhabitants. The regions represented in this study are mainly so called rural or sparsely populated regions or municipalities. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to further develop a discussion around it, but it needs mentioning that the relation between urban and rural locations should not be viewed as neutral, but can be argued to involve strong power dimensions (Flora et al 1999). This relates

to notions of *center* and *periphery*, by which the rural municipalities, in all their difference and particularity, can be seen as in some particular ways dependent on the bigger cities and regions, both in terms of economic dominance, political control and cultural norms (ibid.). I do not wish to engage in any judgement about the problem definitions or presented solutions made by the regions and municipalities. Neither should different types of migration (such as asylum migration and Intra EU labour migration) be positioned as in opposition to each other, as it would be simplifying and misleading.

Secondly, there are practical implications that probably remain important in the choices of targeting specifically Dutch migrants to the regions, such as legal framework regarding EU-citizens for work and migration, pre-given knowledge among the presented Dutch migrants in the rural areas they migrate to (due to e.g. tourism patterns and geographical closeness) and the, at least as portrayed, willingness to buy country side houses and property in areas of depopulation.

However, I do find it important despite but also *because of* the perceived obviousness in the 'selection' of certain migrants and their perceived qualities and traits, to investigate precisely these perceptions, ideas and portrayals, or *narratives* as I have chosen to call them. This being said, and as will be mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, this study does not reveal anything about the 'actual' socioeconomic, demographic, or other, status of the Dutch people who have migrated to Sweden during the period of time investigated, nor does it claim to say anything about these peoples lived experiences of migrating and living in Sweden. It will draw upon a few other research projects that investigates these subjects, but the material I have used for analysis are only regarded as descriptions or representations, and it is to these representations that I turn my interest.

1.3 Conceptual discussion

The figure of 'the migrant' as portrayed in (Western) literature, research and media, tends to carry with it particular connotations that primarily relate to the 'non-privileged', the 'problematic' and the one who's movement or presence is considered 'a problem' (Lundström 2014:1). These discourses are not only problematizing but also tend to hide the heterogeneous identities of the portrayed migrants. On the other hand, terms such as 'lifestyle migration' or 'professional mobility' has traditionally been celebrated and described in positive terms, and been associated to the 'modernity of an open society' (Castles 2010:1567)

This points at a ‘slack and slippage in terminology’ within migration discourse and migration research (Benson & O’Reilly 2016:25) as ”skilled migrants are also economic migrants; and that those fleeing poverty and starvation are often also relatively skilled” (ibid.). Even if many people are on the move, crossing national borders, living and working abroad, having multiple residents etc., only some of these movements are understood primarily as ‘migration’.

Anderson (2019:2) argues that this biased understanding of migration poses an ethical problem to migration scholars, as the way of categorizing ‘migrants’ and ‘migration’ in research risks to tap into these problematizing discourses and understandings. As migration research most often focus on ‘the poor and subordinated’ these hence become subjectified as ‘the (problematic) migrants’. This highlights how migration research when categorizing different kinds of migration itself contributes to, constitutes and shape migration discourse.

When writing on Dutch migration and migrants, that are in my material portrayed as relatively affluent and resourceful, I might risk to reinforce a binary between non-privileged and privileged migrants, resourceful and without resources etc., as implicitly posing these categorizations of migration in relation to each other. This, even if the aim with this study is to problematize specific categorizations of migrants and migration. I will focus on a group of migrants that are in different ways portrayed as included and ‘belonging’ in a given context, and will implicitly refer to groups of people that are constructed as ‘non-belonging’. Exclusion from citizenship and/or other markers of belonging, and the subsequent negation of legal status and civil rights should however not be equated with lacking subjectivity or agency to resist. Nor should it be assumed that being an ‘outsider’ with no rights of citizenship means that those without legal or social rights do not have other attachments, forms of belonging and other political projects of (self)governance" (Yuval Davies et al 2019:9).

2. Background

Migration discourse in all its complexity lies at the core of what this thesis sets out to investigate. To create a more nuanced understanding around dominating narratives on Dutch labour migrants in Sweden today, these narratives need to be contextualized within a larger framework of migration debate and policy in Sweden and in the EU, contemporary and previous. This is a complex, sometimes contradictory development, and an ever-changing interplay between the national, the regional and the global (Sager 2011:33). I will not be able

to cover it fully, but will briefly outline some important changes and events in relation to how migration debates and policies have been taking shape in EU and in Sweden in recent time. This will be followed by a short background on the Swedish representation in the Emigration Expo and a brief notion on regional development policy in Sweden.

2.1 Migration debate and policy in the EU

One of the cornerstones in the EU development and collaboration has been the principle of the free movement, with the objective that not only capital, goods and services, but also people, should be facilitated to move between member countries relatively freely, and this principle has been intrinsic to the whole EU-project (van Ostaijen & Scholten 2018).

The shaping of the EU collaboration taking place in the aftermaths of the World Wars had strong economical incitements, as the first term for it, the European Economic Community (EEC) suggests. To create a large scale market and competitive production, which was the founding logic of the EEC collaboration, required not only the free flows of goods, capital and services, but also the access to a more fluid work force, and migration was mainly managed as a tool for economical build up, in the name of labor migration (Hansen 2008:39).

This freedom of movement is albeit not free for all people residing in the EU, but reserved for citizens of the member states, thus not including so called third country nationals (TCN), people that have migrated to a EU country from a country outside of the Union, but not gained citizenship, thus residing legally or illegally in the EU area (Schierup et al 2006). As the freedom of crossing borders within the EU territory, at least theoretically, means that anyone trespassing the external borders of the EU-region could have access to entry any of the member countries, this has been followed by public and political anxiety of an uncontrolled influx of so called 'irregular migrants' to the EU (ibid.). Thus, the project of demarcating the EU borders internally, have been closely and continuously connected to the process of strengthening the borders externally (Schierup et al. 2006, Hansen 2008, Ammaturo 2019:553, Lewis & Neal 2005:428). This can be said to form a discursive dichotomy between the freedom of movement within the Schengen-space, and the urge for protecting this space from the threatening 'outside' of the EU. Such a juxtaposition of the freedom of movement within the EU-territory and a supposedly threatening EU-outside lies at the core of the so called securitization discourse on migration (Welfens 2020:512).

The linking of migration and security, thus the constructing of migration primarily as a security issue with strong connections to international terrorism, has become more dominant in particular since the beginning of the millennium. This has meant that migration within EU political agendas has developed into a security issue (Huysmans 2006), leading to an intensification of the criminalization of irregular migrants and asylum-seekers, who are often portrayed as threatening the safety and security of European countries, and undermining core values of European societies (Yuval-Davies et al 2005:515).

The work on a harmonized asylum and refugee policy within the EU that began in the 1970s, became strongly reinforced and intensified in the course of the 1980s and came into legal force and function during 1990s, through the signing of the Maastricht Treaty 1991, the implementation of the Dublin convention 1990 and the launching of the Schengen treaty in 1995 (Johansson 2005:153-154). In the end of the 1980's the number of asylum seekers in Europe increased strongly, as the result of a number of intense conflicts and state breakdowns, and as international travel became easier (Anderson 2013:56). More or less all European states answered to this development by strengthening border controls and tightening asylum regulations, which resulted in big numbers of people staying on in Europe as undocumented, 'illegal' immigrants, a status that during this period became increasingly noticed as a growing political issue, not the least by extreme right and racist movements (Schierup et al 2006:32). The development for a more harmonized perception of and policy on asylum migration among member states signaled a strong emergence of the construction of migration as a common 'European' 'problem' and 'crisis' (Huysman 2006:67).

The Maastricht Treaty also marked a new direction in EU policy at large, and can be seen as an important EU-ideological crystallization, as it in a more uniform way than before paved way for market adjustments, prioritizing of economic growth and efficiency, and deep cut backs in welfare systems. 'Social exclusion', a central term in the 'new social model' of the EU, now became directly conceptualized as *exclusion from the labor market*, and both cause and remedy for such exclusion became increasingly constructed as an individual responsibility. Terminology shifted, and concepts such as social equality and social rights were replaced by terms as employability, flexibility and moral obligation of the individual (Schierup et al 2006:61).

While it has become increasingly difficult to enter the EU by legal means due to stricter asylum and visa regulation, there has also been a development in which bigger focus is placed on the establishment of asylum and integration projects in third countries, that is outside of

the EU territory. This includes supranational collaboration on strengthened border controls at the external EU-border, and more more efficient practices regarding repatriation of rejected asylum seekers (Schierup et al 2006:75-76). Hence, a stronger focus is placed on keeping (certain) migrants from entering the EU-region. The most recent developments, in writing, is the 'new migration pact' with proposals for legislative changes to make possible a screening procedure at the external border (EU Commission 2020), thus opening up for assessment of asylum claims and carrying out the legal asylum process *before* entering the EU region.

2.2 Migration debate and policy in Sweden

Sweden has for long been internationally well reputed for its seemingly open and generous migration- and integration politics, often described in terms of, and as part of a 'Swedish exceptionalism' (Edenborg 2020), also referring to comprehensive and equitable gender-, labor- and welfare policies. However, as many scholars critically argue (see e.g. Schierup & Ålund 2011, Schierup & Scarpa 2017) the systems and policies that this 'exceptionalism' represented have been gradually eroded in the last decades through various neoliberal regulation changes, and become drastically curtailed especially in the changes made after the 2015 refugee (reception) 'crisis' (Dahlstedt & Neergaard 2019, Bech et al 2017, Vogt Isakssen 2020).

Swedish immigration policy took a strong turn in 1975 through the implementation of a new multicultural immigrant policy (invandrarpolitik) that came to replace earlier policies of assimilation (Schmauch 2011:50). Under the slogan 'equality, freedom of choice and partnership' (Schierup et al 2006) relatively generous asylum and family reunification policy were implemented, along side guarantees for fast naturalization and explicitly formulated ideas of promoting forms of social inclusion that respected and made use of cultural and social resources of migrants (Schierup & Ålund 2011:47). The reform was in many ways progressive in its focus on social and civic rights and of the aim of making these equally accessible for migrants as for Sweden's native born population. It has albeit been pointed out that the multicultural policies implemented through the reform, were built upon, and reinforced essentialist conceptions of (immigrant) culture, and even in its ambition to encourage diversity and create positive connotations to ethnical pluralism, it albeit subordinated migrant populations as deviant and inferior in relation to national 'Swedish' normality (Schierup & Ålund 1991, Schmauch 2011).

Until the 1980s most immigration to Sweden was compounded mainly by labor migration, while other forms of migration such as asylum and refugee migration was more or less invisible in political debates and as a political issue (Schierup et al 2006). The 1980's saw an upswing in the numbers of refugees seeking asylum in Sweden, and the question of asylum and refugee migration that had previously quite low-key in political debates, now became a hot topic (Johansson 2005). This growing focus can also be explained by emerging austerity policies in many of the welfare states in the 1980s, Sweden being one of them, putting immigration expenses on the public agenda (Wimark & Hedlund 2017:69-70). Several changes were made in praxis and policies on migration in Sweden during the course of the 1980s, and even if some rules were made more generous in terms asylum for families with children, most of the changes were in a restrictive direction (Spång 2008:96).

The economic crisis of 1991 is often referred to as a symbol and starting point of the neoliberal restructurings made in the Swedish welfare state model. Sweden can be said to have maintained a stronger commitment to the welfare state than other capitalist economies, but has nevertheless embraced neoliberalism (Fahlgren et al 2011:2). Following the economic crisis, the tone harshened towards migration and migrants as a more organized racist-xenophobic opinion grew and several local right wing populist parties were formed, very actively advocating a nationalist xenophobic agenda. During this time, hate crimes aimed at migrants and asylum seekers grew rapidly (Spång 2008:65). The rhetoric of the right wing populism was not isolated to the ERP, but was soon to be adopted by established political parties that began to push for a more restrictive migration politics, referring to the need to follow the public opinion and anchor the politics in what 'the people wanted' (ibid.). Many of the arguments for stricter controls of migrations were albeit not new, but rather a continuation of a rhetoric that had been present already since the beginning of the 1980's (Johansson 2005: 204).

New in the discourse on migration in the 1990s was the explicit formulation on the importance on restricting immigration to uphold an 'ethnic peaceful coexistence' (etnisk samlevnadsfrid) and a stronger focus was put on the importance of 'integration', mainly cast as a responsibility of the individual 'migrant' (Johansson 2005: 191). In 1997, the 'Foreigner Law' (Utlänningslagen) came with strong restrictions on refugee migration and more focus was placed on international collaboration on migration policy and law. This also meant an integration of security and foreign politics with migration politics, and marks important shift

in Swedish migration politics that now became more centered on ideas of ‘helping in the country of origin’ and returning migrants to the ‘home land’ (Spång 2008: 96).

Labor migration, that had been more or less invisible as a political question since the debates in the beginning of the 1970s, became re-actualised at the turn of the millennium. Until now the primary principle in the labor migration policies, mainly shaped by the influence of the labor unions in the 1960s, was that labor migration should only be allowed if the labor demand could not be met by employing domestically, in other words by workers with Swedish nationality (Spång 2008:42). Sweden had during this period of time had one of the strictest labor migration policies among the OECD-countries (Dahlstedt & Neergaard 2019:127). In 2008 a new law regarding labor migration was implemented, giving the individual employer, instead of the authorities, the right to grant work permits and to determine the need to employ work force from non-EU countries. The 2008 regulation change is argued to mark a shift in Swedish migration politics, as it makes the country more open to labour immigration, but is focused on fulfilling the needs of the employer and designed to suit a changeable market by being shaped in a temporary and managed form (ibid.).

Albeit the limitations on refugee migration, the Swedish asylum- and refugee policy can be said to have been fairly generous and non-restrictive, compared with other European countries. However in November of 2015, as a response to the ‘refugee crisis’, the Swedish government made the decision to restrict the entry for asylum seekers through tightened border controls and strongly reduced residence rights for refugees (Hagelund 2020:5,7). The decision was motivated with the referral to a need for a ‘breathing space’ for the Swedish society to cope with the increased migration (ibid.:9), and led to the passing of a three year interim law in June of 2016. The new law came with many restrictions, among them the use of temporary residence permits, stricter self sufficiency requirements and the mobilization of the police force to implement swift expulsions of applicants with legally binding expulsions (Dahlstedt & Neergaard 2019:132). The law, positing Swedish migration policy in level with EU minimum standards (ibid.), was passed for a three year period, and would have expired in July 2019 but was prolonged until 2021 (Regeringen 2019).

2.3 Swedish participation in the Emigration Expo

The use of so called ‘place marketing campaigns’ in which regions promote their area, carried out in Emigration fairs and other marketing events, have become increasingly common among

Swedish rural municipalities since the beginning of the 2000's³. This can be seen in the light of strong trends of population decrease in the major part of Swedish rural municipalities (Niedomysl 2006:698). Along with population decline, these municipalities have also had to cope with an increasingly aging population that is putting pressure on the tax-base and the shifting supply and demand of services that accompany such demographic changes (ibid.). The growing place marketing trend can also be seen as in line with the Swedish regional development politics (regional utvecklingspolitik) in which Swedish regions are viewed as independent actors with high emphasis on efforts to promote their specific qualities and attractions, often expressed in terms of qualities such as strategic location, clean nature, good social environment and vivid business climate, all with the aim to promote economic growth and regional competitiveness (Schough 2008:134). The participation of Swedish municipalities in the Emigration Expo needs to be understood in relation to such politics.

Swedish municipalities and regional authorities have actively sought to attract Dutch migrants, which is shown through their frequent and broad participation in the annual fair in Holland (Eierman 2015). The Emigration Expo started in 1995 in small scale, initiated by a private person as an information market for emigrants and expats. Over the years the information market grew and turned into a large scale fair and in 2010 the concept was sold to a private company specialized in organizing fairs related to emigration, so called expat-communities, and international work recruitment. In organizing the fair, the company collaborate with profit, non profit, governmental organizations and NGO's - like unemployment offices in various countries, EURES, Embassies, local authorities, provinces, municipalities, chamber of commerce, business clubs etc. The Emigration Expo is the biggest of its kind in Europe today (Emigration Expo 2020).

3. Previous research

Through the following section I will situate this study within the research field of Intra EU migration or Intra EU mobility. I will briefly outline some developments within the field, and relevant areas that have been explored. I will then shortly present a few studies in which the significance of whiteness is explored in relation to Intra-EU migration, and after that a smaller

³ There are no clear definitions of rural municipalities (glesbygd) in Swedish policy work, but a common definition that is used refers to the accessibility to service and work, and the term rural municipality (glesbygd) applies to areas where there are more than a 45 minutes car ride to closest town with more than 3000 inhabitants (Glesbygdsverket 2007).

number of studies that investigate specifically Dutch migration, and Dutch migration in a Swedish context.

3.1 Intra-EU migration

Since King (2002) called forth the need to nuance the understandings of motivations and driving forces behind so called intra-EU migration, migration between EU-countries, there have been many names given different categorizations of migratory movements between countries within the European Union. So called intra-EU migration or intra-EU mobility has been thoroughly studied in a variety of contexts, for instance in relation to labour markets and exploitability of EU-workers, particularly regarding Central and Eastern European (CEE) EU-citizens working in western European countries (see e.g. van Ostaijen et al 2018, Fox et al 2015), and in the context of retirement migration (Gustafsson 2001, Gavanas 2016), or more broadly, lifestyle migration (Benson & O'Reilly 2016). Recent research projects have highlighted the social negotiation processes of belonging and identity involved when migrating between countries within the EU, especially in relation to a European/cosmopolitan identity construct (Goulahsen 2017, Quassoli & Dimitriadis 2019), and the role that social imaginaries about the origin and destination countries play in the motivations behind migration (Colletto & Fullin 2019).

3.2 Whiteness in EU-migration

How 'race', and in particular whiteness, affects possibilities and conditions for migrants in the new country of residence, in a European context, has been studied to a smaller extent. Fox et al (2015) in a qualitative study highlights how Eastern European white migrants in the UK, used their whiteness and 'Europeanness' to claim a higher social status and to position themselves more favorably in Britain's racialized status hierarchies. In a similar vein McDowell (2009) points at how whiteness, mediated through class and religion, age and gender, produces hierarchies of whiteness in the British labour market. Van Riemsdijk (2010) in studying Polish nurses living and working in Norway, shows how ethnic and national norms of identity, (white Norwegianness) works to partly *include* (based in Polish whiteness) and partly *exclude* (based in geo-political and historical divisions, combined with stereotypical assumptions about citizens from CEE and their job skills) Polish nurses into the

nation. It further shows how these ideas worked to rationalize their location in relatively low-paid jobs, thus resulting in real and material outcomes in terms of available jobs and career advancements for people from CEE. These rationalizations draw on stereotypes about the privileges of full belonging to the nation and stereotypes that implicitly code Norwegians as 'whiter' than Poles. In addition, the partial inclusion of certain migrants more fully excludes migrants of color who are not able to benefit from white privilege.

3.3 Dutch migration to Sweden

The targeting of Dutch migrants, and the success in attracting Dutch migrants to move to Sweden have been explained by different so called push and pull factors (Eierman et al 2012:333), where similarity in culture and political systems have been explained as the attraction (ibid.), and both 'white flight' (ethnic Dutch peoples decision to move away from areas with a high concentration of non-white migrants) (Bontje & Latten 2005) and a harshening polarized political climate (van Dalen & Henkens 2007) have been explained as pull factors.

In the case of the Dutch migration to Sweden, there are a number of studies carried out within the field of cultural geography with specific focus on rural area development and lifestyle migration (Eierman et al. 2012, Eierman 2015, 2017), and tourism entrepreneurship (van Rooij & Margaryan 2016). Eierman et al (2012) investigate the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of those who moved from the Netherlands to a specific small town province in central Sweden between 2000-2011, in the purpose of investigating international counter-urbanisation trends. Their findings show that the Dutch migrants in their study were mainly adults aged 26–45 years, not many retired, families with children under 18 living at home, with a high and (to a lesser extent) medium level of education, a relatively high level of self-employment, mostly within private services, and that they settled in rural areas rather than in localities (towns). This was seen to interrelate with motives behind moving to the sparsely populated area targeted in the research; the driving force to buy relatively cheap property (which there were resources enough to do) and a relatively high level of self-employment, thus making feasible to work from 'anywhere'.

The motives behind moving to Sweden is explained by Eierman (2015) firstly as influenced by a view on mobility as both economically and socially affordable, due to the targeted migrants being relatively affluent, and as driven by a spirit of adventure. Secondly

the decision to move was generally propelled by perceived overpopulation and lacking of access to rural areas in Holland, and enforced by nostalgic reflections connected to childhood memories and aspirations of self-realisation stimulated by romantic perceptions of rural Swedish everyday life (ibid.).

Eierman (2017) investigates the conditions for, and the outcomes of small-scale tourism entrepreneurship, initiated by Dutch entrepreneurs, and the ways in which their enterprises positively contribute to the economic development of Swedish rural areas. Van Rooij & Margaryan (2016), in exploring the post-migration experiences of Dutch camp-ground owners, highlights how despite these migrants corresponding to the discursive criterions for ideal "cosmopolitan entrepreneurial migrants", they still face integration integration issues that are not accounted for in the dominant employment-centric integration discourses. These integration issues are mainly related to the lack of social connections within the host community, and the migrants in the study often find themselves caught in contradictory narratives, simultaneously being perceived as the "eternal newcomers" by their host communities and as ideal "non-migrants" by the regional authorities (ibid.194). All these projects investigate the Dutch migration in the Swedish context as lifestyle migration, a concept that will be discussed further on this thesis. None of these studies however, investigate the significance of nationality, national identity in these processes, or how notions of 'race' and gender influence theses migrations. Nor is it investigated how these different notions are expressed through the regional marketing campaigns, or the ways that these migrations become constructed in public discourse. I hope by this study to contribute to the field with such understandings.

4. Methodology

My methodological choices, with discourse analysis as a central methodological approach, are rooted in a social constructivist and poststructural view of knowledge, but also problematized through a feminist and postcolonial critique of certain modes of knowledge production having been taken for granted as neutral or objective. In this following chapter I will outline my methodological choices and points of departure. Following that I will present my empirical material and how I have approached it analytically. I will conclude with some epistemological and ethical considerations.

4.1 A social constructionist approach

The term discourse is broadly used, but doesn't have one solitary definition or uniform meaning. The same goes for discourse analysis. Throughout different disciplines and fields of research, its usage and meaning can and do vary, and discourse analysis can thereby be carried out in a variety of ways, as developed from different disciplines and generating different outcomes (Hogan 2013). This difference and variety however, doesn't mean that discourse analysis can be used in any theoretical framework, it is on the contrary closely linked to ontological, epistemological and theoretical ground premises of the roll of language in the social construction of the world (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000). Theory and method can therefore not be separated but needs to be understood and applied in an integrated way (Gee 2014:11).

Most discourse analytical approaches build on a poststructural language philosophy, stating that our access to the world always goes through language. Representations of the world are always built and communicated through language, and in that sense, reality, even if existing beyond language, is given meaning only *through* language. The poststructural branch represents a focus on the fluidness, rather than fixity, of structures. It acknowledges how language patterns and structures can and do change, that they are contingent of historical and social context, *and* that it is through the concrete usage of language that these changes take shape. This means both a focus on the concrete usage of language as a site for contestations and negotiations of the ways to perceive and give meaning to reality, and acknowledging the ways that these processes of meaning-making are directly tied to social practice, and importantly, to the workings of power and power structures (ibid.:15).

4.2 Foucault and discourse analysis

I will mainly draw on the writings of philosopher Michel Foucault, a front figure in developing theory and concepts around discourse analysis, the relation between power and knowledge, and its links to social practice (Hall 1997:46-47, Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000:19). Drawing from the writings of Foucault there is no simple way of defining discourse, but it centers around the unwritten rules and structures which produce specific utterances and statements (Mills 2003:53). Discourse does not simply translate reality into language; rather discourse should be seen as system which structures the way that we perceive

reality. 'Reality' is seen to be *given meaning* only through discourse, and can thereby only be meaningfully understood through discourse (Foucault 1981:67). In this sense, discourse is not about whether something exists or not, but about where meaning comes from (Hall 1997: 45). As meaning shapes and influences what we do, all social practices have a discursive aspect (Foucault 1981:67).

Discourse is seen to be the sphere where the scene is set as to what can be thought and uttered in a given time and context; discourse in that sense governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked and reasoned about (Foucault 1980:112). Some utterances are promoted and encouraged to be in circulation in the public, while others are actively, albeit not always consciously, excluded (Mills 2003:54).

This kind of negotiation or battle over authority between discourses reveals an important linkage between discourse, knowledge and power. Foucault (1980:114) when writing on the centrality of introducing questions of power into the studies of language, argues: "The history which bears and determines us has the form of a war rather than that of a language: relations of power, not relations of meaning" (ibid.). As some statements become thinkable and acceptable through discourse in a given historical moment, these will produce a certain kind of knowledge that acquires authority, a sense of 'truth' (Hall 1997:49).

This view of discourse also places the subject in a decentralized position in relation to knowledge production; it is the discourse, not the subject who speaks it, which produces knowledge. Subjects may speak or produce texts in particular ways, but they always operate within a specific discourse formation, regime of truth, of a particular period and culture (Hall 1997:55). The subject in this view is not seen as an autonomous, sovereign entity, or the 'core of self', but rather as *produced* through discourse.

What has been hitherto described about, and proposed to be, a Foucauldian view of discourse can be seen as the ground for any usage of what is sometimes referred to as 'Foucauldian discourse analysis'. Such a term however, needs to be used with some precaution, as it did not emerge as a method per se (Foucault 1991a:74). This means that there is no uniform guide for how to concretely make use of it in a research project, but instead that a method needs to be creatively developed for each project (Jones 2018:451). The above presented view of discourse and subject should thus be seen as a point of departure for exploring the empirical material as *discourse*, while a more detailed method can be of further use in creating questions to ask in relation to the material. The method I have used in that regard will be presented in the following.

4.3 An applied 'Foucauldian discourse analysis'

In approaching the empirical material analytically, I have been helped by the writings of Gee (2014), offering a more concrete or 'hands on' method of what can be called a 'Foucauldian discourse analysis' (as discussed above). Gee refers to discourse as language-in-use, and as this language-in-use as being about 'saying-doing-being' in relation to the particular context it is connected to, from where it gains meaning (ibid:11, 36). Language is seen to always be political in the sense of being the site where the contestation of social goods (all values held as good or desirable) takes place. In that sense, all discourse analysis must be critical, in the sense that it inquires how power is being distributed through language and discourse (ibid.:87).

To capture the many sides and nuances of discourse, Gee has developed a set of questions to ask in relation to the selected material, consisting of what he calls 'building tasks' and 'tools of inquiry' (ibid.: 140-141). An 'ideal' or 'full' discourse analysis, Gee suggests, would be able to answer a whole range of questions, that he has developed in relation to the 'building tasks' and 'tools of inquiry'. This would however result in a very long and heavy analysis, and this is why questions must be used and filtered through the material, and what seems relevant in relation to the research questions (ibid.). In the following I will briefly outline the questions and concepts I have chosen to focus on in my analysis and which have guided me in directing the focus to certain areas of interests; these are selected 'building tasks' investigated through certain 'tools of inquiry'. *Building tasks* are described as unspoken tasks that writers and speakers take on when they make a certain utterance. I have focused on *identities, relationships, politics* and *connections*, as *building tasks*, and combined them with a set of *tools of inquiry*. This refers to specific ways of asking questions directed towards the selected building tasks. They can be used as a guide to how to ask questions in relation to the material. I have focused on the following *tools of inquiry*:

Situated meanings Referring to how particular language forms take on specific or *situated* meaning in different contexts of use.

Figured worlds A simplified picture of the world, setting up what counts as 'normal', 'typical' or 'natural' in a given context.

Discourses Referring to ways of using language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking etc. and using various symbols, to enact a particular socially recognizable identity.

Conversations (*Big-C Conversations*) Debates in society or within specific social groups that many people recognize and know of

This has resulted in the following four specific questions, in Gees formulation (2014:140-141) that I have used as a guide in analyzing the material;

- How are situated meanings, figured worlds, Discourses and Conversations being used to enact and depict *identities*, as socially significant "kinds of people".
- How are situated meanings, figured worlds, Discourses and Conversations being used to build and sustain, or change or destroy *social relationships*?
- How are situated meanings, figured worlds, Discourses and Conversations being used to create, distribute or withhold social goods, or to construe particular *distributions of social goods* as "good" or "acceptable" or not?
- How are situated meanings, figured worlds, Discourses and Conversations being used to make things and people *connected* or relevant to each other, or irrelevant or *disconnected* from each other?

I find these questions being relevant in relation to my material and research questions, as they focus on both how identities are being depicted, how these identities can be seen to be charged with different kinds of social goods, and how they relate to surrounding discourses and connect to other identities and groupings of people. This translates to my interest in investigating the kinds of (graded) inclusions or exclusions involved in constructions of certain migrating subjects, and what privileges these constructs and subsequent practices either facilitate to entail or close out.

4.4 Empirical material and selection

The empirical material to be analyzed, consists of news paper items and articles (195) covering Dutch migration to Sweden specifically in relation to the Emigration Expo in Utrecht. The selection has been based in material relating to the emigration fair in Utrecht for two reasons. Firstly it serves to give a time frame that corresponds to my research questions; as the Swedish participation in the fair began in the early 2000's, and this is the time when Sweden became operating members in the Schengen treaty, and hence when the 'free movement' of European citizens became actualized in a concrete sense in Swedish politics and public debate. It is also in the early 2000's that Dutch migration to Sweden started to take larger proportions (Eierman 2017). Secondly the emigration fair, or rather the Swedish representation in the fair, as a practice that promotes certain kinds of migrations, also frames my interest in exploring in which ways these Dutch migrants, in their desirability to the Swedish representatives, are constructed.

The material reaches back to 2006, and spans to 2020, thus representing the time period from the year when a Swedish municipality participated in the expo for the first time, and until present time. All quotes were originally in Swedish and have been translated into English by me. As the number of article material is big (195 pieces) I have made a selection based on the themes I have found relevant for my analysis. That is, reading the material I have found some recurring narratives which I have sorted under six different headlines, *work and employment*, *competition for skills*, *entrepreneurs*, *cultural closeness*, *images of Sweden*, *migration as contribution*. I have then gone through the material again and selected five articles that I found specifically representative of each theme. This selection process has left me with a more perspicuous and manageable material for the analysis process. The themes I found were recurring throughout the material, and I find them to represent the material as a whole, but there were however a few (5) exceptions to the themes I found, that have been left out of the analysis. These were articles with a more critical stance, or that situated the recruitment of Dutch work force in relation to asylum migration and questioned the ethics in municipal participation in the Expo. These themes and the views they represent lie beyond the scope of this thesis, but would be interesting to further investigate.

I have used the search words 'emigrationsmässa Holland', 'emigrationsmässa Utrecht' and 'emigrantmässa Holland' or 'emigrantmässa Utrecht' (two ways of translating emigration expo to Swedish). The latter gave more results, but to a high extent showed the same items.

I have used two search engines, one open and one requiring registration, a specialized mass media database with access to locked and/or archived articles. The database gave access to articles different than the ones I could access through the open search, especially items dating back more years. I have used material from both sources, and sorted out duplicates.

The big majority of the press material come from local news papers or radio, meaning news media based in smaller towns and regions, with a focus on local news and events. These items are normally of a shorter, more descriptive character, but a few have the form of a chronicle or opinion piece. A smaller number of the media items (9) represent news papers with a national coverage, three different, being among the biggest and most established Swedish newspapers, often of more length and sometimes with more critical perspectives. Another few (6) are derived from magazines, often web based, focusing on a special field, such as welfare issues, trade and industry, or environmental sustainability. I have chosen to include all of these different kinds of publications to reach a certain amplitude in the material, as I wish to investigate public discourses in a broad sense, and not as tied to any specific organization or group of people, as can be the case in other discourse analytical studies.

4.5 Epistemological discussion

Feminist writers and scholars have during a long course of time made important contributions to the development of epistemological approaches in the social sciences (see e.g. Haraway 1988, Harding 1992, Hill-Collins 1997). This has resulted in many different influential discussions on the ways that gender and other structures of power are related to knowledge and knowledge production. This development should not be understood as one linear process, but rather as taking place in continuous dialogue and through and ongoing 'contest and relationships' and creating a variety of different feminist epistemologies (Hemmings 2005:131). One such strand of discussion is the tensions between poststructuralism and feminist standpoint theory, and I find it relevant to outline some of the main points of criticism towards poststructuralism, and how it has influenced my understanding of how to approach it critically.

The poststructuralist focus on language and discourse, partly shifting the focus away from material circumstances and structures, has been criticized by a number of postcolonial and feminist scholars and critique against claimed objectivity is something that has been crucial in feminist and postcolonial scholarship (see e.g. Spivak 1988, Mohanty 1988)

together with a calling for the need to view knowledge as always situated (Lorde 1983, Rich 1984).

Especially black feminists have, by such critique, made important contributions to the development of feminist epistemologies, and in this development, the notion of ‘experience’ has been central. Both in challenging ideas of what it is *to know*, and by raising questions and insights about the connections and merging between individual and collective experience (Lewis 2000:171) and the risk of becoming ignorant of the historical and structural processes shaping *group* experience (Hill-Collins 1997:375). Haraway (1988:584) highlights how subjugated standpoints should be preferred because “in principle they are least likely to allow denial of the critical and interpretive core of all knowledge”. Haraway argues that a ‘partial perspective gives a stronger objective ground for knowledge production, as it is explicitly situated to an embodied experience made visible, in contrast to a ‘gaze from nowhere’ (a ‘Godtrick’) that can be found in both positivist thought traditions, and social constructionist relativism. In dialogue with this argumentation, Harding (1992) means that even with the insight that science can never be neutral, the striving for objectivity in research should not be abandoned. She argues that such an objectivity, but a ‘strong’ version of it, can closest be reached through starting off from the margins (marginalized positions) when producing knowledge, and by explicating that position (ibid.).

I share the view that marginalized experience needs to be given a central position in feminist theory and research (or any social scientific such), but see it as not the only valid form of knowledge production. I draw from the writing of Bracke and Puig de la Bellacasa (2004:310) that highlight the need of a bridging between what they describe as a dichotomized polarity between a postmodern (poststructural) approach and feminist standpoint theoretical positions. They suggest that instead of viewing them as colliding and contra one another, that instead they can be applied and understood together, adding diverse, but not necessarily colliding perspectives and ways of reaching knowledge.

In this thesis, I do not depart from neither marginalized positions, nor from lived experience, but I still find myself deeply influenced by a standpoint theoretical view, in regarding all knowledge production as partial and never disembodied (coming from ‘nowhere’). This brings forth the urge to be reflexive about one’s own positions, and *how* these positions might have directed and influenced the knowledge being produced, throughout the whole research process. I albeit acknowledge myself as a researcher being a subject very

much part of and shaped by discourse, and I can therefore not separate myself from, but only be reflectively aware of, the discourses that I set out to explore.

The need to explain and clarify positions leads me to a clarifying my own driving forces behind claiming for a certain point of departure in the research. As Sheldon (2016:42) illustrates, not only is it important to situate and position oneself in the context, but also to locate the traces of, and connections to the context within yourself. She argues for the importance of focusing the “processes which connect the researcher’s socio-historical and institutional locations within their production of knowledge” and how these shape the intellectual process of limiting *what* knowledge can be perceived and *how* (ibid. 42). As Sheldon illuminates, these processes can often remain unconscious or unexplained within and by the researcher, but can be crucial in understanding the ways we frame and approach our research. Through this perspective, situating oneself is a way of making more transparent the specific form of knowledge production being at hand for the reader; through *who’s* eyes world has been perceived and thus *how* scientific claims have emerged.

The *who* and *how* of the above posed question does not necessarily need to entail personal experiences, but can be of a more structural kind. I albeit find it necessary to include a reflection about my own recent background in working as a social assistant for a Swedish municipality with public financial aid for newly arrived ‘refugees’ in the aftermaths of the so called ‘refugee crisis’, between 2016 and 2018. Working at what can be seen as a core of the practical execution of the Swedish welfare system, with financial aid being ‘a last outpost’ in the social security net, with so called ‘newcomers’ that in many ways have been so central in debates over welfare provision and the rights to it, have certainly shaped my field of view and way of framing my current research. Seeing the effects of a neoliberalized financial aid system (and being part of executing it) with strong requirements and control of participation on the labour market at almost any cost, and of tightening asylum rules and residency permits, gave me a close contact with the material effects these systems have in the everyday lives of people who really depend on them. It also colors my understanding of the debate over migration and welfare, and how migrants (the ‘undesirable’ such) are often given a scapegoat position and one of undermining the welfare system, while others, as is a central discussion throughout this thesis, are portrayed and perceived as a contribution and addition to a welfare state in need.

4.6 Ethical considerations

As my empirical material includes only information that has already been made public and accessible for a broad audience, I do not see any ethical problems in using it for analysis in this thesis. I will albeit not include any names that could tie an utterance or quote to a specific person, as this is not of any relevance for my field of interest and would only mean an unnecessary exposure of given persons. All names are replaced with the terms [male/female visitor] when relating to a visitor in the fair [male/female migrant] when about people that have already migrated to Sweden, or [representative] when a quote by a municipal representative. I chose to include the gender among the visitor/migrants, as I find it to be significant for the kind of subjectivities they represent, or become constructed as.

A risk of writing on migration and migrants is that it might work to reinforce existing stereotypes and assumptions made about certain groups of people, as discussed briefly in the conceptual discussion. Another aspect of that, but slightly different, is that when I write about how Dutch migration to Sweden is being portrayed, I make assumptions on what it means being Dutch; that is being white, having a traditionally Dutch name and being relatively affluent. This is based in what has been represented as 'Dutch' in the material I have studied; quotes from municipal representatives, photos of the represented Dutch migrants and their names, when published in articles. I have not included the image material as part of my empirical material, but it can be seen to have strongly shaped my point of departure and my presumptions. Further, the Emigrant Expo is not explicitly targeting EU-citizens or Dutch citizens, but given the location and the fact that at least half of the presentations at the expo are given in Dutch (Emigrant Expo 2020), illustrates that the Dutch emigrants are the main target group. My assumptions could however be a way of feeding into a nationalistic discourse that equates Western or Northern 'Europeanness' with being 'white' and having a 'Western' name. In other words, it could mean taking part in constituting and reinforcing the discourses that this thesis sets out to destabilize. I hope by highlighting here and elsewhere in this thesis, that this study is not revealing anything, and do not claim to do so, about the actual social or demographical characteristics of the Dutch people that have migrated to Sweden during this period of time, nor Dutch citizens per se, but only the narratives created around these in the specific material I have studied.

5. Theoretical framework

In the following chapter I will outline the theoretical framework that this thesis is built around. I will begin by presenting the large framework; understandings of borders as changeable and relational processes and practices, rather than fixed or pre-given entities. I will turn specifically to the works of feminist sociologist Nira Yuval-Davies (1997, 2006), and associates (2005, 2019) and their writings on the connectedness between bordering processes and political projects of *belonging* and *governance*. Secondly I will present a poststructural view on citizenship, seen as differentiated and multi scaled in its effects, and constituting an instrument for both exclusion and inclusion, to the nation and other forms of communities of belonging. I will build mainly on the works of feminist migration sociologist Bridget Anderson (2013, 2015, 2019). These works examine how exclusionary discourses and practices regarding migration and national citizenship are closely tied to ideas of national values and constructions of 'good citizens', thus making connections between formal exclusions of non-citizenship and the multiple exclusions *within* citizenship. Finally I will present some views on dominating discursive constructs around 'Europeanness' and 'Swedishness' and how these, albeit contested and subject to negotiation, can be seen as connected to notions of 'whiteness'.

5.1 Bordering, belonging and governance

A key idea in so called Critical Border Studies is that, rather than being simply territorial dividing lines between nation states, marking the official edges of naturalized 'homelands' borders can be studied as processes or *bordering practices* (Edenborg 2020:106). Borders are in this view not seen as located only at the physical border of a given nation state, but instead to exist simultaneously in a multiplicity of spaces spread throughout civil society. They are inscribed at various sites within and between states, by different actors, and with dramatically different consequences for different people. They are further seen to be carried out through everyday discourses, by different social agents, such as state officials, the media, and all other members of society (Yuval-Davies 2019:19,23). As stated by Balibar (2004), "borders are everywhere".

Bordering practices refers to all kinds of activities that have the effect of constituting, modifying or sustaining national borders, and these practices can be both intentional and unintentional, and can hence be more or less conscious and visible in their making (Parker &

Vaughan-Williams 2012). An emphasis here lies on the *everyday practices* through which control over mobility is enacted and attempted, and this therefore means a shift as in re-thinking borders as something performative rather than objectively existing or statically fixed (ibid.).

Nation state bordering processes should be understood as acquiring a double meaning; both as processes related to territorial boundaries of nation states, and on the other hand to "symbolic social and cultural lines of inclusion and difference, material and imagined, physical and cultural" (Yuval-Davies et al 2019:4). It is to these latter kinds of processes I will henceforth put my focus. Yuval-Davies et al (ibid.:7) refers to these continuously ongoing bordering processes as *everyday bordering*, and most crucial to, or at the heart of these processes, is the differentiation between 'us' and 'them', those who are seen to belong and not. The term points primarily to the many different sites and situations in everyday life in which attempts are made to single out and detect people who are deemed as 'not belonging', and in particular the practices aiming to identify so called 'illegal migrants'(ibid.:98). The practices aiming at detecting 'illegal immigrants' can be seen as the most far-reaching everyday bordering practices, with detrimental effects for the ones directly targeted. Bordering practices should however not be seen to affect 'only' marginalized or criminalized groups, but can be seen to affect society as a whole, through shaping notions of belonging, entitlements and rights.

It is important to differentiate between *belonging* and *politics of belonging* (Yuval-Davies 2006:197). Belonging relates to emotional attachments and feelings of 'being at home', and these feelings tend to be naturalized. Benedict Anderson (1983) refers to nations as *imagined communities* in which nationalism and nationhood are seen as forms of 'cultural artifacts' that are collectively imagined and emotionally invested in (ibid:13). This so called emotional investment is often not conscious or deliberate, as having a certain nationality is most often not chosen, and thereby makes the belonging to a nation perceived to be "natural" (ibid.:143).

Only when this sense of belonging is perceived to be under threat in some way does it become articulated, formally structured and politicized (Yuval-Davies 2019:197). The politics of belonging refers to specific political projects aimed at creating a sense of belonging to particular collectivities, that themselves become defined under these projects and placed within specified boundaries. These can be specific nationalist projects of belonging claiming that people of color or foreign born persons can not be part of the nation, or the most common political project of belonging, that of state citizenship (ibid.). Most often, the granting of formal citizenship is conditioned by a number of requirements, including learning the native language or adapting to certain values and norms. What might be seen as a way of increasing

belonging, under the name of *social cohesion* and *integration*, are at the same time a way of determining the boundary of not belonging (Yuval-Davies et al 2005:257). The requirements for belonging *and* not belonging becomes directly and indirectly articulated.

The demarkation of national belonging, that is who counts as belonging or not to a national community or a nation state, also carries with it notions of both the *us* of that community, and *the others*. Sharma (2015:99) argues that the inside/outside binary the "us" and "them" represent is intrinsic to the very creation of the nation state, which in the name of national sovereignty is seen as obliged to protect the interests of the 'nationals' it is said to represent. Sharma further argues that the boundaries established by nationalism automatically create an 'other' who is outside of the national community and that the construction of the 'other' or the 'foreigner' has always relied on ideas of 'race' (2015:101).

Sara Ahmed (2000) has partly criticized the inside/outside binary in constructions of nationhood, and argues that a much more nuanced reading of this process is needed. One that opens for a understanding of how 'the Other' is not simply constructed as an *opposite* on the *outside*, but rather differentiated and graded; the nation becomes imagined by 'being close to some 'others' (friends), and further away from other 'others'. In this sense only some others are read as strangers within the nation space' (ibid.:100). Another critique towards a one-sided focus on constructions of the 'Other' and 'Othering' processes, is that of Essed (2004), highlighting the importance of investigating also how *preference for sameness* works to construct a perceived homogeneity, used to maintain privileged rooms exclusively for those who are constructed and perceived to be similar, same or alike (ibid.:91). Essed refers to this process as 'cultural cloning' and means that it is an important mechanism behind the upholding of a variety unequal processes such as maintaining privileges positions for certain subjects (male, white, upper class, heterosexual, etc.) (ibid.:94). This highlights the importance of viewing not only the processes of differentiated exclusion from different positions and communities, but also the processes of differentiated inclusion as a powerful instrument in upholding certain power relations, more or less articulated.

The basis for belonging and inclusion to national (imagined) communities can be seen created and shaped at different social levels within a society, a nation. Sallie Westwood (2000) argues that the ways in which the nation is *imagined*, is one of the key sites in which nations are discursively produced, and that the imaginary serves as a context in which *national identities* are called forth. The body is another key site for this production, a central site where the the power of management, discipline and identification processes of nationalisms and national identities are played out - through which nations becomes embodied. This means that the nation becomes closely and intimately connected to the ways individuals view themselves,

the body being at the starting point and carrying out site for this process (ibid:41). This suggests that the power of attachment to nations to a high extent lies in the investments made by subjects in their national identities. This kind of emotional investment in the nation and national identity, that can be described as seductive or romantic in all its emotion, is albeit still tied to the ideological work of nation-building, and is what states can call up on in times of crisis, and to which politicians often lay claims (ibid.:41).

To emphasize the *imagined*, as in stereotypes, fantasies and imaginaries, especially within the postcolonial thought tradition, has been criticized by feminists for running the risk of obscuring the 'real' and material, often violent, effects of a certain phenomenon in a given situation (Mills 1996:693). Sara Ahmed (2000) highlights this problematic by emphasizing that boundaries can be real and imagined at the same time, and that it can in fact be necessary to consider them as both, in order to understand how the material effects and the imagined construct, work together to co-create 'the nation' (ibid.:98). Borders and boundary making are hence emotionally *and* politically charged processes, taking shape through everyday discourses, and having material effects in the lives of 'real people', albeit with highly differing outcomes.

Yuval-Davies et al. (2019:5) argue that bordering has a double character as a political project of belonging (as discussed above) and as a political project of *governance*. Bordering constitutes a principle organizing mechanism both in determining who can enter a country or not, but also which rights and entitlements should be given to those who do enter. Different kinds of political projects of governance determine the criteria for entitlements and duties (collective and individual) for those governed, either they are formal citizens or not. Different bordering technologies, increasing in their variety, regulate the categories of people who are allowed to enter the country, the length of their stay, and the civil and political rights they are entitled to claim - these technologies can be said to work as computer firewalls, filtering out who will be permitted to enter and who will be blocked out. This can be particularly visible in the policy sphere of labour migration, where many states have developed points-based systems, designed to sort out who can be 'beneficiary for the national economy' by meeting labour needs (Yuval-Davies et al 2019:65).

While different types of border constructions and regulations at a first glimpse might seem to affect only those who were not born in the country, they can on the contrary can be said to affect the society as a whole, both materially and normatively, as they determine what everyone should expect as a citizenship entitlement or duty (Yuval-Davies et al 2019:5). This connectedness between exclusions *from* and exclusions *within* citizenship, and thereby how

migration policies and discourse have bearings on much wider domains than solely migration related issues, will be further explored in the next section.

5.2 Citizenship and differentiated exclusion/inclusion

In a Foucauldian poststructural understanding, citizenship can be an instrument of both inclusion and exclusion, through which state authorities manage and govern the population (Foucault 1991b:104). Accordingly, relevant policies use a wide range of discursive categorizations of citizens and immigrants to construct 'objects of problematization' through which exclusion becomes legitimized (Waerniers & Hustinx 2019:270). Governing in this view, is not seen to originate from or belong to the state apparatus, but is rather made up of a whole range of government technologies that operate throughout the whole social field. Problematization is one aspect of governing (certain) individuals, through the problem representations they contain, and through presented solutions (Dahlstedt & Lozic 2017:210). Citizenship discourses also simultaneously produce images of 'ideal citizenship' and the 'good citizen'. The term *governmentality* is in this light most often used to illustrate the making of the modern neoliberal subject as self-regulating and flexible, always-already adaptable and suited for a market driven neoliberal society (Luibhéid 2013:90). Ideal citizens are thus governing themselves efficiently to fit in a system where the individual to a high degree is expected to depend not so much on state financed services, but to the market (although to varying degrees mediated through the state) (Foucault 1991b:100) In this light citizenship should, rather than just describing the legal relationship between an individual and the nation state, be seen as an ongoing process in which individuals and groups create and shape themselves as citizen subjects, through the possible means and conditions that are at hand. These processes can be seen to operate in many different fields and sites, such as through the subjects' relations to the media and different social groups and networks (Dahlstedt et al. 2017:32).

Norms regarding the ideal citizen subject, alongside images of citizenships' 'Others', the ones described as lacking the characteristics of the ideal citizen, are continuously produced and reproduced in relation to one another (ibid.). Another way of expressing this is that laws and practices related to citizenship *produce* rather than *reflect* a status, as they create specific types of social, political and economical relations, and these relations have effect not only on the lives of migrated people or non-citizens (Anderson 2013:2). On the contrary, judgements

about who is needed and putatively contributive to the economy, what counts as work or not, what is considered a legitimate marriage, what should be required to gain citizenship, what legal enforcements should be used against 'illegal' immigrants etc., are all questions that affect citizens as well as non-citizens. The exclusions from citizenship helps to define the privileges, conditions and limitations around citizenship, both materially and discursively (ibid.).

Modern nation states do not, as Anderson (2013) continues to argue, primarily portray themselves as representing a people bound together primarily by a legal status, but rather as constituting a *community of value* - composed by people who share common ideals and patterns of behavior, expressed through ethnicity, religion, culture or language. The ideal or 'good' citizen is imagined as living up to these ideals, being law-abiding, hard working and self-sufficient etc. (ibid.:2). The construct of the ideal citizen, in relation to the *community of value* thus serves to create a form of boundary or bordering from *within* citizenship. Just as non-citizens become constructed as citizenship's 'Others' and thereby defines and demarcates citizenship from 'the outside', images of the 'Failed citizen' that cannot or does not live up to the ideals of the 'Good citizen', are also becoming the 'Other'. These categories are not constructed as absolute binaries, but different grades of 'Failed citizens' (unemployed, welfare recipients, criminals, drug addicts etc. etc.) and 'almost good enough citizens' or 'tolerated citizens' (as more or less fluid positions) benefits (Anderson 2015:44,48). This process can be described as the gendered, racialised and classed borders *within* formal citizenship (ibid.).

Citizenship is often perceived as the absolute and total opposite to non-citizenship, as a status granting full and equal access to citizenship rights, constituting the 'myth of full citizenship' (Anderson 2013:4). This works to create a binary relation between citizen/non-citizen, which tend to obscure the gendered, racialized and classed differences in substantial (actual) rights prevailing between formal citizens. It also works to reinforce an idea of citizens (often the ones in precarious positions of 'Failed citizens') and non-citizens (also over-spilling to all kinds of migrants) as competing against each other for scarce resources, and thus glossing over structural patterns of inequality produced by these social hierarchies (Anderson 2013:4). This false dichotomy also tends to overlook the many grey zones and complexities surrounding citizenship, such as the situations of long term residents without formal citizenship, and EU-citizenship giving rights certain entitlements but not always equals to national citizenship (nor giving the same rights to all EU-citizens). Citizenship should thus rather be viewed as a multi-layered position creating and created by various social hierarchal

relations (ibid.). Although in different ways, both the 'Failed citizen' and the non-citizen are being conceived as to varying degrees threaten the community of value, and are thereby being legitimately differentially excluded from citizenships rights and entitlements.

As in (western) Europe today a tendency can be seen in which citizenship is increasingly being portrayed as something *deserved* by "hard working, self-reliant individuals prepared to take responsibility for themselves" (Anderson 2015:44), much emphasis is put on the citizen as a worker citizen. Subsequently the 'Failed citizen' becomes connoted with the unemployed, or the ones who cannot financially supply for themselves (ibid).

Laura Brace (2015) points out how an emphasis on the level of contribution to the nation state can be seen as reflected in migration policies in many western countries, where a polarization between unwanted and wanted migrants can be seen in relation to the division of skilled/unskilled labour. The state is involved in selecting and legitimating whose labour power counts as rational, industrious and genuine, and competes for 'the bright and the best' of international labour migrants (ibid.:24). For those who are deemed as doing 'high value and high priority business', work is often enabled and facilitated by the state, through different forms of fast-track visa services, or in other ways promoted for. Meanwhile, poor people who migrate for work, are to a high degree constructed as a threat to to the security of the state's borders (ibid:23). The skilled/unskilled definition hence tend to obscure differences and divisions based on notions of 'race', gender, class and other axes of inequality. It also need to be viewed in relation to transnational and global power relations such as South-North, center-periphery etc., as poverty is deeply unequally distributed following certain global divisions and hierarchies; a 'spatially differentiated global order' (Yuval-Davies et al 2019:11).

Questions regarding the significance and workings of racist, sexist, and other oppressive structures, become actualized when one wishes to critically inquire the basis for belonging and attachment, and non-belonging and exclusions, from different national or other forms of geo-political communities. In the case of this thesis it becomes relevant to put both national (as in Sweden and 'Swedishness') and supranational (Europe and 'Europeanness') communities into question.

5.3 Constructs of 'Europeanness'

It can be argued that European nations today, despite their uneven engagement in colonializing, are part of a wider Euro-American political and social culture, generated and shaped through colonialism (Mulinari et al 2009). This form of Western 'culture' is hence constituted by a view of the world in which whiteness was (and is) highly significant for social status, not only in constituting the 'normal', but viewed as superior to other forms of being (Garner 2014:408). Mattsson (2004:108-109) argues that whiteness is a taken for granted norm that prevail in perceptions of what it means to be 'European' or 'Western', inherent in specific forms of power structures that have been shaped around whiteness in Europe and European settler communities during centuries (ibid.)

European colonizing states were highly active in the creation of 'race' and racial categories in its elaboration of systematic ethnographies, dividing 'natives' into groups that were differentiated by culture and 'race', intelligence and personality and placed in a hierarchy and in which whiteness was constructed as the primary distinguisher of the colonizer from the colonized. 'Whiteness', within this racial logic, did not only concern skin color, but also the social goods that it signified in terms of disposition, culture and habits, and key features of such were self-discipline, self-control and self-mastery, the latter being portrayed as the the marker of the 'truly European' (Anderson 2013:36). Although being the product of a particular 'western' liberal history and culture, this culture and history is not acknowledged in its particularity but instead viewed as intrinsic, as a naturalized way of life (ibid.: 2013:3).

This kind of universality or centre-position given certain subjects, places, cultures, peoples, also requires the move of contrasting it towards what it *is not*, of relating it to an *Other*. This is a central component in Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, that describes how the Occident (west or Europe) comes into being through distinguishing itself from the Orient (the non-West), that in such a model come to embody that which the Occident is not (Said 1978:7). Through what can be referred to as a Eurocentric perspective, non-western societies are being evaluated on the basis of some western norms taken as universal, where west and east are described as each other's opposites (Kinnvall 2016:155). In such understandings, 'the West' is characterized as rational, progressive, democratic and male, while the East is described in terms of sensualism, irrationality, backwardness, despotism and femaleness. These structures are highly present in global relations at different levels in present day, and

the hierarchical structures that were central to both imperial and colonial ways of ruling should thus not be considered only a part of the passed. This is a central feature in postcolonial theory, and the term postcolonial does not signal the *end* of former colonial structures, but "the continuity of colonial versions of gender, heterosexism, culture, difference and race in the contemporary structures of capitalism and discourses of multiculturalism" (Lundström 2014:7).

The promotion of a 'European identity' or a set of European core values has been an important tenet in the process of the European integration project. Notions of cultural belonging across European borders were used to legitimize and promote further EU integration (Hansen 2008:93-94). The basis for the suggested common identity was constructed as based in a shared culture and history, and a western Judeo-Christian inheritance was foregrounded. This excluded the big groups of people living in Europe that had previously immigrated from countries outside of the EU and ignored the fact that the European history has always been highly heterogeneous (Hansen 2008:93-94). These EU projects of promoting a sense of belonging and commonness, along with the EU integration project at large, have often been described and understood primarily in terms of a peace enhancing project in order to prevent conflict and war. It can albeit be argued that the project of creating a strong common market, that was the primary objective of the European collaboration (the forming of the EU), was a way to recover a position of world power after the fall of the empire and the decolonization process (Hansen 2002). The construct of European identity is closely tied to the idea of Europe as a civilization, often described in terms of *cultural similarity* and universal humanity (Kinnvall 2016:155).

5.4 Constructs of 'Swedishness'

Swedish national identity has for many decades been closely connected to ideas of Sweden as a unique society based on equality, solidarity and modernism, formed by the Swedish welfare model. Tied to this idea is the rhetoric of Sweden as exceptionally gender friendly and welcoming to migrants and refugees (Edenborg 2020:102). Gender equality policies such as individual taxation, paid parental leave and free abortion (all introduced in the 1970's) are seen as cornerstones of the Swedish model, and politicians commonly claim that Sweden is the most gender equal country in the world (ibid.). This image has also been strongly highlighted and exported through different national branding projects and international aid

politics (Lundström 2014:18), thus making gender equality a central part of Swedish public image internationally. Feminist scholars have for long criticized the declared 'exceptional image' for glossing over circumstances that point toward strong remaining gender inequality in several sectors of society (Mulinari & Lundqvist 2017:120) but the image have remained pervasive (Edenborg 2020:102). It has also for long been acknowledged by scholars in the field of migration and ethnical relations that issues of racialized forms of discrimination have been ignored in the development of gender equality policies (Mulinari & Lundqvist 2017:120). Gender equality has further been constructed as a 'Swedish' or 'Nordic' trait in relation to patriotic 'Others', and has as such reinforced images of immigrants as 'different' and threatening (Schmauch 2011:50). Swedish public debates be said dominated by 'colour blind' approach, by which in dominating discourses Sweden is seen as a society in which 'race' no longer matters (Hübinette & Lundström 2014).

It can however be argued that in contemporary Sweden, having white skin colour is a central signifier of 'being Swedish' (Lundström 2014:19). This can be seen for instance in the ways the media uses terms such as 'non-Swedish appearance' or describes racialized persons as 'immigrants' even when born and grown up in Sweden (Hübinette & Lundström 2011:44). The strong connectedness between 'Swedishness' and 'whiteness' can be understood in relation to the historical creation of the 'white race' as a scientific discourse. In this powerful discourse Swedes as part of the 'Nordic race' held an absolutely privileged position as the *whitest of white* (Lundström 2014:19). This belief in holding a superior racial position in a dominant racist discourse might have been influential for Sweden's strong stance in promoting race biological research (ibid.), and for the implementation of a large scale sterilization program set out to hinder the the reproduction of the lower classes, and highly targeted towards national ethnic minorities, and people deemed to fall outside of sexual (patriarchal) normalcy (Hübinette & Lundström 2014:428).

These violent acts were taking place alongside, and to some extent as part of, the build-up of the modern Swedish welfare state, also referred to as the construction of 'the peoples' home' (*folkhemmet*). The term is often used as referring to the long period of social democratic rule in post war Sweden, and often portrayed as 'the golden age' of the Swedish welfare state (Hübinette & Lundstöm 2014:427) not the least by Extreme right parties (Elgenius & Rydgren 2018:590). 'The peoples home' with its strong public sector and ideals of hard work (mainly by white, male workers) to contribute to the common well, can be said to have strongly contributed to a Swedish national identity as tolerant and with high sense of

moral responsibility (Schmauch 2011:50). Thus, notions of gender and 'race' can be said to have a special relation to the Swedish nation, as part of the construct of national identity (Hübinette & Lundström 2014, Garner 2014, Schmauch 2011).

The gendered character of any nation needs to be understood within its specific historical moment and social and political context, as nations are continuously constructed and contested over "by shifting national discourses promoted by different groupings competing for hegemony" (Yuval-Davies 1997:4). Any analysis of national discourse hence need to be sensitive to its context and ever changing character, and acknowledge the presence and importance of resistance, political struggle and and ongoing negotiations (ibid.:26). The equation of whiteness as a dominating understanding of 'Swedishness' should not be understood as totalizing or uncontested.

5.5 Theorizing whiteness

Whiteness studies can be seen as the 'daughter of black studies' (Lundström 2014:9). Although relatively novel as a 'research field', whiteness has been critically acknowledged and examined by black writers and scholars for much longer (Garner 2014). Whiteness studies have examined conceptions of racialized and naturalized 'white' identities and the privileges that these identities allocate (Van Riemsdijk 2010:121). It also puts focus to how white privilege reproduces itself, and the ways in which white identity and all the cultural capitals associated with it is placed in a dominant normative position in relation to others (Garner 2014). Ruth Frankenberg (1993:1) in writing on gender and whiteness, defines the social construction of whiteness as a location of structural advantage through race privilege, and a standpoint from which people who are socially classified as white view themselves, others, and society. Furthermore, whiteness refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed (ibid.). This kind of 'invisibility' can be seen to constitute a central aspect of white privilege. Puwar (2004) asserts that when whiteness is defined as an absence of color, it exists as an unmarked normative position (ibid:58), leaving it difficult to question.

The view of whiteness as invisible has albeit been importantly criticized, as it is only to those who possesses whiteness that it remains invisible. For those who doesn't it is difficult *not* to see it; "as it even appears to be everywhere" (Ahmed 2011:201). Ahmed further states that whiteness studies rather need to be understood as making whiteness, that is already visible for many, visible in a new way (ibid.:202).

Whiteness further needs to be understood as time- and space bound, in the sense of being contextually and historically changeable and to some extent permeable (McDowell 2009). This can be seen in for instance how certain groups of people historically have been designated as 'not properly white', and placed within a racial hierarchy as subordinate, even if their skin pigmentation has been 'white' (McClintock 1995:53). This suggest the possibility of moving in and out of whiteness, and that whiteness is graduated, with internal boundaries between the more and less white (Anderson 2013:37). It also points to the importance of an intersectional understanding of the significance of whiteness; white skin color allocates important benefits, but the extent of white privilege depends on other factors in addition to 'race', such as ethnicity, class, and gender. These axes of inequality and difference intersect to produce differential privileged outcomes (McDowell 2009).

Ahmed (2007:) describes whiteness, rather than an 'ontological given', as 'being lived as a background to experience' and in so doing it is more about what whiteness 'does' that what it 'is' (ibid.:150). As such "whiteness could be described as an ongoing and unfinished history, which orientates bodies in specific directions, affecting how they 'take up' space" (ibid.). This orientation or directions implied by whiteness affects also to the conditions for migration and mobility, as Ahmed (ibid.:162) goes on to argue, "The politics of mobility, of who gets to move with ease across the lines that divide spaces, can be re-described as the politics of who gets to be at home, who gets to inhabit spaces, as spaces that are inhabitable for some bodies and not others, insofar as they extend the surfaces of some bodies and not others" (ibid.).

6. Analysis

The analysis is divided into six themes, that will be presented in the following chapter. It begins with three sections discussing views on *the worker citizen*, *competition for skills* and *entrepreneurship* and how the migrant subjects can be seen as constructed in connection to related ideals. This is followed by two sections discussing how *cultural closeness* and similarity is constructed, and how a particular image of Sweden and 'Swedishness', *a Swedish dream*, emerge in relation to this perceived 'closeness'. The analysis will conclude with a section discussing the specific ways in which the Dutch migration is portrayed as a *contribution* to local societies and how this portrayal connects to notions of entitlement and belonging.

6.1 The worker citizen

As Yuval-Davies et al. (2019) argue, the border permeability is highly different for those having cultural, political and material capital, and those not (ibid.). For the Dutch nationals emigrating to Sweden, the *border permeability* is already dictated by their EU citizenship, as it gives them the right to move freely without visas, and to stay unconditionally for the first three months. After that period, their stay is contingent on their employment and/or ability to financially contribute for themselves. Given the requirement to work to have the right to reside, the free movement of the EU citizen is thereby to a high extent the right of the EU *worker* (Anderson 2015:53). In much of my material, the migrants' willingness, motivation and readiness to work in Sweden is highlighted:

"Inside the large conference hall, where visitors will receive introductory information about Värnamo, sit [female visitor] and [male visitor]. In front of them they have a large map of the GGVV area (region). - We would like to start working here in Sweden. - I have just finished my education as engineer says [male visitor]. - I myself have worked in the social field and I hope to be able to work with this as well, [female visitor] explains. "

Värnamo.nu (online newspaper) 2018-04-27

The two fair visitors in the example above are in the article described as being both motivated to find work, and to have the competence proper to being employed. The focus on work does not come as a surprise, in the context of the Expo being to a high extent a site for labour recruitment. The way that work and employment is portrayed in relation to the Dutch migrants in my material, is worth examining in the light of migration and citizenship discourse, as labour holds a central place in both (Anderson 2013, 2015).

As EU-citizens are not subjected to formal immigration controls, the way of distinguishing between the ones having the right to reside and not, is thus through work and/or private finances. Not all work is approvable, but requirements need to be met both in terms of a minimum salary per month, and the work needs to be deemed as 'genuine and effective', as decided by the European Court. Thus, entitlements to welfare for EU-citizens just as

nationals, is constructed in terms of the responsibility to work, and to do the 'right' kind of work (Anderson 2015:54).

The individual responsibility to be in employment has been a central line in the welfare state transformations that have been seen in Sweden and across European nation states, especially since the beginning of the 1990's and onwards (Schierup et al 2006, Hansen 2008, Schmauch 2011, Schierup & Scarpa 2017). At an EU-level, this can be seen in how social policy terminology shifted in the succession of the Maastricht Treaty. Concepts such as *social equality* and *social rights* were replaced by terms such as *employability*, *flexibility* and *moral obligation of the individual* (Schierup et al 2006:61). In Sweden a shift from the goal of full employment to the goal of a stable inflation rates has meant higher unemployment rates at the same time as different social security networks have been made more contingent on labour market participation. As a result of cut-backs in general social security systems, such as sickness and unemployment insurance, more people have become long-term dependent on public financial aid, that before was seen as a 'last outpost' in the social security systems and a temporary protection from poverty (Schierup & Scarpa 2017:55).

The strengthening of the link between social security and labour market participation has tended to exclude those who were already in a vulnerable position in the labour market and it has thus reinforced gender and ethnic segregation (Schmauch 2011:50). This development can be seen in many countries across Europe (Schierup et al. 2006) and in Sweden, illustrated by for instance highly segregated labour and housing markets (Hübinette & Lundström 2014:424). These changes in citizenship discourse has also led to a narrowing of the meaning of concepts of *social exclusion* and *social inclusion* - exclusion becoming equated with exclusion from paid labor, and inclusion with employability and active labour market participation (Schierup et al 2006). Prominent in this discourse is the *moral aspect of work*. The ideal or 'Good citizen' is a working citizen, and the backside of this ideal is thus the ones without work, the unemployed, and in particular the benefit dependent - 'The Failed Citizen'. This is what Anderson refers to by saying that citizenship is demarcated and bordered from *within* (2013:2). Tensions between constructs of the 'Failed citizen' and the 'Non-citizen' as competitors for the same resources (ibid.:4) can be seen in the following excerpt:

”[representative] points out that this is not an expo for the unemployed but mainly for employed people who want to move forward and that it is about attracting competent people to where there are shortages today.”

Smålänningen 2015-02-06

What can be understood from the statement above is a position that defends the act of recruiting non-Swedish workers to the region, with the assurance that it will not mean threat to the people already living there. The interviewee reassures that the labour migrants are 'Good citizens' (not unemployed) and will not be 'taking the jobs' from the 'Swedes', but rather filling gaps where there is shortage, thus a need that can't be met by national workers. Migration posed as a threat to national labour markets has been a central feature in migration discourse across (western?) Europe for the last decades (Anderson 2015:71) and touches strongly onto notions of belonging, that is who has the 'true right' to work, posed as a scarce resource. The kind of legitimizing of the Dutch migration as exemplified above is not commonly seen in my material, but the Dutch migration is dominantly portrayed in terms of work as an unproblematic contribution, as not imposing competition with 'nationals'. The following excerpt is representative for this view:

[male visitor] was one of those who, together with his wife and two children, left his hometown just outside Eindhoven in southern Holland, to live and work in Sweden. [male visitor] has worked as a tiler for about 25 years, but since August he has had a job at Gislaveds Golvbeläggning (floor tiling)

Värnamo nyheter 2019-01-22

As discussed earlier, neither 'migrant' or 'migration' are neutral terms but instead highly value laden. When used in political and popular debate, 'migrant' is a normative as well as descriptive term, and the wealthy are often not imagined to be migrants; "once non-citizens are working in poorly paid work, their being a migrant becomes a distinguishing feature, whilst if they are wealthy, the relevance of them being migrants seems to diminish" (Anderson 2015:44). In my material however, there is a wide range of work represented among the migrants, such as preschool teacher, craftsman, IT-engineer, manager,

social worker and so on, work positions that signal different income level, social status etc., and far from all are traditionally perceived as work positions of 'the wealthy'.

This suggest that there are other parameters than the perceived class-position or wealth that affects if a person is primarily understood as 'a migrant', and in this regard the country of origin seem to influence strongly on how a migrated person is perceived and portrayed. This can be seen in the way the migratory movement of EU-citizens within the EU-territory has been portrayed in the last decades. While migration movements of European workers were during the 1960s and 1970s conceptualized and described as labor migration, with the launching of the Schengen agreement in the mid 1980s, the terms started to shift, and the 'internal' migration began to gradually disappear from both discourses about, and statistics on migration. This opened up for a conceptualization and association of migration with *specifically* migration from countries outside of the EU, and even more so, to the migration from global south to global north (Hansen 2008). This is something that can be seen in the way that migration *per se* and as a term in public discourse is more and more often associated with migrants from 'remote', 'non-Western' cultures (Lithman 2010:489).

It could thus be argued that the fact that the Dutch migrants are EU-citizens would make them less likely to be perceived primarily in their position as migrants. In relation to my material, I would argue that the Dutch migrants are dominantly described as competent, hard-working, and enterprising. This can albeit not be tied *only* to their legal status as EU-citizens. As much research show (see e.g. Fox et al. 2015, Vasey 2016), not all EU-citizens are treated equally. Especially EU-citizens from the Eastern European countries joining after the 2004 and 2007 EU enlargements (the so called A8 and A2 countries) have been targeted by discriminative legislation and hostile, often racist discourses and associated practices (ibid.). Yuval-Davies et al (2019) refers to these discourses as a form of bordering, constructing specifically Roma population, as 'bad migrants' in relation to other 'good migrants', and thus contributing to constructions of local, national and transnational hierarchies of belonging (ibid.:88). These discursive constructs, together with associated enforcement practices, work as technologies of governmentality (Foucault 1991b:102-103), that delimit individuals' right to belong (Yuval-Davies et al. 2019:95).

“He has already lived here for a couple of years and commutes to a factory in Unnaryd, where he, after much perseverance, has succeeded to get work. Here he can work wearing headphones and listen to Swedish radio.”

Hallandsposten 2015-09-21

The quote above reflects an image of someone who has struggled hard to find work, but who is also making an effort to 'be more Swedish', by listening to Swedish radio. The Dutch migrants in my material become constructed not as naturally belonging to the Swedish nation as an imagined community (Anderson 1983) but as being *close to* it and thus not become complete "strangers". They are highlighted in their positions as a particular sort of labour *migrants*, but they can be said to be portrayed as the close 'others' (friends) that Ahmed (2000:100) refers to. This shows how in processes of inclusion and exclusion, in which 'race'/ ethnicity, sex and class intersect in a constantly shifting manner, the positions created (such as migrant-citizen) are not always dichotomies, but can be shifting and differentiated (Fahlgren, et al 2011:10). The Dutch migrants are, as represented in my material, not automatically or completely included in the national community, they are still seen as migrants or non-citizens, but they are conceived as "more western" and even "more Swedish" than other westerners, other Europeans. This means they are also perceived as more normal, and less threatening (ibid.). This carved out position places the Dutch migrants in a superior position in a hierarchy of belonging (Yuval Davies 2019:88).

The facilitation of employment and other issues related to emigration (such as housing, schooling for children etc.) that the Swedish municipalities partake in by their participation in the Emigration Expo, together with the discursive construct of Dutch migrants as 'the close stranger' and the good (European) worker citizen, together work as *technologies of governmentality*, different ways that directs citizens to in different ways govern them self to varying degrees of autonomy (Yuval Davies et al 2019:95). However, instead of delimiting the individuals right to belong, it enables and empowers it. The grounds for this presumed and constructed closeness and belonging will be further investigated in the following sections. I will begin by looking closer at the constructs and valuation of different kinds of labour and labour migrants.

6.2 Competition for 'the bright and the best'

"The Dutch visitors collect brochures, ask questions, they are customers in a department store. New Zealand attracts with a wonderful climate and varied nature, Spain with luxurious villas on the Sun Coast, Australia with good salaries for engineers, and Canada with wilderness and plains. But it is actually Sweden that dominates with its many centrally located stands, red-painted picket fences, stuffed reindeers and real spruces trees"

Dagens Nyheter 2008-03-23

The excerpt from the article above comes from one of few more in-length article in my material, published in one of the bigger newspapers in Sweden. It has a critical tone in its description of the Expo as a department store, but this description is more than a simple metaphor. The parable indicates the fact that the Emigration Expo is a profitable enterprise, as the main organizer is a private company, and as it is a site for marketing and for facilitating business and employment connections. But it also points to the position of the Expo visitors, the putative emigrants, as being customers in a market, picking and choosing from a variety of options emigration countries, and regions.

Yuval-Davies et al. (2019) argue that contemporary bordering practices and bordering technologies, need to be understood through the broad ideological framework of globalized neoliberalism. The expansion of global capitalism and the rise of neoliberal globalization can be characterized by the flexibility of labour, as it "relies on complex and shifting flows of heterogeneous labour force and differential rates of pay for different kinds of labor in different parts of the world" (Yuval-Davies et al 2019:13).

The national and regional (e.g. the EU) borders with their controls and requirements in this understanding play an important role in regulating the flows of of workforce across the globe and are hence central in regulating the flow of workforce so that market needs (to a higher or lesser extent regulated and shaped by states) are met. Even if there is a growing realization in western nations, in the EU non the least, that these economies wouldn't function without the so called 'economic migrants' most often originating from non-Western countries or the global South, often the ones filling the gaps in low skilled and often precarious work sectors (Yuval-Davies et al 2005:515), it is for those who are deemed as doing 'high value and high priority business', or 'skilled work' that employment is often enabled and facilitated for

by the state (Brace 2015:24). The following excerpt makes clear the positive charge that can be given migration of some sorts, in this case the Dutch labour migrants as described in a local Swedish newspaper:

“INVESTMENT IN THE DUTCH MARKET CONTINUES. - We have already brought in doctors and veterinarians, who think our region is exciting. [...] - There is great interest amongst Dutch people coming here. The ambition with the Skaraborg investment in the Dutch market is to attract foreign investment in the form of Dutch entrepreneurs. There are also several areas where Skaraborg needs expertise”.

Hällekiskurriren 090304

Words such as *expertise*, and references to work titles as *doctors* and *veterinaries*, requiring high education, produces an image of individuals with high competence and competitiveness. This valuation and subsequent facilitation (in this case municipalities sending representatives to make easier the process of migration to Sweden) of some forms of migration, some categories of migrants, can be said to be part of the process referred to as *firewall-bordering* (Yuval Davies et al 2019: 13, 22), conceiving some peoples migration as highly contributive or needed, while others' are deemed as undesirable, dangerous or simply redundant to the countries economic needs, (ibid.) despite the fact that there is high need (many times urgent) also for the so called low skilled or unskilled workers (Yuval-Davies et al 2005:515). The definition of 'skilled' work, assert Yuval Davies et al (2019:68) is far from being a well defined concept, and it has been used increasingly by primarily western states in the last two decades with the aim to let those in who can 'benefit the economy'.

The Dutch migrants in the example above are referred to as being an *investment* for the region. Referring to migration in economical terms, is not exclusive for utterances about so called skilled migration, but is rather a common trait of migration discourse in general, either in positive or negative terms (Anderson 2013:72). The difference can be seen in the way the work and qualifications are being portrayed. Brace (2015:23) argues that the skilled/unskilled distinction works as part of a social valuation, deciding who counts as being in possession of their labour as a form of *private property*, and thereby being in possession of themselves, that is, they are 'fit for government' (ibid:14). This kind of status gives a position of 'autonomy'

that "the rational, improving, inviolable status of skilled labour is available to investors and business leaders, but not to low skilled underpaid workers, however much demand there is for their services" (ibid.:23). Brace further argues that the view of certain work as a property, leading to inviolability and self-possession of certain subjects can be seen grounded in traditional liberal ideas about citizenship (elaborated partly by Rosseau in an enlightenment philosophy) built upon the idea of the human being as inherently and intrinsically free and equal, although the concept 'human' rights and 'citizen' rights in reality and practicality meant the rights of the white property-owning man, completely excluding the enslaved population (all genders), and partially excluding white women (ibid.). This suggests that the differentiation between the skilled and the unskilled in labour migration, carries with it notions of gender, 'race' and class, and builds on ideas and ideologies (enlightenment ideals and liberalism) that were elaborated in close relation to colonialism and imperialism, still having material as well as discursive affects influencing how global relations are taking shape, at different levels and scales, showing on the influence that former power structures, such as colonialism, have on current global processes - including migration (Lundström 2014:7, Kinnvall 2016). Skilled work in this valuation process becomes an asset, a form of private property (ibid.) that can be sold and negotiated with, and that employers compete for. This kind of competition can be seen in the following excerpt:

"The Dutch people often have very good CVs to present. Eighty percent of the expo visitors have studied at university. In addition, many speak three or four languages. But there is high competition for this good workforce. It is important to give clear information, create personal ties, and make yourself visible"

Smålänningen 2015-06-10

The 'Dutch people' as portrayed in the quote above, are often described as highly skilled and highly competent. This as Castles argues (2010:1567), brings with it positive connotations of *professional mobility* as a sign of an open and modern society, while the movements of the lower-skilled is often casted negatively as unwanted migration (ibid.). Both material and different kinds of cultural capital influence the ways migrants can position themselves or become positioned in the 'new' country of residence (Lundström 2014:5). For some specific groups of highly skilled migrants, barriers to migration are reduced, as their cultural capital is

transnationally accepted and asked for, and this permits them to move with few restrictions in globalized labour markets (ibid.). Language and university education are two such forms of capital that are often lifted as attractive traits of the Dutch putative migrants and employees, as shown in the previous example. Another way that this kind of positively cast or celebrated migration is often described, is through the term *lifestyle migration* or *privileged migration*. In my material it many times becomes explicated that the migration to Sweden is not only about work, but also about the search for better *life quality*:

“THE ART OF SELLING A PIECE OF SWEDEN. Every year, 125,000 people emigrate from Holland. The tug-of-war over their knowledge and future ambitions is fought hard. There are many regions making big efforts at the Emigrant Fair in Utrecht. Like the Sjuhäradsbygden in Västergötland, Dalarna and Värmland. And Kinda Municipality, which in competition with 107 other Swedish municipalities, tempts with beautiful nature and good housing at low prices in a landscape with plenty of space. Everyone is aiming for the same goal: Dutch people who want to emigrate to start a new life in Sweden.”

Östgöta correspondent 2011-02-16

Lifestyle migration has been defined as a migration of relatively affluent individuals, moving either permanently or temporarily, to places which for different reasons for the migrants signify something vaguely defined as *quality of life*, and where the overall quality of life is prioritized over economic factors (Benson & O'Reilly 2016:22). Lifestyle migration is described as a quest for a better, often idealized, life and inextricably, a hope for a redefined and better self-hood (van Rooij & Margaryan 2020:185). 'Lifestyle migration' as categorized above, covers a wide range of migration patterns and life situations, that can indeed include constraint and precariousness. It however becomes clear that the apparent ability to choose to pursue a particular way of life through migration, positions these migrants as people who can approach migration as a form of consumption, in contrast to "the production orientation attributed to most other migration flows" (Benson & O'Reilly 20016:21). And, importantly, that have the possession of assets and resources (e.g. financial capital from incomes, pensions, savings and property ownership), alongside the ease of movement resulting from relative privilege (e.g. the possession of passports from relatively powerful countries) giving them the

opportunities to realize these motivations, this 'consumption' (ibid.:24).

As a discursive construct the 'lifestyle migrant' can be seen in close relation to the making of the neoliberal subject as self-regulating and flexible (Luibheid 2013:90) and as part of a neoliberal discourse in which well-being and happiness is cast as being a highly individualized responsibility *and* freedom (Fahlgren, et al 2011:2). In this sense, the Dutch migrants as they are presented and described in the material, become constructed as both customers and salesmen in relation to the Emigration Expo.

6.3 Creative entrepreneurs

One of the most recurring themes in my material, and one of the the word most commonly used to describe the Dutch migrants, is the word *entrepreneur*. It shows up in a major part of the articles, and is often referred to as a trait that well represents not only the migrants in question, but the Dutch *people* in general.

“The immigration surplus of Dutch people to Sweden in 2005 was almost 500 people, an increase of 30 percent compared with the year before. This is a figure that the Sweden hopes will continue to increase. The Dutch are considered driven entrepreneurs, who easily assimilate and learn Swedish. Many Swedish regions look enviously at the example of Värmland, which in the last four years has attracted around 80 Dutch entrepreneurs, who have often come with whole families.”

SVT Mittnytt 2007-03-12

The term *entrepreneur* can be seen to form part of the high skill-definition as discussed earlier, it can mean business-leader, company owner and innovator, etc., but it also represents something more. The word entrepreneur refers also to personal risk-taking in the search for profit, an individual enterprise played out on the terms of the market. This can again be seen as part of a neoliberal governmental rationale, through which individual autonomy, initiative freedom of choice and responsibility are made ideal traits of the citizen (Dahlstedt & Lozic 2017:213). Praising the entrepreneurial subject can be seen as closely tied to the neoliberal transformations of the western welfare state (Schierup et al 2006) and shifts the EU social policy (Hansen 2008) as discussed earlier, with its emphasizing of individual responsibility and marketization. Strong motivation, ambition and initiative are traits that are commonly

lifted as personal strengths and characteristics of the Dutch migrants in question, but also often used in relation to express implicit or explicit notions about 'Swedes' and 'Swedishness':

"There is not much difference in language and culture. In addition, Dutch people are really enterprising and proactive when compared to Swedes. It lies in their DNA to build and invest, at least among the ones who come here, he thinks".

Värnamo Nyheter 2017-12-07

In the example above, Dutch people are described as *similar* to 'Swedes' in terms of language and culture, but the entrepreneurial spirit is portrayed as a trait that distinguish them from 'the Swedes'. The entrepreneurship thus serves as a characteristic marker of the Dutch migrants, cast as being more active and more driven than the 'Swedish people' in general. On the other hand it is at times also used to highlight the perceived *likeness* of Swedish and Dutch 'people', as in the following example:

"The Dutch are quite like us, they are entrepreneurs like we are, says [representative], responsible for location Scandinavia at the Regional Association, (regionsförbundet) who tries to get foreign entrepreneurs to the county."

Sveriges Radio Jönköping 2008-02-19

In both examples, the entrepreneurship is described as a *social good* (Gee 2014:140) that, either as a marker of sameness or distinction, serves as a link or connection between the categorized groups of 'Swedes' and 'Dutch'. In the first case it portrays the Dutch as having something important to contribute with, and in the latter as having something with which they can connect, a marker of sameness. El Tayeb (2012:82) highlights how in line with "a post national 'borderless' Europe", a certain kind of mobility is encouraged within the EU, highly connected to a consumer citizen-ideal, where creative flexibility and entrepreneurship is lifted as ideal traits of the citizen. In describing Dutch migrants as enterprising, or as entrepreneurs, it is hence a way of constructing them as a form of 'ideal citizens'. Furthermore, El Tayeb (2012) continues to argue, along with the (at least imagined) diffusion of fixed national borders within the EU, "the divide between Europeans and non-Europeans is reinforced along

lines of race and religion” (ibid.:82). Hence, the free movement for some, and the dissolving of physical borders, has reinforced other kinds of boundaries related to perceived racial, religious or cultural difference, in which European values are posed as being threatened.

This again points to what Andersons (2013:93) refers to as the ”myth of full citizenship” asserting that formal citizenship does not grant inclusion in the ”community of value” and that the boundary between constructs of *us* and *them* can be both permeable and impermeable, depending on who is in question of entering (ibid.). Highlighting that also formal EU-citizens can be conceived and portrayed as ’non-European’ along lines of religion, ’race’ and culture, indicates ideas of who is conceived as *belonging* being constructed along similar lines. As Essed (2004) argues, just as unequal relations are constructed on basis of perceived *difference* and thus serving as grounds for exclusion, there are simultaneous processes making *preference for sameness*. This works to construct an imagined homogeneity, important to acknowledge especially since it is often used to protect and keep the access to certain privileged rooms to a chosen few, perceived as being like-minded or like *us* (ibid.:94). The ’privileged rooms’ in this case can be seen in the jobs, municipal services, housing, and the sense of being welcomed :

- Let’s put it like this, those who can offer jobs, housing, good childcare, and a little VIP feeling into the municipality, they are the ones who win points here, says [representative] from Älmhult municipality who shares a stand with the other municipalities in Kronoberg. [...] [representative] from Invest in Skaraborg, like many others, hopes to be able to attract Dutch entrepreneurs.

SVT Mittnytt 2007-03-12

The Dutch migrants as portrayed in my material are hence, as discussed above, many times portrayed as ’close’ or similar to ’Swedes’. In the following section I will turn closer attention to which characteristics and traits that are being portrayed as a basis for such sameness or likeness, and which ’communities of values’ (Anderson 2013;2015) that are being drawn upon.

6.4 Cultural closeness

In my material, there are many references to Swedish and Dutch *culture* as being similar or close:

”Dutch and Swedish culture are close to each other, but so many new things awaits those who move. The language, the society, and much more.”

Uppsala nya tidning 2018-02-23

’Culture’ is in the quote above used as a connection point between what is seen as ’Dutch’ and ’Swedish’, while other things are described as ’new’ or ’different’. Culture is a contested and slippery concept, at least when used in relation to migration and integration (Mattsson 2004). Cultural racism is a term to describe the widespread exclusionary discourse that represent understandings of culture as fixed, innate and essentialized and that ties it to ethnicity or implicitly ’race’ (Sharma 2015:109). Lewis (2013) argues that the widespread language of cultural difference, much seen in western Europe migration and integration debate, is highly racialized. Signifiers of ’race’, religion, ethnicity and culture are “not only linked together through processes of racialization but are also metonymically tied to crime, gender depotism, homophobia, cultural invasion and erosion of “European values” (ibid.:879).

These ’new’ forms of racisms, that no longer explicitly use the terminology of ’race’ albeit still bears much traces of ’old’ forms of biological racism, as they are largely based on the same argumentation of the dangerous in allowing cultures to ’mix’ (ibid.). At the same time, ideas about the importance of *sameness* or *conforming to sameness* is increasingly used in integration policy in many Western democracies (Yuval Davies et al 2005:257). These ideas and policies, highlighting migrants cultural adaptation (in the name of integration) with different levels of requirement and force, can be referred to as neo-assimilist approaches (Fahlgren et al 2011:10). Integration in this context is often understood as specifically integration to a *national identity* that is centered around *a set of core or irreducible values* (Lewis & Neal 2005:428). Difference of a certain kind is hence posed as problematic while similarity is constructed around notions of shared ’values’. In my material, closeness or likeness is often posed as a positive trait, in the following example expressed as a similarity in *mentality*:

”Even though the competition for the Dutch souls is fierce, our area is well located. There are a lot of things here which they look for- space, fresh air and also the Netherlands is not that far. The Dutch mentality is reminiscent of the Swedish one in comparison with other emigrant countries, notes [representative].”

Hällekiskurriren 090304

The suggested *closeness to Swedish mentality* is in the quote above implicitly portrayed as an attractive trait. In other words, similarity is portrayed as something positive. I find it interesting to consider the forefronting of sameness and similarity between ’Dutch’ and ’Swedes’ in the light of dominating discourses posing Europe and subsequent ’European values’ as being threatened by migration (Anderson 2015, El Tayeb 2012, Edenborg 2020). The viewing of ’Dutch’ and ’Swedes’ as alike and sharing the same European, suggested homogeneous Judeo-Christian values, can be seen to have been underscored by the EU through their promoting EU of integration, and the ideas of shared culture serving as a motivator to create public support (Hansen 2008). This can be seen in line with what Yuval Davis et al (2019) assert, that projects of politics of belonging (such as assimilationist policies and promoting a shared culture) emerge first and foremost when perceived as threatened. Hence, the celebration of cultural similarity seen in my material, can be understood as part of a discourse that poses ’culturally remote’ difference as threatening. In my material, there are not much references made to non-European migration, but ’cultural clashes’ are mentioned as a reason that Dutch people migrate to Sweden:

“The Dutch you spoke to, what were their reasons for wanting to move to Sweden? - They said that it is very crowded. And that they have no nature left anymore. The Dutch also say that there are a lot of cultural clashes in the Netherlands and that they no longer recognize their own country. " [...] Most have already been to Sweden to have a look. They have made up their minds and have already started learning Swedish. I spoke Swedish with several Dutch people over the weekend, says [representative]. ”

Länstidningen Östersund 2011-02-16

Similarity can be seen as a highly promoted value mirrored in contemporary integration and migration policies in many Western European countries. The urge for adaptation and

integration is often described in terms of upholding *social cohesion*, and this is further portrayed as one of the biggest challenges connected to migration (Lithman 2010:489). *Social cohesion* as a concept is much used in relation to debates that center on the asserted 'failure of multiculturalism' or failure of 'integration', broadly drawn upon in public and political debate, and based in the assumption that migrant populations, seen as Others, (non-white, non-western) are representing a fundamentally different and way of life (Garner 2014). It is this portrayed difference which they are viewed to be needed to give up in order to conform (Lithman 2010:489). This kind of rhetoric can be seen to carry with it strong traces of an orientalist discourse (Said 1978), with 'non-western' groups of people being described as non-modern in relation to enlightened, rational and democratic (etc.) West (Mohanty 1988.). It can also be seen in the light of the imagining of 'Europe' as a white community (Mattsson 2004, Garner 2014), representing modernity and democratic progress (Kinnvall 2016) and as being part of a wider political and social culture that has been generated and shaped through colonialism (Mulinari et al 2009).

While, as discussed, Dutch and Swedish culture and mentality are often described to be similar, in other cases the differences are highlighted, as in the need to learn Swedish, but with emphasis on the migrants efforts and willingness to *adapt*. As in the following examples with references to language and given names:

“Many Dutch people have a dream of moving to Sweden and being part of Småland. Those who visit the fair are often well prepared and have a basic knowledge of Swedish.”

Tranås tidning 2018-02-09

"The daughters were given Swedish-sounding names and when the family landed in Nyhyttan [male migrant] started his own company. [...]"

Nerikes Allehanda 2011-02-10

These examples signals a valorizing of the act to adapt, and the willingness to 'being a part of' the community. But they can also be seen as a form of invitation, a suggestion that these migrants *can* become a part of the community, and *can* make their children part of the community, due to a certain pre-given closeness. This perceived closeness can be partly explained by the shared belonging to a certain form of 'white' 'Europeanness', but there is

also something in the portrayals of the Dutch migrants in my material, that goes beyond or further than the 'European'. I would argue that there is a special tie or relation between the specific construct of what is seen to be Dutch and what is seen to be Swedish. This relation shows itself through how Sweden becomes portrayed in the material, and how it is described to be desired by the Dutch migrants. To this I will turn in the following section.

6.5 The Swedish dream

Narratives about Sweden are continuously coming through in the articles, through statements and images referring to what Sweden *is* and has to *offer*. The following examples are representative example of how Sweden is often portrayed in the material:

"The crew has carefully investigated what the Dutch are looking for: A red house in the countryside, fresh air, nature, safety, security for the children, avoiding traffic jams and more space.- We have all of that. For the price of a house down there, you can get two here. [...] - From what I have heard, it is enough to say that you are Swedish, that will keep you busy says [representative]"

Smålänningen 2015-02-06

"The reason why the Dutch are interested in moving is overpopulation, high house prices, the strained environment, crime and insecurity. - It is simply quality of life they are looking for. It's the opposite values that the municipality presents to attract immigrants from Europe's Atlantic coast. They promote low property prices, clean nature and relatively low crime. ”

Östran 2006-03-15

Sweden is portrayed as a safe place to live, with low crime, good childcare and clean nature. These images are reminiscent of the image of the 'Swedish exceptionalism' as discussed earlier, with its strong (gender equal) welfare policies, including high quality childcare, and comprehensive social security (Edenborg 2020, Lundström 2014). These values also bare traces of ideals relating to '*the Peoples' home*', connected to strong moral values and high commitment for the common good (Schmauch 2011:49). The image of the *Swedish peoples' home* has also been strongly drawn upon in Swedish right wing populist rhetorics as a *golden*

age, with highly nostalgic sentiments. Portrayed as having been destroyed, or injured due to mainly the presence of immigrants from 'remote cultures', and as a result of generous migration politics, (Rydgren & Elgenius 2019).

The very presence of right wing parties growing in political power and popularity has however in itself been regarded as a sign of something in the Swedish nation having been injured or lost as argued by Hübinette & Lundström (2011), relating to the high moral and humanist ideals of antiracism and tolerance that have been seen as signifiers of Swedishness (ibid.). These values were albeit imagined as 'white values', meaning that the 'good antiracist Sweden' was to a high extent a 'good *white* antiracist Sweden'. This creates the double mourning of 'old Sweden' (white purist) and 'good Sweden' (white antiracist) - creating a specific *white melancholia* in the Swedish context (ibid.). The idea of Sweden as a 'moral super power', and as ethically superior to the rest of the world has also been strongly present in the ideas of the specific form of hyper white 'Nordic Eurocentrism' that Schough (2008:17) refers to as the *Hyperboreal concept*.

References to Sweden as safe, clean and secure, can in the light of this be seen to reflect an image of 'old Sweden', in my material portrayed as something that the Dutch migrants much desire. There are, further more, examples of the Sweden being imagined like Holland was 'back in the days':

"- We got tired of Holland. Sweden is a bit like Holland in the 1970s, people are friendly and relaxed, says [male visitor]."

Barometern 2011-05-06

Interestingly, in the material there are both examples where the Dutch people motivate their choice of migrating to Sweden with references to 'cultural clashes', the so called 'white flight', and with references to a racist or 'strained political' environment, as is also highlighted in research for being strong push-factors (van Dalen & Henkens 2007). This can be seen as reflecting both an image of Sweden as a *white*, ethnically homogeneous nation with less 'cultural clashes', and images of Sweden as a nation celebrating values of tolerance and humanism. Hence both being examples of strong discursive constructs of the Swedish nation, that become confirmed by the narratives of the Dutch migrants. Essed & Trienekens (2008) shows how the Dutch nation is dominantly imagined as a 'white' nation or community but through a strongly 'color blind' lens (ibid.). The feelings of connectedness to another 'white'

nation, can be understood through a framework of transnational whiteness through which whiteness is understood as both *particular* and contingent to a given national context (i.e. the construct of a particular form of Swedish hegemonic whiteness), *and* connected to a larger transnational frame of whiteness. This allows for an understanding of how power relations of whiteness within the nation are connected to larger transnational and globalized social processes. Whitenesses (e.g. Swedish or Dutch whiteness) can hence be similar and different at the same time (Lundström 2014:12).

Another central motive for migrating to Sweden as portrayed in the material, is the wish to escape from the urban life in search for the rural idyll. In this search, the Swedish landscapes and rural areas are described as being especially appealing to the Dutch migrants.

”The expanses are enormous and the forests never end. Here one will find peace, time to breathe and to simply be. Dutch people who emigrate to Sweden long for all this. I can understand why. [... ..]

Uppsala Nya Tidning 2018-02-23

According to Benson & O'Reilly (2016:22) this longing for rural life is a common theme in lifestyle migration research, and it shows that the representations of place, as valued by migrants, intersect with ongoing identity-making projects. The place thus becomes inherent in the construction of identity. This is interesting, as it suggests that the way Sweden is represented and portrayed in the municipality promotion, can be seen to appeal to specific identity making projects. The specificities of place, emphasized through the portrayed uniqueness of Swedish landscape and nature, is strongly present in the ways Sweden is portrayed in my material, often depicted in its suggested abundance of space, tranquility and fresh air. Schough (2008) describes how *nature* has been historically tied into the national Swedish identity as an explanation of the good, strong and well-disciplined Swedish (white) character; the harsh climate is seen to have fostered the nation into endurance and strength (ibid.:106). It is also central in the way that the so called 'wilderness' (the Northern regions and to a high extent the territories inhabited and used by Sami populations) was through science appropriated by the majority society and subsequently 'cultivated' and 'cared for' (by strongly exploiting and oppressive means). Having intimate ties to nature, has in the West traditionally been constructed as a sign of primitiveness, but due to the white, nordic status of the Swedes, these ties were instead constructed as "a white man's burden" and "a deed in the

name of culture” (ibid.). The insights of the worth in taking care of and spending time in nature, further became constructed as a value tied to Swedishness, that was actively spread to the world like a cultural contribution (ibid.:91). To valorize and spend time in nature, not living of it but living with it, can thereby be seen as strong markers of ‘Swedishness’. There are many references in my material to how the Dutch migrants desire and appreciate the Swedish nature:

[male migrant] 28, and his girlfriend [female migrant], 27, moved from Utrecht to the small community Boliden just over six months ago. They are geologists and came here to look for gold, copper, zinc and iron. - At home we would have had to work in the oil or gas industry, here we get to look for metals. It's a lot more fun, says [male migrant]. The snow-covered wide and open landscape make their new life exotic. - We have both gotten a new hobby - cross-country skiing. And the Swedish right of public access (*allemansrätten*) is fantastic, says [female migrant] in almost flawless Swedish. ”

Aftonbladet 2008-03-11

The couple in the quote above are portrayed in their appreciating of, spending time in the Swedish *exotic* nature. This can be seen as a sign of sharing the values of the Swedish love to nature, understanding and making use of it, *and* moreover acknowledging the way it is taken care of as a public good, the right of public access (yet another *peoples' home* ideal).

When Bridget Anderson (2013:3) refers to inclusion to ‘the community of value’, she highlights how alongside the parameters of ethnicity, religion, culture and language, around which national identity is often constructed and expressed - lie more vaguely expressed ideas or narratives of ‘shared values’ - that are often implicitly woven into everyday language and social relations. These narratives can be based in the local area, as a feeling of belonging to the local community, but often overlaps with ideas of nationhood (ibid.). The ways that the nation is imagined can thus often be tied to experiences on the smaller scale, slightly different than the grand narratives such as national history, religion and language, (by which nations are also discursively constructed). This way of viewing national belonging puts forward other parameters for inclusion to the ‘community of value’. These more personal, local and popular narratives, through which the nation is imagined can be regarded as one of the the context in which national identities are called forth, and in which strong emotional and naturalized ties

are being produced (Westwood 2000:41).

Following this argumentation, and grounding it in Schoughs (2008) argumentation of nature's role in the construct of (white, nordic) 'Swedishness', appreciating and understanding Swedish nature, as portrayed in the examples above, can be seen as a strong parameter for inclusion into the imaginary of the Swedish 'community of value' (Anderson 2013, 2015).

6.6 Migration as contribution

There are many examples from my material that explicitly describe the Dutch migration to the respective municipalities as a highly positive contribution with specific references to the *local* community. This sheds light on the strained situations that many of these regions and municipalities (mainly sparsely populated, small town areas) experience due to high moving-out-rates, the closing down of service facilities such as schools, health centers and local stores, and decreasing bases for tax-income (Niedomysl 2006). The Dutch migration in this context is portrayed in a way that describes every new inhabitant as a contribution, like in the following two examples:

"Now she is fully committed. At the moment, it is the Holland project that counts, because more people are needed here so that the schools will not be closed down and that there be an active community life."

Göteborg Direkt 2012-01-16

"From 2008 to 2014, approximately 150 families visited Hylte municipality. A total of 20 families have moved here during that period. Each person means 45,000 SEK in annual income in the form of government grants."

Hallandsposten 2015-10-06

These two quotes represent a portrayal of the Dutch migrants as a positive addition, a part of a solution to as well demographic and financial problems. Part of this can be seen explained by be the strong emphasis on employability, entrepreneurship and/or financial self sufficiency. By the free movement directive, with regulatory requirements on income or self support, Swedish municipalities get granted that the people who's migration they promote, will not become an "undue burden" (Anderson 2015:53) for the welfare system, as the EU-migrants

will not be given access to social benefits unless they have employment. Portraying migration as burdensome for the welfare state has been a central feature in dominating migration discourses across Europe (Anderson 2015:41). To on the other hand portray migration as a solution or salvation for a decreasing welfare can thus be seen in contrast to this and ideas about who can be seen to contribute to the welfare state should therefore not be seen as 'neutral' claims, but rather be understood in the light of a discourse in which the right to welfare and the capability to contribute to welfare touches deeply onto ideas about belonging and deservingness (Hellström et al. 2020:5). DeConick (2020:1670) describes how in contemporary discourses on migration in Europe, 'refugees' and 'migrants', two distinctly constructed categories, are being constructed increasingly in terms of 'taking' from the welfare state. The idea of being either a 'giver' or a 'taker' in relation to the welfare state seems to be a strong construct in relation to how migrants and migration are perceived. Lundström (2014:153) shows how Swedish white women migrating to Spain regarded themselves as primarily 'bringing' resources to the Spanish society rather than 'taking' resources away from it, and that this was an important way for them to distinguish their forms of mobility as different than the the ones elaborated within the domanating conceptual framework on mobility in the EU context, in which migration was deeply interrelated with lack of economic resources (ibid.).

The Dutch migrants in my material are dominantly described as a remedy and part of a solution for welfare services in decline. The following quote gives an illustration of how attractive the Dutch migrants are for the municipality, here portrayed primarily as tax payers:

“The first arranged visit is taking place now. A group will arrive in Åsele tomorrow and if it goes as the municipality hopes, maybe some will choose to move to the town and thus contribute to growth and local taxes.

- We have a program arranged for them. We do cultural and touristy things, we meet people who have already moved here, and we visit companies, says [name].

[...] It will also be a day off and we'll grill hotdogs over an open fire and visit the Offerhällan (turistic site). ”

Folkbladet 2016-05-17

Another recurring theme is the speculations, interest in and capacity among the Dutch migrants to buy property. This shows strong reminiscence with the connections between

property owning and being viewed as a self-owning, self-governing subject as argued by Brace (2015). Although a historic construct, tracing back to the emergence of modern Western nation states, the centrality of owning property can still be seen to influence views of citizenship and be influential for citizenship discourse (deGenova 2015). There are many references to searching for and buying houses in my material. The Dutch migrants are described having house dreams that often also taps into strong national imageries of Sweden as the red house on the country side, in a rural idyll. The municipalities in collaboration with real estate agents are sometimes active in facilitating the search for houses to buy. In one case, a municipality organizes a competition in relation to the Emigration Expo:

"On 13 January, the municipal board agreed to donate a residential plot, worth SEK 60,000, on Höglundavägen 9 in Mullhyttan as a competition prize at the emigrant fair in Holland on 7th and 8th of March. However, this did not comply with the Local Government Act as municipal property may not be donated without a something in return. But yesterday, the City Council resolved that problem by deciding that whoever wins the plot will become a marketer of Lekeberg municipality in Holland."

Nerikes Allehanda 2009-02-13

The emphasizing and facilitation of finding and buying houses also touches onto temporal aspects of migration. Anderson (2013:82) argues that an important aspect of the ways migrant lives become affected by different citizenship restrictions, such as temporary residency permits and work visas, is through enforced temporariness, affecting strongly all areas of life (ibid). This is not the least the case in Sweden after the implementation of temporary residency permits in 2016 (Dahlstedt & Neergaard 2019:132).

This can also be seen in the way that the labour migration laws work for non-EU-nationals, where the residency permit is tied to the employer (and can end with the employment) and the permits are limited to a period of four years (Dahlstedt & Neergaard 2019:127). However, temporariness can also be seen as general tenet in migration policy in the EU in which a recurring trend has been to encourage so called circular migration. That is, migration can be seen to fill temporary labour needs and shortages, but is encouraged in its flexibility and temporality (ibid.). Interestingly in the case of the Dutch migrants, there are

often references made to permanent settlement and building a future in Sweden, such as illustrated in the following quotes:

”A flying Dutchman has landed at the surgeon's clinic at Sundsvall Hospital. Vascular surgeon [male migrant] intends to put down his piles for good in Sundsvall.”

Sundsvalls Tidning 2016-04-03

”[male migrant] is currently branch manager at a car company with 28 employees. He has extensive experience in sales business. He is also multilingual. The whole family has already started an education in Swedish and the two children, [name] 12 years old, and [name] 16 years old, are just as fond of Tranås and their future here, as their parents are.”

Tranås tidning 2015-11-05

The term 'knock down ones piles' (slå ned sina bopålar) has in Swedish language strong connotations to permanency and making a home 'for good'. It has been identified that members of privileged groups have a sense of entitlement that gives them the right to be respected, acknowledged or rewarded - and to plan a future (Lundström 2014:154). This can be seen in contrast to the temporality often bringing different levels of precariousness for many other migrants (Anderson 2013:82). Permanency gives other possibilities and the control to shape ones life, which again connects to the aspects of *governance* related to practices of bordering and politics of belonging (Yuval Davies 2019). In being constructed as in many different ways *belonging* to the Swedish communities they are invited to, the Dutch migrants can be seen to entitled with the right to 'be at home' as "spaces that are inhabitable for some bodies and not others, insofar as they extend the surfaces of some bodies and not others" (Ahmed 2000:162).

In this sense the Dutch migrants can be seen to bring a certain kind of cultural (white) capital that they can reinstall in the Swedish context, and that is acknowledged, appreciated and asked for (Lundström 2014:14). Applying a critical whiteness studies perspective on migration allows for viewing whiteness as a form of capital that is "reinstalled and sometimes even reinforced through migration" (ibid.:9). Whiteness in migration, albeit graduated and differentiated as discussed above, can be seen to 'travel with the migrant' and be "interlinked

with and upheld by (transnational) institutions, citizenships [...] and other resources that are transferrable but mediated differently cross-nationally (ibid.:14).

The right to entitlements in a nation is highly tied to notions of belonging, not only in the sense of formal citizenship/non-citizenship, but also as Anderson (203;2015;2019) argues, depending on social status and relation to the construct of the 'ideal citizen', built strongly upon notions of gender, 'race', class and other dividing lines.

7. Discussion

Through this thesis I wished to investigate highly contrasting discourses on migration that are currently circulating in Swedish public debate, and in a larger scale European context. I wanted in specific to investigate the narratives created around certain migrants portrayed as highly contributive and 'desirable', in this case Dutch migrants in a Swedish regional marketing context. I further wanted to explore how these narratives could be understood through notions of national belonging and ideas of 'Swedishness', 'Europeanness' and whiteness. Furthermore, I wanted to understand how these narratives, or constructs, could be connected to processes of exclusion from and inclusion into certain 'communities of value'.

As mentioned earlier, when searching for material, I found a few articles that were distinct from the ones I have chosen to analyze deeper. These articles were of a more 'critical' stance towards the municipalities' promotion of Dutch migration, and placed the Dutch migration in juxta-position with non-EU migration and asylum migration. To analyze the narratives around different forms of migrations as portrayed in these articles have been beyond the scope of this study, but would be worth examining in further research.

The different forms of migration as categorized above, can be understood as highly distinct from each other and difficult, even risky, to compare as it might result in a merging of different legal, historical, political conditions behind different migrations, and in doing so becoming ignorant of the highly differing pre-migratory conditions and post-migratory outcomes for different 'groups' of migrants. At the same time, as Hansen (2008) argues, policies on external migration to the EU and questions about the free movement and the EU integration project on the other, are closely related and intertwined, and need to be understood in relation to one another. In a similar vein, the development in policies on labour migration, both extra-EU and internally, needs to be understood alongside and together with developments in policies on asylum and so called irregular migration (ibid.). This can be seen

for instance through the ways the stricter protection of the outer borders of Europe have been strongly motivated by the right to free movement *within* the EU territory, or in how European values and a claimed 'European identity' have been used to legitimize these developments.

I have argued for the need of viewing this relation through a feminist and postcolonial lens, and have in this thesis applied feminist theories and concept to create an understanding for the ways that borders are created both through formal means (such as citizenship and visa requirement) and through more informal such, in the form of perceptions and constructs around belonging and sameness, within and between nations.

In analyzing the material, I have found it overall prominent how the ways Dutch migrants are dominantly being portrayed lie close to constructs of 'ideal citizens', that in turn are strongly embedded in neoliberal ideals. This shows itself through the ways that *willingness to work* and *employability* are lifted as general traits of the Dutch migrants. It is however not whichever form of work and willingness that becomes portrayed in the material. Either through highlighting high education grade, proper language skills or a general entrepreneurial and creative spirit, a certain kind of subjectivity is constructed in which the work and skills of the Dutch migrants is portrayed as a *possession* or a *property*. The ways that the Dutch migrants' work is described as an asset they are in control of, that is moreover highly desired by Swedish municipality officials and employers, brings with it a certain status of *inviolability*.

This status is already influenced by the EU-citizenship, giving certain rights and entitlements, but as I have discussed, the EU-citizenship, even with the requirement of employment being met, is not granting full inclusion to rights and entitlements. This is however also the case for formal national citizenship, and this tension reveals 'the myth of full citizenship'. The focus on the 'good worker citizen' in the constructs of the Dutch migrants feeds into a discourse of deservingness that affects citizens and non-citizens alike, albeit in different ways. Moral sanctions towards unemployed nationals, and legal sanctions towards non-citizens that do not meet the requirements of asylum - or labor migration law, find themselves excluded from rights and entitlements tied to the nation. In this sense the discourse of deservingness connected to work can be said to strengthen borders both *within* and at the '*edges*' of nations.

In a similar way, constructs of 'cultural closeness' and similarity between 'Swedes' and 'Dutch' feed into discourses of what it means to be European as well as 'Swedish'. In my material it becomes clear that 'Dutch culture' is seen as close to 'Swedish culture' and that

this makes the Dutch migrants regarded more suitable and easily adaptable to a perceived 'Swedishness'. I argue that whiteness is central in these constructs, both as in notions of belonging to a European community, and to a Swedish.

This whiteness can be seen as strongly constituted by and constitutive of values represented through images of the Swedish welfare state, where whiteness keeps a strong position in constituting normality. The values represented through the Swedish welfare state have also been strongly connected to ideals of gender equality, portrayed and understood as a particularly 'Swedish', 'Nordic' and to some extent a (particular kind of) 'European' set of values. In this sense it has also served as a basis for exclusion of groups constructed and perceived as 'Others', non-european and non-white 'immigrants' in particular.

Through this understanding I argue that the idea of Dutch migrants, as presented in my material, being first and foremost portrayed as a strong contribution to the Swedish welfare state and local societies, is strongly influenced by notions of belonging, that are in turn constituted by structures of 'race' and gender (intersecting and intertwining). At the same time as defining who can become included and how, it defines the grounds for exclusion of certain 'others'. In this sense, the emerging narratives on Dutch migration as desirable and suitable in specific Swedish contexts, can be said to constitute a discursive bordering, that reinforces ideas of who belongs and who doesn't (in a graded scale) to a perceived Swedish national community and respective local communities. Just as the discourse on moral obligation and employability affects the boundaries around rights, entitlements and inclusion to 'the community of value' within citizenship, I argue that discourses around belonging to a portrayed 'Swedishness' and/or 'Europeanness' affects the racialized borders within the Swedish nation as well as towards non-Europeans at the 'outer borders' of Sweden and the EU.

This kind of bordering however does not stop at a discursive level, but can be seen to have material effects and consequences in 'real' life. The ways that Swedish municipalities make efforts to facilitate employment, housing and schooling, and to create a sense of 'VIP-entrance' into the respective local community, shape material possibilities and living conditions. In contrast to temporality and often precariousness entailing many other forms of migrations and migrant subjects, the Dutch migrants are by Swedish municipalities often encouraged to stay permanently and as such, to form a future in the respective region. The Dutch migrants as portrayed in my material hence become constructed in a way that in certain ways entitles them to be 'at home' in their new place of residence.

I will conclude with the metaphor of Alpa Parmar (2020), suggesting that contemporary borderings in Western nation states can be seen as mirrors. Instead of introducing new dividing lines, they rather represent, reflect and sometimes also deflects, the reality of existing exclusionary attitudes, and the racialized anxieties they reinforce (ibid:175). Through this view, the variety of divisions, exclusions, and inclusions being carried out through different border and migration policies, do have something to say about already existing hierarchies and attitudes towards 'race' and emotions about 'racial others' within the given nation state (ibid.). The selective inclusion of Dutch migrants by Swedish municipalities, carried out through regional marketing targeted specifically towards a Dutch 'emigration market', can be seen to mirror an image of Sweden where whiteness keeps a strong stance in constituting 'Swedishness', and that in addition becomes reinforced when confirmed by an (et least imagined) desiring on the part of Dutch putative migrants.

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