Dutch lifestyle migrants moving to rural Sweden
In loving memory of my father George (1944-2010),
and to Ineke, Ivo, Caroline, Lucas & Nora
There and back again?
Dutch lifestyle migrants moving to rural Sweden
in the early 21st century
Abstract


This thesis has a twofold aim. First, it studies motivations and decision processes of Dutch families moving to rural Sweden, with a focus on Hällefors municipality in the Bergslagen area. Second, it explores how this migration flow can be conceptualised within migration theory. The results of the study are presented in four papers.

The migrants’ characteristics are explored using variables from the Bergslagen Database. This is complemented with data from interviews with municipality officials, project leaders and Dutch families in rural Sweden. The theoretical framework consists of literature on counterurbanisation, the creative class thesis and lifestyle migration. The creative class thesis has inspired many rural place marketing projects and efforts to attract the ‘right type’ of people to stimulate rural development. Based on the interview study, I argue that lifestyle migration research offers most apt insights into the act of migration within the wider life trajectories of these Dutch families.

The thesis offers new empirical data that suggest amendments to be made to the academic definition of lifestyle migration. Additional contributions consider the novel geographic direction of the migration flow (northwards), the destination (a deprived area) and the structure framing the decision process; a local authority and its deliberate attempts to attract new residents from abroad. The findings suggest transcending four binaries. First, in the context of an integrating EU, the thesis adds international dimensions to the initial story of internal counterurbanisation. Second, these flexibly mobile families transcend and combine issues of urbanity and rurality through access-facilitating technology and cheap means of long distance transport. Third, this study reiterates the importance of production as a complement to consumption in lifestyle migration research. Finally, the thesis adds dynamic issues of transience to the static permanent-temporary binary of migration.

Keywords: lifestyle migration, international counterurbanisation, creative class, place marketing, Emigration Expo, Bergslagen Database, interview study, Dutch families, rural Sweden, 21st century.

Marco Eimermann, School of Humanities, Education & Social Sciences Örebro University, SE-701 82 Örebro, Sweden, marco.eimermann@oru.se
List of papers

This thesis is based on the following papers, which will be referred to in the text by their roman numerals:

Paper I

Paper II

Paper III

Paper IV
## Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................................................................................. 11

1 INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................................ 13
  1.1 Aim and research questions ................................................................................................. 15
  1.2 Locating Hällefors and Placement ..................................................................................... 16
  1.3 Approaching Dutch migrants in Hällefors ........................................................................ 20
  1.4 Outline of the thesis ............................................................................................................ 23

2 COUNTERURBANISATION ............................................................................................................ 25
  2.1 Investigating everyday lives ................................................................................................. 25
  2.2 The counterurbanisation story ........................................................................................... 26
  2.3 Beyond the consumption-production binary ....................................................................... 30

3 ATTRACTING CREATIVE RURAL RESIDENTS ......................................................................... 32
  3.1 Key theoretical issues of the creative class thesis ............................................................... 32
  3.2 Critical assessment of the creative class thesis .................................................................... 34
  3.3 Rural development and migrant entrepreneurs ................................................................... 36
  3.4 Beyond the rural-urban binary ............................................................................................ 39

4 LIFESTYLE MIGRATION .............................................................................................................. 41
  4.1 Defining lifestyle migration .................................................................................................. 41
  4.2 The lure of lifestyle .............................................................................................................. 42
  4.3 Beyond the permanent-temporary binary .......................................................................... 44

5 RESEARCH DESIGN .................................................................................................................... 49
  5.1 Mixed methods .................................................................................................................... 49
  5.2 Research area ....................................................................................................................... 54
  5.3 Reliability and validity in qualitative research ..................................................................... 56

6 PAPER SUMMARIES .................................................................................................................. 58

7 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION .......................................................................................... 64
  7.1 Moving beyond binaries ........................................................................................................ 64
  7.2 Contributions of the thesis .................................................................................................. 68

SUMMARY IN DUTCH ..................................................................................................................... 71

SUMMARY IN SWEDISH ................................................................................................................. 76

REFERENCES ................................................................................................................................... 81

APPENDICES ................................................................................................................................. 97
Figures
Figure 1. Less obviously attractive sites in Hällefors (photo)
Figure 2. Inhabitants in Hällefors, 1968-2012
Figure 3. Latest year of arrival for Dutch migrants in the research area
Figure 4. Location of Central Sweden, Dalarna and Hällefors
Figure 5. Factors and intervening obstacles in migration
Figure 6. Comparing lifestyle mobility to temporary mobility and permanent migration
Figure 7. Location of Dutch migrants in the research area, 2008

Tables
Table 1. Aim and main question in each paper (P)
Table 2. Example of a table on Placement’s website
Table 3. Basic facts for geographical units included in this thesis
Table 4. Creative class occupations
Table 5. Comparing permanent migration with temporary mobility
Table 6. Methods, geographical level and time period in the papers

Appendices
Appendix 1. List of interviews included in the interview study
Appendix 2a. Interview guide; expert interviews
Appendix 2b. Interview guide; biographical interviews
Appendix 3. Survey design
Appendix 4. Dutch migration to a selection of countries (1995-2012)

Abbreviations
BeDa = Bergslagen Database
EE = Emigration Expo
EU = European Union
ICT = Information and Communication Technologies
LISA = integrated database for labour market research
NL = the Netherlands
SR = Swedish Radio
SSAG = Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography
SVT = Swedish Television
UK = United Kingdom
USA = United States of America
Acknowledgements

Although the suburbs of The Hague in which my brother Ivo and I grew up are far from a rural idyll, our parents made sure we enjoyed a safe, pleasant and stable youth. They shared many interests with us, such as sports, travelling and reading. For instance, in the 1990s, my mother and I read a trilogy about Thule, a fictional future utopia in Northern Europe. This nourished my curiosity for lives lived in other places, which has formed a thread through my studies in Utrecht, The Hague and Örebro. Also, my late father introduced me to the world of Tolkien, to which the first part of this thesis’ title refers. Similar to the Hobbit, Dutch families in this study have overcome many hardships before attaining their mountain of gold. I would like to express my warmest gratitude to my parents for their constant support: heel erg bedankt, voor al jullie hulp en steun!

So many other people have helped me before and during the research project. Krister guided me through my internship at Örebro University’s Human Geography department. Britta, Henrik, Mari and Martti helped me find my way during my first job at Örebro University. Max made me feel welcome in Örebro and assisted me when applying for the PhD project. Mona was my mentor during my initial hours of lecturing at an undergraduate course. Ann-Cathrine gave me the opportunity to develop as a lecturer, in good collaboration with Peter. Moa, Anders and Eva shared their interest in music with me and explained anything from Swedish flowers to midsummer celebration and other Swedish traditions. You made sure I was not bowling alone!

Many thanks also to Ingemar, Håkan, Gun, Thord and other (senior) lecturers at CUReS. Your critical remarks, anecdotes and sheer presence have contributed to an educative atmosphere, both in Örebro and during seminars in Åkerby, Bredsjö and Aspa. At one of these occasions, Irene Molina discussed Paper IV in a very useful way.

As part of CUReS, a group of PhD candidates grew up as the seven dwarfs of FUS II. We were small when we started in 2007, but look at what we have achieved! Three of us have successfully defended their thesis and found jobs, three of us have become parents, some have suburbanised, others counterurbanised or reurbanised, in Sweden and internationally. It has been inspiring to share some moments of this wonderful stage in my life course with you 😊

During several PhD courses, numerous talented fellow PhD candidates contributed to this thesis both directly and indirectly. Thank you Melissa, Ulrika, Sofie, Lena, Christina, Peter, Daniel WW, Ben and all the others for
inspiring discussions and challenging conversations! I am indebted to Jochem, Edwin, John and Femke for commenting early drafts of the first paper. Special thanks to Mandy for your help with the English language. Your advice has also been valuable for subsequent texts.

I thank my supervisors Mats and Dieter for being patient with me and helping me figure out concepts, theories and methods. No matter when or how, you have always found time to aid me with your expertise and creativity. I remember several meetings where I felt tired and confused at the beginning, but left the room with new energy and inspiration! This is certainly also true for Lotta, my opponent during the final seminar. Your well-structured comments and easy tone motivated me to realise final adjustments in what has now become a thesis.

The better part of the empirical material for this study consists of interviews. I am indebted to SSAG for funding key parts of the fieldwork. I am also grateful to the respondents in this study for their hospitality and for answering my questions to the best of their ability. I truly hope some of the research published in this thesis can be useful to the involved migrants and municipalities, or any others.

Last but not least, I am very happy to have such a wonderful family; Caroline, Lucas and Nora. From the bottom of my heart: thank you for your understanding when I had to work during yet another weekend or when we had to use all our creativity to coordinate babysitting, housekeeping and two jobs! But most of all, thank you for constantly reminding me that there are other aspects to life than writing a thesis.

Finally I would like to cite some lines from a song, as Max (Jakobsson, 2009:12) and Daniel (Brandt, 2010:13) did. The following¹ may describe the feelings of post-migration pain, hope and nostalgia experienced by some Dutch families in this thesis:

Je komt bij een kruising – Rechts, links of rechtdoor – Toen je van huis ging, was het hiervoor – Dit is precies waarom je alles verliet – Je kan de blues wel willen verlaten – Maar de blues verlaat jou niet...

You arrive at a crossroads – Right, left or straight on – When you left home, this was the reason why – This is just why you left it all behind – You may want to leave the blues – But the blues will not leave you...

Marco Eimermann, a sunny September Sunday in Örebro, 2013

¹ De Dijk, 2011, “De blues verlaat je nooit” - translated by Marco Eimermann
1 Introduction

Jane and Adrian were born in the late 1960s. They grew up in the same Dutch village with approximately 25,000 inhabitants. In their youth, this village and its surrounding fields and woodlands offered numerous leisure opportunities. Later, they married and found a job: Adrian worked as a teacher at a secondary school and Jane was employed as electrician. They earned enough money to purchase a house. At first sight, the couple lived a happy life in a wealthy country.

However, the village expanded rapidly as its population increased to 65,000 over the course of just a few decades. Due to traffic congestion, commuting the 10 km to their work places became time-consuming. Moreover, Adrian experienced more and more stress at work and Jane at times felt her job was rather boring. Their dissatisfaction with the physical environment increased as crime rates and levels of pollution were rising along with other negative perceived effects of urbanisation.

In the summer of 1996, when Jane and Adrian were in their late twenties, they visited Sweden for the first time. “Do you want to know why?” Adrian asks me, “Because most Dutch families in the 1990s went on holidays to Southern Europe. They put their children and dog in the car, took their caravan, and drove to Southern France. This was not our idea of going on holidays! We wanted adventure, to see bears and wolves in the wild. And we found that in Sweden.” (Interview Mansveld, 2011)

In other words, Jane and Adrian’s visit to Sweden was the result of a wish to be distinct from the rest, combined with the pull of Sweden’s countryside. Pleasant social encounters in Sweden contributed to their overall positive perception of the destination. In Jane and Adrian’s words: “We had just arrived in Helsingborg and parked our car there. We did not have Swedish coins and we did not understand the Swedish words on the ticket machine. Then a Swede passed by, asked how he could help, and gave us 20 Kronor! Such a thing rarely happens in the Netherlands.” (Interview Mansveld, 2011) Positively surprised by this initial encounter, they continued their journey to a rented cottage in Hällefors.

From that summer onwards and after the birth of their children in 1997 and 1999, they returned to the same cottage in Hällefors annually. According to the Mansveld family, there are four main motivations for doing so: the lack of traffic congestion, the abundance of nature, the sparsely populated surroundings and friendly people in the area. Therefore, it is no wonder they decided to migrate to Hällefors in 2008.
Other Dutch families in this study have similar motivations for moving. However, although these Dutch families are at the same stage in the life course, the length of their migration decision processes and the conditions for their moves differ. These variations may be explained by their various levels of education, mode of employment or other circumstances.

For instance, in contrast to the Mansveld family, Thea and Anton van Leeuwen migrated rather spontaneously. They were born in the late 1950s (Anton) and early 1960s (Thea), and grew up in a Dutch village. After secondary school, they moved to a city in the Netherlands where they completed higher education: Thea studied dietetics and Anton attended an Art Academy. Some years later, they married and had two children (in 1999 and 2000). They started a large production company which prospered from producing movies and videos.

However, as Anton explains, during the early 21st century, they noticed an increasing pressure in their work environment to accomplish more for less. During the autumn of 2004, the couple decided to take their children on a journey around the world. Upon return from New Zealand, they were not at all motivated to resume working in the Netherlands. Anton explains:

It became clear that we really needed a change in our lives, and I started to look around for opportunities. A friend knew that the municipality of Hällefors cooperated with a migration consultancy agency (Placement) in order to attract new residents from abroad. Six weeks later, I was in Hällefors. The director of Placement showed me a school for sale and told me the asking price. That is when I knew this was a good opportunity, both for business and our family. (Interview Van Leeuwen, 2011)

In the summer of 2005, the Van Leeuwen family purchased the school. The first period, the family remained in the Netherlands, while Anton regularly travelled to Hällefors for a week’s work. Then, in 2008, the family sold their house in the Netherlands and took the challenge of building up a new life abroad. An additional motivation for this was to give their children the possibility of growing up in the countryside.

However, after three years, they moved to Southern Sweden, frustrated and disappointed with local politics and the business climate in Hällefors. Moreover, Anton still regularly travels to the Netherlands for business. From Southern Sweden, this journey is 500 km shorter. In other words: as a result of high levels of mobility in their work, the Van Leeuwen family is rather flexible when they choose their place of residence.
1.1 Aim and research questions
As illustrated above, the main empirical material for this thesis consists of similar yet different Dutch families in the Swedish rural municipality of Hällefors. The migration of this specific group is not studied as an isolated event, but as part of an ongoing process in which places, meanings and experiences both before and after the move play an important role. Hence, this study explores migration as a process within the broader context of the families’ life course trajectories (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993:337).

The main focus of this research is thus on Dutch families in Hällefors. Their motivations for moving and their decision process are quintessential to this study. Expectations and aspirations before the move, as well as experiences after the move are included in the migration process. Hence, one part of this study’s aim is:

To study motivations and decision processes of Dutch families moving to rural Sweden in general and Hällefors in particular.

A second part is added to this aim. This part is of more theoretical character and relates to theories of counterurbanisation and lifestyle migration. It is formulated as follows:

To explore how this migration flow can be conceptualised within migration theory.

Consequently, this study considers four dimensions of migration theory in particular. First, these are dimensions of scale, both implicitly and explicitly considered in studies of internal and international counterurbanisation. Second, these are dimensions of rurality and urbanity, as stipulated in the rural-urban binary. Third, these are dimensions of social and economic motivations for moving, related to issues of consumption and production. Fourth and finally, these are dimensions of temporary and permanent movement, related to novel forms of flexible mobility.

In relation to this twofold aim, the overall research question is:

Why and how do Dutch families migrate to rural Sweden in general and Hällefors in particular, in the early 21st century?

This question is divided into four sub-questions, addressed in the four research papers included in this thesis. In each paper, these sub-questions are related to a specific aim, as shown in Table 1.
Table 1. Aim and main question in each paper (P)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>Aim</th>
<th>Main question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>To analyse contemporary international counterurban migration patterns in an integrated European Union, exemplified by recent migration flows from the Netherlands to Central Sweden.</td>
<td>What are the characteristics of people who move from the Netherlands to Central Sweden in the early 21st century?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>To examine international rural place marketing efforts by Swedish municipalities in Dalarna and Bergslagen, toward affluent West-European migrants, exemplified by campaigns in the Netherlands.</td>
<td>What strategies, objectives and target groups do municipalities in Dalarna and Bergslagen have for their international rural place marketing campaigns?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>To examine what factors contribute to the decision of Dutch families to move to rural Sweden in general and Hällefors in particular.</td>
<td>What factors, motivations and expectations contribute to the decision of Dutch families to move to rural Sweden in general and Hällefors in particular?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>To examine the migration process of Dutch lifestyle migrants in Hällefors and their ambivalent attitudes towards returning.</td>
<td>After migrating to Hällefors, what influences the Dutch households’ attitude towards returning?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The central question is addressed through the above and more specific questions formulated in each paper. Although this thesis focuses on the migrant’s tale rather than the municipality’s tale, the socio-economic circumstances in the receiving area are also important. Therefore, the following section provides background information on Hällefors and Placement.

1.2 Locating Hällefors and Placement

Hällefors is located about 80 kilometres north of Örebro town. It is part of an old industrial area known as Bergslagen, for a long time characterised by iron and steel industry and forestry (Braunerhielm, 2006; Hedfeldt, 2008; Heldt Cassel, 2008). This attracted labour from Belgium, Germany, Finland and other countries (Borgegård et al., 1995; Åkesson, 1998). Cur-
rently however, as employment opportunities within these industries have been diminishing for decades, local economy is stagnating.

Figure 1. Less obviously attractive sites in Hällefors

![Photo: Marco Eimermann, 2011 (clockwise; Hällefors bus station, main shopping street, remaining steel works)](image)

A group of local film directors produced a documentary about Hällefors in the 1990s (Rinaldo, 2008). The documentary depicts Hällefors as a small industrial town, suffering an economic crisis bigger than all previous ones (Figure 1). Its population lost hope for a better future for themselves, their children and their municipality, and many inhabitants moved away.

The real mental bomb was in 1993, when something awful happened. 140 Chinese people came to Hällefors and started to dismantle the steelworks. Screw after screw, they packed everything in containers and moved it to China. That is when everyone understood that it was definitely hopeless. (Rinaldo, 2008)

In an attempt to turn the tide, the municipality board formulated a conscious strategy for this industrial district on its way to new goals. It is summarised in the slogan “from steel to meal” and based on three pillars: design, technology and culinary arts (Braunerhielm, 2006). Several projects were initiated with the financial support of regional, national and EU
funds. Abandoned porch houses were demolished and replaced by sculpture parks. A House of Design was built and a House of Culinary Arts was transferred to Grythyttan in Hällefors from the 1992 World Expo in Seville (Spain). These projects were aimed at creating new employment opportunities, which according to the documentary “are treasures” (Rinaldo, 2008).

Unfortunately, these efforts sorted little effect. At 41%, Hällefors experienced the fifth largest municipal population decline in Sweden from 1970 (SVT, 2013). Figure 2 illustrates how population decreased steadily from 11,723 in 1968 to 6,973 in 2012. As in almost a third of Europe’s regions (Klingholz, 2009), particularly adults of working age moved in search of employment opportunities. This often results in shrinking public and private service sectors, falling housing-values, and growing concerns of who is going to care for the elderly (Niedomysl & Amcoff, 2011). Hence, Hällefors is in need of more residents.

Yet, Hällefors is the first Swedish municipality to initiate a so-called Holland project in cooperation with Placement. Placement is a privately owned migration consultancy agency, founded in 2003 by two Dutch migrants in Norway. This agency has assisted over 2,500 migrants from the Netherlands and Belgium moving to Norway, Sweden or Denmark (Placement, 2013). Ideally, the attracted migrants are “families with adults aged 35 to 45 and children under the age of 10” (Interview Vreeswijk, 2008).

**Figure 2. Inhabitants in Hällefors; total and age groups (years), 1968-2012**

![Inhabitants in Hällefors: Total and Age Groups (1968-2012)](chart)

Source: Statistics Sweden, 2013
Table 2. Example of a table on Placement’s website

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Area in km²</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
<th>Inhabitants/km²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laxå (Sweden)</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>6,046</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam (NL)</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>755,605</td>
<td>3,450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from Placement, 2013

Table 3. Basic facts for geographical units included in this thesis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Area in km²</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
<th>Inhabitants/km²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>37,354</td>
<td>16,788,972</td>
<td>449.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>30,528</td>
<td>10,438,353</td>
<td>341.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>43,094</td>
<td>5,543,453</td>
<td>128.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>410,295</td>
<td>9,566,945</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Dalarna, SE</td>
<td>28,194</td>
<td>276,555</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hällefors munic., SE</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>6,973</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 3. Latest year of settlement for Dutch migrants in the research area

Source: BeDa, 2013 (absolute numbers, people aged 16 and older)

In 2013, the agency has its seat in Stordal (Norway) and a second office in Timrå (Sweden), employing one project coordinator for eleven project municipalities in Sweden. These projects usually involve rural place marketing strategies in order to attract new (Dutch) residents. They usually stretch over a period of three years. The overall aim of Placement is “to structurally contribute to regional development in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Mainly, we accompany people who wish to migrate to these countries. […], in collaboration with governments, enterprises and individual agents, Placement engages in research and consultancy in the fields of regional marketing, demography and property sales” (Placement, 2013).
In order to do so, the website provides information about project municipalities. Typically, this information comprises geographic and economic facts, offered in text, colour pictures and tables such as Table 2. Similarly, Table 3 compares area, inhabitants and population density for relevant areas included in this thesis. Whereas the Netherlands as a country houses approximately 450 people/km², this figure is much lower for Hällefors (7). Moreover, the area of Sweden is more than ten times larger than the area of the Netherlands. Yet, the number of people living in the Netherlands is almost twice the number of Swedish inhabitants. These differences are at the basis of the population dynamics explored in this study.

Figure 3 shows people born in the Netherlands sorted by latest year of settlement in the research area. It apparently illustrates an increase of Dutch migrants in the area. As this includes current inhabitants only, those who have lived in the area but left before 2008 are not shown. In other words: the figure may show two trends; either the number of people moving from the Netherlands to the research area has increased rapidly in recent years, or Dutch migrants do not remain long in the area (or both).

From appendix 4, the first scenario seems more credible. This appendix compares migration from the Netherlands to Sweden with migration to neighbouring countries (e.g. Terlouw, 2012), classical migration destinations and lifestyle migration destinations (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b). Relative to the numbers in 1995, migration to Sweden increased most. Statistics Sweden (2013) also indicates a clear increase of Dutch inhabitants in Sweden: from 2,781 in 1995 to 8,933 in 2012. As such, Sweden attracts more Dutch movers than Denmark, Norway or Finland. Moreover, the total number of Dutch moving to these four Nordic countries (3,613) approaches the amount moving to France (3,873) in 2012. Socio-economic impacts of this increasing flow can be considerable, both for the migrants (Walmley et al., 1998; Stockdale, 2006), and the future social fabric of rural destinations (Hall & Williams, 2002; Amcoff & Westholm, 2007; Hugo & Morén-Alegret, 2008; Stockdale & MacLeod, 2013).

1.3 Approaching Dutch migrants in Hällefors

This study of Dutch migrants in Hällefors is demarcated by spatial, temporal and thematic considerations. First, the overall research area for this thesis comprises the four counties included in the Bergslagen Database (BeDa): Dalarna, Värmland, Västmanland and Örebro counties (Figure 4). This area is referred to as Central Sweden in paper I, not to be confused with the non-profit organisation under the same name (Central Sweden, 2013). Parts of this area are located in Bergslagen (Berger et al., 1981).
Figure 4. Location of Central Sweden, Dalarna and Hällefors

Cartography: Marco Eimermann, 2013
In paper II, the international rural place marketing efforts of Hällefors and Region Dalarna are studied. Papers III and IV focus on Dutch migrants in Hällefors municipality. As such, the geographical focus of the consecutive papers is initially rather broad on the level of Central Sweden and narrows down to the level of Hällefors, a single municipality.

Second, the time span under investigation is from 2004 to 2011. However, the earliest year of settlement found in BeDa for a person living in the research area born in The Netherlands is 1946. As the first cohort in Paper I includes Dutch migrants who settled in the area before 1990, this is specified as 1946-1989. However, the main focus of this thesis is on the early 21st century, which means from 2004 (when the Holland project started in Hällefors), to 2011 (when the interview study was conducted).

Third and finally, the theoretical framework consists of literature on counterurbanisation, creative class and lifestyle migration. Primary focus is on how Dutch migrant families in a similar stage of the life course decide to move to Hällefors as a result of their perception of different social and physical aspects in places of origin and destination. I prefer to conceptualise my respondents as migrants rather than immigrants or emigrants, since the terms “immigrant” and “emigrant” tend to refer to migrants who enter a country that is not their own” (Kelly, 2013:42, original emphasis).

This relates to questions of scale and level of analysis. Viewing scales as “fluid and relational” rather than fixed, Samers (2010:41) stipulates how some scholars argue that scales are socially constructed over time. This implies that not any one scale perfectly fits a social process such as migration. Hence, this thesis recognises that the migration process under study can include and transcend multiple scales (ibid:42).

Linking scale to levels of analysis, macro perspectives such as structural EU regulations on freedom of movement (European Union, 2004) contextualise the migration decision (Benson, 2012:1686). On a meso level, issues of transnationalism (Glick Schiller et al., 1995) and social networks in or between countries (Boyd, 1989) also frame migration decisions.

However, this thesis focuses on meaning given to perceptions of places, reflection on experiences in current and potential living environments and expectations of future encounters elsewhere. Hence, the migration decision is studied on the micro level of daily life in the participating mobile families (Bushin, 2009). Although gender in migration is an interesting research topic (Forsberg, 2001; Grimsrud, 2011b), it is not given primary attention in this thesis. The reason for this is that both descriptive statistics and results from the interview study suggest that gender issues are not among the priorities of these mobile families.
Consequently, this thesis is a study of migration decisions on the family level. The key motivations for migration indicated by the participating families belong to the “non-economic world of migration decision making” (Halfacree, 2004). Hence, the theoretical framework for this study stretches beyond neo-classical theories that conceptualise migration as an event in which persons rationally decide where they can best profit from their human capital (Castles & Miller, 1998).

Whereas counterurbanisation offers a relevant framework for understanding urban-to-rural flows of migration, insights offered by lifestyle migration offer a more apt framework for analysing post-migration lives. As such, this thesis contributes to studies of lifestyle migration in at least three ways:

1) The geographical direction of the move is north, towards one of the most renowned welfare states in the world;
2) The destination is a municipality (as part of a broader region) facing challenges of population decline and economic stagnation; and
3) The migration decision process for many families is structured by Swedish and other municipalities deliberately attracting new residents from abroad.

1.4 Outline of the thesis
This chapter is followed by three theoretical chapters focusing on counterurbanisation, creative class theory and lifestyle migration. Their order of appearance is linked to the sequence of the research questions and the papers, presented in table 1. Moreover, although the three perspectives are intertwined in contemporary migration of Dutch families to rural Sweden, the theoretical chapters are chronologically ordered. Namely, counterurbanisation literature originates from the 1970s, whereas creative class theory and lifestyle migration literature date from the early 21st century.

Chapter 2 discusses the everyday life perspective and the counterurbanisation story. Related to paper I, it presents a broad overview of counterurbanisation studies, starting in the USA in the 1970s (Beale 1975; Berry, 1976). It then turns to counterurbanisation in more recent British, European and Nordic contexts (Fielding, 1982; Champion, 1989a; Halfacree, 2008; Grimsrud, 2011a). Illustrated by these different spatial perspectives over time, the chapter thus provides a broad theoretical insight into patterns of counterurbanisation and motivations for this process. In the final section, these motivations are related to a consumption-production binary.

Chapter 3 investigates how policy makers in rural Sweden put the creative class theory (Florida, 2002; 2007) into practice. It provides relevant
information for understanding the socio-economic structure of municipalities actively attracting new residents. It discusses the role of urban-rural migration and migrant entrepreneurs for rural development. This is related to previous Swedish studies of rural place marketing to attract new residents (Niedomysl, 2004; 2007). Hence, the chapter provides a broader and deeper theoretical background for paper II, III and IV.

Chapter 4 examines the relatively novel field of lifestyle migration (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b). In relation to paper III, it discusses the migrants’ expectations and aspirations before moving, as well as core elements of the decision to move. Furthermore, in connection to paper IV, ambivalent attitudes towards post-migration life are examined. Hence, a major difference with counterurbanisation literature is the emphasis on the migration process within wider lifestyle trajectories, giving due attention to post-migration lives.

These theoretical chapters contribute to an understanding of how human experiences of the environment influence migration decisions. Moreover, the chapters consider some impacts of this type of migration on spatial structures. To this end, a theoretical framework on migration is derived from human geography, anthropology (Brettell, 2008) and sociology (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b). In other words: the theoretical chapters review previous studies of migration and place promotion from a number of different yet similar perspectives.

Subsequently, chapter 5 presents multiple methods for studying the migration decision within the life course of the migrants. Chapter 6 then offers concise summaries of the papers, while the papers as such are included later in this thesis. Chapter 7 relates the previously introduced four binaries in migration theory to the overall aim and the central question of the thesis. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of contributions to migration studies.
2 Counterurbanisation

Migration involves a “bewildering” range of processes, explained by unfathomably many theories (Samers, 2010:52). This thesis explores why and how Dutch families migrate to rural Sweden in general and Hällefors in particular, in the early 21st century, an example of urban-rural migration. Moreover, the move from Dutch urban areas to rural Hällefors is of international character, yet taking place within the context of the EU (Favell, 2008). Therefore, this chapter provides an overview of literature on (international) counterurbanisation, which is a suitable theoretical point of departure since it address both issues of scale and rurality.

2.1 Investigating everyday lives

This thesis focuses on experiences in the daily life of individual migrants and their families rather than on general laws of migration (Ravenstein, 1885) or theories of aggregate migration flows (Lee, 1966; Mabugonje, 1970; Zelinsky, 1983). The following citation specifies why the everyday life perspective is relevant for this study:

The geography of everyday life fascinates. It fascinates us as geographers because people’s activity patterns help to shape and in turn are shaped by place, space and location. (Hanson & Hanson, 1993:265)

Based on Hägerstrand’s (1970) work on time-geography, Hanson and Hanson (1993) stipulate three universal principles of everyday activity patterns. These are that everyone has 24 hours in a day, no one can be in more than one place simultaneously and no one can move instantaneously from one place to another (ibid:250). These principles thus imply constraints for people’s daily activity patterns. An activity based approach focuses on individual’s different attitudes towards these constraints.

Through this approach, the everyday life perspective offers a valuable background for understanding why Dutch migrants move to rural Sweden in the early 21st century. This perspective focuses on “individual human beings and their daily routines and activities in relation to both their social and material surroundings” (Åquist, 2003:121).

These daily routines are often taken for granted (Lefebvre, 1996). However, instead of accepting the circumstances constraining these routines, migrants in general – and certainly also the migrants in this thesis – take control of their daily lives and actively transform them (Benson, 2010).
2.2 The counterurbanisation story

The counterurbanisation story constitutes a continuous debate on causes, processes and consequences of population redistribution (Champion, 1998). Originally, Beale (1975) and Berry (1976) noticed that population growth in remote non-metropolitan areas in the USA coincided with population decline in metropolitan areas. With a sense of excitement, Berry (1976:17) declared that “a turning point has been reached in the American urban experience. Counterurbanisation has replaced urbanisation as the dominant force shaping the nation’s settlement patterns.”

This was seen as a shift from industrial to post-industrial economic and social structures. In contrast to suburbanisation, counterurbanisation often involves moves from the city over a longer distance to smaller towns of non-urban character. Notwithstanding increased personal mobility through car ownership in the 1960s and 1970s (Bowler, 2001), the counterurban move is usually accompanied by a change of employment as it often implies a considerable increase in commuting distance to the city.

Based on the early studies, population geographers across the developed world analysed whether and how counterurbanisation occurred in various spatial and temporal contexts (Fielding, 1982; 1986). Although different waves of urbanisation, counterurbanisation and re-urbanisation prevailed in diverse national contexts after the 1970s, scholars agree that counterurbanisation occurred in a wide variety of spatial contexts in Western Europe and beyond (Champion, 1998). Bowler (2001:141) presents a consensus overview of the following basic elements in counterurbanisation research:

- higher population growth rates at progressively lower levels of the settlement hierarchy;
- buoyant rates of population growth in peripheral rural areas;
- population shifting from urban-industrial areas to locations more favoured in environmental terms;
- a variety of causal processes;
- a varied experience of rural spaces in the timing and magnitude of population increases.

This consensus is formulated in very general terms, which leaves much space for discussion. Indeed, the extent and timing of counterurbanisation is widely debated (Champion, 1989a). Some scholars argue that the process of population deconcentration was nothing more than a temporary anomaly from general tendencies of population concentration. In contrast, for Berry (1976) and others who believe in a rural population turnaround, counterurbanisation is a clean break from earlier population distribution in
the USA. According to them, this long term trend is induced by major societal transformations to post-industrial conditions, e.g. changing employment distribution. A third interpretation sees counterurbanisation as a transitional phase indicating a cyclical course of population distribution where centripetal and centrifugal forces alternate (Champion, 1989b).

Although population geography takes account of nativity and mortality as well as migration, the latter gains most attention in counterurbanisation research (Champion, 1998; Bowler, 2001). This also applies to various studies with different interpretations of counterurbanisation in Sweden (Turner, 2013). Amcoff and Stenbacka (1998) compare British counterurbanisation literature with results from their study in the Mälardalen area (consisting of Stockholm, smaller towns and rural areas). In Sweden, they argue, people have considerably more space at their disposal.

Furthermore, urbanisation processes have occurred much later in Sweden, which implies that many city dwellers still have direct links with rural areas, e.g. owning a second home there (Amcoff & Stenbacka, 1998:159). Due to a novel appreciation for rural living, the authors expect that the Swedish countryside will be an attractive living environment for the 21st century. However, acknowledging considerable demographic and socio-economic differences within rural Sweden, the authors (ibid:170) argue that proximity to urban areas is important for attracting new residents.

In a related study, Amcoff (2000) illustrates how different methodologies, settlement classification systems and geographical levels of analysis result in different conclusions considering the occurrence of counterurbanisation in Sweden. He concludes that an increase in Swedish counterurbanisation is explained by the country’s long term cultural history combined with “changes which reduced the restrictions on rural living” around 1970 (Amcoff, 2000:212).

Both Amcoff (2000) and Stenbacka (2001) note that non-Nordic immigrant groups are underrepresented among counterurbanisers in the Swedish countryside. Therefore, Stenbacka (2001:244) suggests addressing the question of “ethnicity and perceptions of the countryside” in further studies. Also, results from another study of counterurban movers in Sweden suggest that they are more likely to be born in Sweden or another Scandinavian country (Lindgren, 2003:399). This proposes a homogenous picture of counterurban movers in Sweden as originating either in the country itself or in a country nearby.

Apart from counterurbanisation, other concepts are used to analyse patterns of urban-rural migration in Sweden. One such concept is “the green wave” (Lundholm, 2007:8), introduced in the 1970s to illustrate Swedish government efforts to stimulate migration from urban to rural areas. This
term was also used to describe later migration flows within Sweden (Westlund & Pichler, 2000:23; Westlund, 2002; Hjort, 2005:27). Another concept is “the turnaround trend” (Ahnström, 1980), indicating a net outmigration from Swedish metropolitan areas, still resulting in population concentration on a national scale, “but slower than in the 1950s and 1960s” (Borgegård et al., 1995:38). Yet, as illustrated by Borgegård et al. (1995), the utility of the concepts of counterurbanisation, the green wave and the turnaround trend is related to the design of a particular research. Inspired by the concept of the green wave, the flow of Dutch migrants to the Swedish countryside studied in this thesis may be termed “the orange wave” (Eimermann, 2009).

However, I realise that this novel term may add to the already potentially confusing range of different terms related to counterurbanisation (Bowler, 2001:141). The earlier illustrated different interpretations and the ongoing academic counterurbanisation debate gave rise to critique concerning the validity of counterurbanisation as an analytical geographic tool (Weekley, 1988; Flowerdew & Boyle, 1992). Mitchell (2004) argues that comparing counterurbanisation processes in various temporal and spatial contexts is hindered by its inconsistent definition.

Another point of concern for counterurbanisation research in the early 21st century is that it may have become an exhausted research topic. Halfacree (2001) expresses a widespread worry that the story has been told, counterurbanisation has become a social fact and “there is little new to add” (Halfacree, 2008:480). He suggests recognising an international and fuller picture in order to revitalise counterurbanisation research. Arguing that there is more to say – for instance on the appropriateness of taking ‘counterurbanisation’ as a concept from village England to other European countries – Halfacree (2008:485) wonders “just how well counterurbanisation travels”.

This plea may be partly based on Buller and Hoggart (1994) who study British movers to the French countryside in their seminal work International Counterurbanisation. They (ibid:125) argue that “consumption-led migration across international boundaries might be better explained as a geographical extension of domestic migration processes”. Referring to Mabogunje (1970) and Kritz and Zlotnik (1992), they argue for including the conditions in both the sending and receiving communities in migration dynamics (Buller & Hoggart, 1994:12).

Judging from the recent re-appraisal of counterurbanisation studies, I argue that counterurbanisation is not an exhausted research topic. For instance, Bijker and Haartsen (2012:643) argue that while characteristics of movers to popular Dutch rural areas “fit very well with the counterur-
banisation story”, less-popular rural areas resemble European remote rural areas, as reasons for moving there are rather personal.

Other counterurbanisation studies are situated in such remote parts of Europe. Rivera (2007) questions the experience of counterurbanisation for migration to rural Navarre (Northern Spain). Díaz Viana (2011) studies problems, strategies and dynamics of “neo-rural” migrants in the Mediterranean. Šimon (2012:21) concludes that counterurbanisation in the Czech Republic is more similar to counterurbanisation in Western countries, although with some restrictions.

Addressing the question how well the counterurbanisation story travels to Norway, Grimsrud (2011a:653) argues that population losses in rural areas have decreased over time thanks to growth in the number of (international) immigrants. Similarly, in his study of counterurban migration to urban fringe areas in Denmark, Andersen (2011:641) considers “people who return to the place where they grew up” to have the highest potential for revitalising such areas. Linking counterurbanisation to entrepreneurship, Bosworth (2010) coins the term ‘commercial counterurbanisation’, meaning a growth of rural economies encouraged by immigration.

Hence, the counterurbanisation story is still very much alive, particularly when including international dimensions and comparisons. People from different origins with possibilities to start or acquire an enterprise can bring some impetus for rural revival in countries such as Sweden. Haandrikman and Hedberg (forthcoming) refute the ten year old claim by Lindgren (2003) that counterurbanisers in Sweden are mainly internal movers or from nearby countries. They hold that amongst other incomers, South East Asian women play an increasing role in repopulating Sweden’s remote rural areas (Haandrikman & Hedberg, forthcoming). The authors paraphrase Hugo and Morén-Alegret (2008), stating that international migration will most likely play an increasingly important role in transforming rural areas in the near future, rendering these areas increasingly characterised by ethnic diversity and multiplicity.

Dutch migration to rural Sweden as explored in paper I is also part of this process of increasing ethnic diversity and multiplicity. Such a flow of intra-EU migration can be situated between internal counterurbanisation on the one hand and international counterurbanisation on the other. Within this context, paper I relates to issues of scale and forms a point of departure for exploring how this migration flow can be conceptualised in migration theory.
2.3 Beyond the consumption-production binary

This section focuses on migration decision making and related push- and pull-factors (Buller & Hoggart, 1994; Boyle et al., 1998). A widely referred and criticised model of migration decision making is Lee’s (1966:50-51) intervening obstacles model (Figure 5). Here, migration decisions are schematically summarised under four headings: (1) factors associated with the area of origin, (2) factors associated with the area of destination, (3) intervening obstacles and (4) personal factors, influencing individual thresholds and facilitating or constraining migration (invisible in Figure 5). Attractive factors are illustrated by a ‘+’, repellent factors by a ‘−’ and factors to which people are indifferent by a ‘o’. Lee (1966:51) notes that it is rather people’s perception than the actual factors as such which results in migration.

The third heading, intervening obstacles can be of minor importance to some migrants, and decisive for others. Although distance is a much studied possible obstacle, other physical barriers are more significant. Lee (1966) provides three examples: the Berlin Wall, migration laws and transport costs. Considering the latter, what may be unimportant to some people, may be decisive to others (ibid.). Hence, it is the relative intervening character of the obstacles that matters.

Figure 5. Factors and intervening obstacles in migration

Source: Lee, 1966:50

Rubenstein (2011) uses three categories to nuance the role of push and pull factors: economic, cultural and environmental factors. Related to this division is a debate whether migration flows in the developed world are best explained by economic (employment-related) or socio-cultural, environmental and place-related factors. For instance, Buller and Hoggart (1994) observe that consumption criteria play a major role for British migrants moving to rural France.
However, Lee's (1966) and other accounts of push-pull dynamics have received due criticism. First, it is hard to clearly distinguish between push factors on the one side, and pull factors on the other (Samers, 2010). The mix of factors affecting the decision to move is too complex to be captured in an image such as Figure 5. Second, it is not always clear whether a primary motivation, such as the search for ‘adventure’ (Bruillon, 2007), is a push or a pull factor (Samers, 2010). Third, different migration processes relate to different sets of push, pull and other dynamics. Thus, there is a need to look beyond such binaries for conceptualisations that connect multiple complexities of ‘heres’ and ‘theres’ (ibid:119).

Hall and Williams (2002) suggest motives for urban-rural moves to be production-led, consumption-led or a combination. On the one hand, production-led motives are related to labour migration or entrepreneurial migration (Hall & Williams, 2002). On the other hand, consumption-led motives are often associated with non-economic factors (Halfacree, 2004), termed amenities (Moss, 2006).

Amenities are understood as “non-traded goods that cannot be consumed without moving to the area where these are available” (Graves & Linneman, 1979:384). For instance, favourable climatic conditions and scenic qualities have long been identified as amenities (Ullman, 1954; Price et al., 1997). Moss (2006:8-9) suggests a distinction between two types of amenities; environmental and cultural. In short, the first consist of the natural physical attributes of a place, whereas the second include culturally valuable tangible and intangible manifestations of human groups. As migrants can value some amenities over others, the decision to migrate to a particular area can be based on the presence of certain amenities there.

A similar “jobs versus amenities”-debate exists in a North European context (Ferguson et al., 2007). For instance, Lundholm et al. (2004) suggest that environmental and social factors are often more important than factors related to the labour market. In contrast, Hansen and Niedomysl (2009), as well as Niedomysl and Hansen (2010) find that employment is a primary motivation for internal migration in Sweden, followed by social reasons. Living environment (e.g. rural amenities) is only mentioned by 10% of their respondents. However, Hansen and Niedomysl (2009) admit that more in-depth studies regarding combinations of motivations, stages in the life course and differing preferences of living environment over time would be rewarding. This thesis offers such an in-depth approach.
3 Attracting creative rural residents

Practices of counterurbanisation and tourism have informed urban dwellers about the charms of rural living (Buller & Hoggart, 1994; Halfacree, 2008; Benson, 2012). This discourse is mediated through books (Connell & McManus, 2011) and television programs; “Drömmen om landet” in Sweden (SVT) and “Droomhuis gezocht” (Omroep MAX) or “Ik vertrek” (TROS) in the Netherlands. As a result, destinations have increasingly engaged in marketing efforts to attract investment and tourists. Paper II analyses recent efforts by less obviously attractive rural areas (McManus & Connell, 2008:53) in Sweden to attract permanent residents, exemplified by Region Dalarna and Härlefos.

Although some of my respondents maintain that they migrated solely at their own initiative, most participants in this study have been directly targeted by Swedish rural place marketing campaigns. Hence, this chapter focuses on the efforts by Swedish sparsely populated rural municipalities to attract new residents. Apart from popular discourse, academic literature studying this subject (e.g. Niedomysl, 2007) and its economic effects on the destinations (Andersen et al., 2010) also inspire municipalities and their campaigns. Therefore, such texts are analysed in this chapter, after relating them to socio-economic work on attracting and retaining the ‘creative class’ (e.g. Florida, 2002; 2007).

3.1 Key theoretical issues of the creative class thesis

McGranahan and Wojan (2007:198) summarise Florida’s (2002) creative class thesis as a convincing argument that recent urban economic development has depended largely on novel combinations of knowledge and ideas and that people in occupations specialising in this task are drawn to areas with high quality of life. Thus, the vital urban development strategy is to attract and retain these people (ibid.).

This summary recaps a number of key issues. The first issue considers the identification of the creative class members by their occupation. Table 4 represents the major occupation categories within the creative class (Florida, 2002). A “super creative core” is identified by their especially high levels of creativity, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and/or new creative content (ibid.). Other members of the creative class are termed “creative professionals” (Florida, 2002:328). As a whole, the creative class members identify problems, identify novel solutions or innovatively combine existing knowledge (Andersen et al., 2010).
Table 4. Creative class occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Super creative core</th>
<th>Creative professionals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Computer mathematical occ.</td>
<td>Management occupations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life, physical &amp; social science occ.</td>
<td>Legal occupations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, training &amp; library occ.</td>
<td>High-end sales &amp; sales management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts, design, entertainment, sports &amp; media occ.</td>
<td>Healthcare practitioners &amp; technical occupations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from Florida, 2002:328

According to Gabe et al. (2013), this classification has at least two advantages. First, an advantage over the education-based human capital measure is that this occupational typology takes into account “what people actually do” and the related skill requirements in their present occupation. Second, instead of treating a variety of jobs in an industry as similar (e.g. “management and line workers employed in manufacturing”, ibid.), focus on different occupations allows for a more nuanced analysis.

A second key issue of the creative class thesis is that “jobs follow talented people” (Clifton, 2008:63). This is contrary to classical and neoclassical economic theory based on the industrial age, when people followed jobs. According to Florida, strategies for economic development and growth should not aim at attracting creative or knowledge-based companies, but rather at attracting people who work for these companies or who might start such companies.

In order to attract the creatives, companies and cities ought to make conscious endeavours to establish the “right people climate” for this preferred class (Peck, 2005:743). Therefore, instead of relying on natural resources and physical assets, qualities of place such as creativity, ethnic diversity, excitement and all kinds of amenities become important magnets. Hence, places should become diverse communities, open to new ideas, “where outsiders can quickly become insiders” (Florida, 2002:227).

Following this, the third and final key issue of the creative class thesis consists of three Ts of economic development: technology, tolerance and talent (Florida, 2002:249). Each of these is a necessary but by itself not sufficient prerequisite. A fourth T is added occasionally (Thulemark & Hauge, forthcoming), referring to territorial assets, discussed in the previous chapter as amenities. These Ts draw specific attention to certain branches of the economy (technology), specific workers (the talented) and types of places loosely termed tolerant. Thus, it is no coincidence that the municipality board of Hällefors chose design, technology and culinary arts as the three pillars for their new strategy in 2003.
3.2 Critical assessment of the creative class thesis

This critical assessment of Florida (2002, 2007) is structured along three major strands: questioning the (lack of) empirical evidence on which the creative class thesis is based (Glaeser, 2005), focusing on classification and conceptualisation, and critiquing policy recommendations.

First, considering empirical evidence, Florida (2002) originally maintains that his analysis is based on interviews with focus groups and individuals, later turning to regression analysis for verification. It is questionable how findings from interviews in some places can be turned into general conclusions for most cities in the USA and other parts of the developed world. Moreover, many claims in Florida (2002) are loosely attributed to unspecified ‘interviews’ (Peck, 2005:755). This is no sound evidence.

In relation to this, a more profound critique concerns proposed causal relations between cultural traits and economic growth. Although an increase in street-level cultural events and renewed buildings may be correlated with economic development, the former does not automatically cause the latter. Hence, this first strand of critique claims correlation rather than causality (Peck, 2005; McGranahan & Wojan, 2007).

The second strand of critique considers classification and conceptualisation. The creative class thesis and its concepts are hard to define. Andersen et al. (2010) argue that creativity is understood very broadly by Florida. The creative class consists roughly of (highly) skilled people who earn their income while using their skills and knowledge in different ways. This implies a large and varied group of people, comprising about 35% of the labour force (ibid.). As such, the creative class may consist of various subgroups, each attracted by different place assets.

For instance, Florida’s work applies to highly mobile single young professionals searching inspiration or a quick career move. They can be prepared to take off any time when they see a better option (Martin-Brelot et al., 2010). However, to some scholars, this bachelor everyday life does not seem very realistic. For instance, Florida disregards the extent and significance of unpaid labour at home (Åquist, 2007).

In the context of this dissertation, a particularly relevant remark concerns migrating families with school going children. As Martin-Brelot et al. (2010:868) point out, for these people a potential of living with another language and a novel cultural environment may cause complications. These dynamics are discussed in paper IV.

Moreover, the underlying concepts of the three Ts are “woolly” (Pratt, 2008:108). Large parts of the creative class thesis depend on how one defines technology, tolerance and talent, who is tolerating whom, which variables one uses and what relationships they have to target variables (Wilson
Moreover, it is unclear whether “tolerance” is about individuals, groups, a city or a social structure in general (ibid.).

Additionally, the novelty of the creative class thesis is questioned. As Pratt (2008:107) argues, it is a revival of “hi-tech boosterism” and a form of place marketing. As such, the creative class thesis is just one of many potions suggestive of growth, in line with environment, safety, liveability, hi-tech [and] bio- or nano-industry (Pratt, 2008:109).

Perhaps the most interesting challenge for the creative class thesis is a comparison with the conceptualisation of human capital (Andersen et al., 2010:218). Traditionally, theories of economic growth and development have emphasised people’s level of qualification (or education). As such, human capital is primarily understood as highly educated people (Lucas, 1988). Glaeser (1998) is especially credited for his human capital perspective, which argues that a high concentration of educated people propels regional growth.

However, some scholars argue that parameters other than educated people can be equally important for economic growth (Asheim & Hansen, 2009:427). Countering some of this criticism in their study of Swedish regions, Mellander and Florida (2007) find that creative class measures tend to surpass educational measures in accounting for regional development. The relationship between creative class and human capital may thus not be as straightforward as it seems. But as little as the creative class thesis simply is a case of “pouring old wine in new bottles” (Andersen et al., 2010:219), it is as novel as Florida claims it to be.

Furthermore, the relation between jobs and people is probably less clear-cut than Florida argues. As Andersen et al. (2010) argue, although there is a clear relation between the two, it is not evident whether jobs or people are the principle driver.

Acknowledging this critique and suggestions for alternative approaches (McGranahan & Wojan, 2007; Asheim & Hansen, 2009; Scott, 2011), I have used a specific categorisation of creative class occupations in papers III and IV. This categorisation is adapted to the socio-economic conditions in Bergslagen and mainly based on Jakobsson (2009). The categories are: “film and media; advertisement, design and fashion; cultural heritage; tourism and food services; and art” (my translation). They are relevant for this thesis, as they are constructed in the context of the migrants’ destination.

The third and final strand of critique considers policy recommendations. Cities in the USA, and later also in Europe, are ranked according to their scores in the Gay index, melting pot index and Bohemian index, to name just three (Florida & Tinagli, 2004). Regular repetition and places climbing
or falling in these rankings enhances continuous interest in the creative class thesis among most city leaders.

One serious impediment is that the creative class thesis is not uniformly applicable to a wide range of places (Peck, 2005; Bontje & Musterd, 2009). Due to large structural differences, some places are better equipped than others for a transformation into creative places by creating the right type of people climate. As a consequence, some cities necessarily become losers in the new global competition for talent. Hence, caution is needed when smaller city regions in the Nordic countries apply strategies inspired by Florida’s reasoning (Andersen et al., 2010).

Another impediment is the implication that those who do not belong to the creative class are somehow not creative enough. Florida (2002) defines creative workers as problem finders and problem solvers, while Gabe et al. (2013:40) argue that “non-creative workers are more apt to follow instructions dictated by a corporate template”. This line of reasoning increases socio-economic inequalities. For instance, housing is becoming increasingly unaffordable not only for poorly paid service workers (Peck, 2005; Wilson & Keil, 2008), but also for students, starting artists and other members of the creative class with low budgets (Bontje & Musterd, 2009).

In other words, policy makers seem more convinced than myself and other scholars that new insights are emerging through the creative class thesis (Perry, 2011). Instead, academics argue that policies should be directed at important local challenges such as attempts to diminish socio-economic polarisation (Peck, 2005; Andersen et al., 2010).

3.3 Rural development and migrant entrepreneurs

This section focuses on the potential of migrant entrepreneurs to develop stagnating rural areas. It differs from the previous ones in at least two ways. First, focus here is put on Nordic countries, whose geography and economy differ from those in North-America. Second, concepts of entrepreneurship and self-employment (as components of rural development) are added to notions of the creative class. Nevertheless, creativity remains an important concept while studying the role of migrant entrepreneurs and improving living conditions in deprived rural areas, (Halseth et al., 2009; Nuur & Laestadius, 2009:8).

Compared to North America, Nordic countries have different social systems, smaller populations, smaller urban areas with different socio-economic structures, and less migration. To give a concrete example, Sweden’s capital region of Stockholm is the only Nordic area with over one million inhabitants (Asheim & Hansen, 2009). In contrast, the USA has more than fifty metropolitan city regions with a population of more than
one million. This leads to a different regional hierarchy which results in fewer Swedish regions that are able to offer “thick and dense employment opportunities for the creative class” (Andersen et al., 2010:222). In combination with a higher level of female participation in the work force and thus the need to find jobs for both parts when moving, this leads to less mobile workers in Sweden than in the USA.

Moreover, the Swedish variety of capitalism is based on a coordinated market, while a liberal economy prevails in North America (Asheim & Hansen, 2009:426). Inter alia, this is reflected in stronger labour unions and less skewed income distribution in Sweden. Therefore, refinement and contextualisation of the creative class approach is necessary for its use in the Nordic circumstances (Andersen et al., 2010). Different types of migrant entrepreneurs and their potential contribution to rural development are presented in this context below.

First, the concept of rural restructuring is introduced as a process embedded in globalisation and modernity (Woods, 2009). Although rural areas across the developed world have always experienced change, change in the late 20th and early 21st century is more intense, persistent and all-embracing (ibid:40). Rural restructuring implies changes in agriculture, economy, social and demographic conditions, services and the physical environment of rural areas. It involves essential readjustments in various spheres of life, “where processes of change are causally linked” (Hoggart & Paniagua, 2001:42). Dismantling the steelworks in Hällefors was part of such rural restructuring.

Second, in response to rural restructuring, governments on various geographical levels have attempted to develop deprived and sparsely populated rural areas. These attempts are often termed rural development. They include the “repacking of the countryside for the new consumption-based economy” (Woods, 2009:129) such as rural place marketing. Woods (2009:145) summarises the rationales behind rural development as “welfarist” (the state supporting basic social well-being and equity between its citizens) or “economic” (the state supporting business in the accumulation of capital). Another rationale is the spatial control over population distribution in order to mitigate instability, which demands for a revaluation of public services (ibid.).

Third, the concept of rural gentrification is coined as a variant of gentrification of urban neighbourhoods (Phillips, 2010; Andersson, 2012). In case previously declining rural areas are more or less successfully repopulated, property may be redeveloped by and for affluent new residents. This leads to displacement of lower income groups “who are unable to afford the inflated property prices” (Woods, 2009:87). Hence, such practices may
Within the context of rural development, this section now turns to different types of entrepreneurship and self-employment in the countryside. Stam (2010:141) defines entrepreneurship in the context of potential rural development as “the introduction of new economic activity by an individual that leads to change in the marketplace”. However, Stam (2010:148) stipulates that different types of entrepreneurship may be affected by separate local cultures.

Such different types of entrepreneurship are identified as follows. First, user entrepreneurship involves innovations based on consumers’ different individual perceptions or imaginations (Stam, 2010:152). Second, migrant entrepreneurship emphasises the role of the migrant as “broker between formerly unconnected communities” in their areas of origin and destination (ibid:153). For this thesis, tourism and lifestyle are relevant and interconnected sectors in which a migrant entrepreneur can be active.

Therefore, tourism and lifestyle entrepreneurship is the third type. Lardiés (1999) argues that reasons for company formation and the style of running the business are rather linked to personal consumption criteria and lifestyle considerations than the need for work. Non-economic motives are a core consideration here, since some may improve their way of life by founding an enterprise and taking better control of the quotidian (Peters et al., 2009). For many lifestyle migrants, self-employment is the most efficient means of supporting lifestyle objectives (Stone & Stubbs, 2007). These concepts of entrepreneurship emphasise the entrepreneur’s role as agent of change or initiators of innovation.

Studying entrepreneurship and counterurbanisation in rural Denmark, Herslund (2012) argues that her respondents combine lifestyle considerations with ways of earning an income. Using the term ‘regional lifestyle businesses’, she focuses on the new lifestyle of the entrepreneur (ibid:252). Such ‘regional lifestyle businesses’ create their own employment and extend the networks of the local businesses and public institutions. In this era of knowledge economy, she considers attracting the creative class to rural areas a way to improve economic performance (ibid:248).

As Stockdale (2006) points out, several scholars studying rural incomers and their wealth of skills report how this can provide an impetus to local economic development through new enterprise formation. Herslund (2012) concludes that this ‘rural creative class’ introduces new knowledge and combines different networks into the local economy. They “coordinate, mobilise, fund-raise and set up networks” (ibid:251).
On the other hand, some new rural enterprises contribute only marginally to rural development (Herslund, 2012). Urged by quality of life motivations such as tranquillity, they do not contribute to rural development by bringing new life into the village (ibid.).

This is explained by differences in opportunity and necessity entrepreneurship. The former indicates entrepreneurs who start a firm as they perceive an unexploited business opportunity (Eliasson & Westlund, 2013), which may lead to economic growth. The latter refers to people who “start a business due to lack of alternatives” (ibid.). Among my respondents in Hällefors, some belong to the former, some to the latter, and some combine wage work with self-employment (ibid: 483-4).

3.4 Beyond the rural-urban binary

Over the past years, rural areas across the developed world have experienced post-productivist circumstances (Boyle & Halfacree, 1998). This implies that although the use of the physical environment for rural production sites persists (e.g. in forestry), it has become less visible. Visual rural traits are increasingly exploited in order to complement the stagnating rural economy with engagement in tourism (Woods, 2009). This results in the creation of tourist attractions in former industrial towns, numerous holiday brochures and other place marketing campaigns.

In areas like Bergslagen, efforts are made not only to attract tourists, but also investments and new residents in order to mitigate population decline. As such, the countryside becomes a commodity, in which the landscapes, environments, traditions and practices that have greatest exchange value are the ones that most resemble to the ideal of the rural idyll (ibid: 174-5).

Boyle and Halfacree (1998: 9-10) describe the rural idyll as “physically consisting of small villages joined by narrow lanes and nestling amongst a patchwork of small fields […]. Socially, this is a tranquil landscape of timeless stability and community, where people know not just their next door neighbours but everyone else in the village”. Cloke (1993) identifies five characteristics as central to the socio-cultural construction of rurality: rural landscape, nature, history, the family and rural craft products. The photo on the cover page of this thesis presents an example of a rural idyll in Hällefors. Similar images are mediated through media and migration information meetings in the Netherlands and elsewhere.

Marketing efforts related to different representations of rural idylls may present similar yet different rural typologies. Reflecting the relative novelty of this phenomenon, Swedish studies focusing on these dynamics have only been undertaken relatively recently. For instance, Niedomysl (2007: 705) considers Swedish campaigns targeting the Stockholm metropolitan area in
general before he provides examples of a marketing campaign brochure and articles in local and national daily press.

Initially, as Niedomysl (2004; 2007) shows, these campaigns were aimed at the domestic market; Swedish urban regions. In his statistical exploration of Swedish municipalities, Niedomysl (2004:2006) finds that “the most attractive category of in-migrants [...] are families with children”, plainly exceeding the creative class.

The main purpose for municipalities to take part in rural place marketing campaigns is to represent the countryside as a space for the good life, by promoting a rural lifestyle (Baylina & Berg, 2010:28). In doing so, the municipalities aim for long term socio-economic sustainability both by increasing liveability and local tax revenues through a larger population size. In a later stage, as investigated in paper II, this aim is broadened to include international target groups.

As such, the increasing complexity of the contemporary world renders a classification of places as either urban or rural increasingly difficult (Woods, 2009:4). These concepts are usually distinguished by population size, population density, proximity of the built up area, political status, proportion of the labour force engaged in non-agricultural work and presence of certain services and activities (Champion & Hugo, 2004).

However, in a plea to ‘do away’ with rural, Hoggart (1990) challenges the rural-urban binary. On the one hand, there is a risk of not recognising differences between diverse areas of rural character. On the other hand, striking similarities occur between supposedly urban and rural areas. One of the risks of looking at rural areas as a uniform category is grouping together places in which very different social processes are at stake (ibid.).

Consequently, Küle (2008:9) argues that novel forms of populated areas are developing. These areas do not fit in the rural-urban binary. As interactions between areas typically characterised as urban or rural become more intensive, rural areas as well as their urban counterparts become increasingly multidimensional (ibid.). As a result, “one is basically accepting the idea of a full continuum of situations lying between the most rural condition that can be conceived and the most urban” (Champion & Hugo, 2004:13). These critical notes are kept in mind when discussing urban-rural migration decision making in the remainder of this thesis.
4 Lifestyle migration

This chapter further analyses how Dutch families searching for the good life in rural Sweden can be conceptualised in migration theory. Seminal work by Buller and Hoggart (1994) on international counterurbanisation and King et al. (2000) on international retirement migration analyse motivations for moving. Yet, Halfacree and Rivera (2012:110) avoid the counterurbanisation debate and suggest the concept of pro-rural migration in their article *Moving to the countryside...and staying*. Moreover, work on lifestyle migration (O’Reilly & Benson, 2009; Jackiewicz, 2010) offers more apt insights into post-migration everyday life. Hence, this chapter is related to the research questions in paper III and IV.

4.1 Defining lifestyle migration

One of the first studies in the field of lifestyle migration is O’Reilly’s (2000) book *The British on the Costa Del Sol*. She studies British migrants in Spain, living in residential tourism developments or expatriate enclaves (cf O’Reilly, 2007; Oliver, 2008). Similarly, using an ethnographic approach, Benson (2010; 2011a; 2011b) studies British migrants in dispersed locations of the Lot, a rural department in southwest France.

Benson (2013a) points out that before moving, many of her respondents had worked as teachers or civil servants, while others had attained education entitling them to employment in professional-managerial positions. Moreover, they had led middle-class lifestyles in Britain and self-identified as middle class (ibid.). Accordingly, Benson (2012:1686) argues that for these people, possessing symbolic, economic and cultural capital is essential in their pursuit of property abroad, even if this implies losing property and employment in Great Britain. My fieldwork among Dutch families in Hällefors revealed similar dynamics.

In 2009, a collection of studies was presented in a book called *Lifestyle Migration – expectations, aspirations and experiences* (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b). It presents a range of stories from Westerners looking for spiritual elucidation in India to second-home owners moving frequently between two or more homes. Lifestyle migration, they argue, is distinct from other forms of migration in its principal motivation: lifestyle and a gradual achievement of a better way of life (O’Reilly & Benson, 2009).

As there is no clear definition of ‘lifestyle’, it is a subjective term. Essentially, it refers to three aspects: a drive towards a better way of life, the potential for self-realisation embedded within the notion of spatial mobility, and meaningfulness and values ascribed to particular places (Benson &
O‘Reilly, 2009b; Torkington, 2012). The act of migration is comprehended as one step within a wider lifestyle trajectory.

Lifestyle migration assembles renderings of amenity migration, residential tourism, retirement migration and (international) counterurbanisation into a single theoretical framework. An initial, working definition of lifestyle migrants is offered by Benson and O‘Reilly (2009a:621): “relatively affluent individuals, moving either part-time or full-time, permanently or temporarily, to places which, for various reasons, signify for the migrants something loosely defined as quality of life”. The thesis offers new empirical data that suggest amendments to be made to this definition of lifestyle migration.

4.2 The lure of lifestyle

Pre-migration romantic and nostalgic imaginings of a rural idyll and authenticities of everyday life are pivotal pull factors constructing an expected better way of life after migration. However, post-migration ambivalence may occur, when the actual rurality experienced in the migrants’ post-migration lives contradicts these expectations (O‘Reilly & Benson, 2009; Halfacree & Rivera, 2012).

First, as lifestyle migration is a form of voluntary migration and migrants may opt for one of myriad localities, imagination plays a central role in the migration decision (O‘Reilly & Benson, 2009:3). Imagination is here understood as integrating economic and political logics with cultural drivers and social constructions of particular places offering an alternative way of life. As such, various contingencies come together in the migration decision: agency and individual biographies on the micro level, combined with historical and material conditions in areas of origin, as well as collective imaginings on a more structural level (Benson, 2012).

In a Dutch context, Van Dalen and Henkens (2007:56, original capitals) suggest that affluent migrants leaving the Netherlands seek to escape urban areas, longing for what they consider “the Good Life: nature, space, and less populated surroundings”. This search is especially motivated since genuine rural areas in the Netherlands are scarce, both according to academia (Haartsen et al., 2003) and in lay discourse, as expressed by Amanda and Bart Ouwehand (Family 13 in Paper III).

Following this rendering, the act of migration becomes a claim to the good life in a rural idyll. Benson (2012, 2013a) notes how her respondents relate this to a sense of nostalgia, feeling that something of a life ‘lost’ in Britain is preserved in the Lot. This involves a sense of stepping back in time to a location where traditional values and community spirit are main-
tained in a way that is not possible in the UK, and where a slower pace of life enhances quality of life (Buller & Hoggart, 1994:128; Benson, 2012).

During my fieldwork, Tim and Julia Korevaar compared their move to Hällefors with travelling back in time. Moreover, Astrid Landers told me that her children experienced less stress in their Swedish school, as the teachers put less pressure on them. Also, Rebecca and Hans Louwerens praised the availability of affordable after-school activities for children; they are four times cheaper than in the Netherlands and therefore also accessible for low wage earners. These factors relate to facilities offered by the Swedish welfare state. They are experienced after the move, which is why they are given minor attention in this study. Nevertheless, I will shortly return to these perceptions in the final chapter.

This relates to the second factor in the construction of a better way of life: authenticity as produced and reproduced in daily social processes (Osboldiston, 2011; Benson, 2013a). Benson (2013a) discusses how ideas of coherence of rural society, believes in untouched cultural traditions and proximity to nature are recognisable as elements of authenticity. Therefore, authenticity is contrasted to the claimed superficiality of the inauthentic and instable modern world. An important drive for lifestyle migrants, Benson (2013a) argues, is to (re)construct meaning in an era of fragmentation.

Linking claims to authentic living to the politics of connoisseurship and taste, Benson (2013a) compares the migrants’ claims to the authentic with negotiating social distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). She demonstrates how her British respondents distance themselves from compatriots elsewhere in France and highlight how they prefer their destination over other French areas flooded by Britons (Benson, 2013a). Likewise, my respondents in Hällefors would not want to live among the numerous Dutch in Värmland.

Moreover, some respondents were disenchanted, when discovering a relatively large Dutch population after moving to Hällefors. As illustrated indirectly in papers III and IV, my respondents engage in similar subtle processes of distinction as some of the Britons in rural France (Benson, 2013a), presenting themselves as different from their compatriots.

However, although some migrants realise their dreams of an alternative way of life with relative ease, others are forced to invest more time and effort in achieving their aspirations (Benson, 2010). This is why the search for authenticity and a better way of live is portrayed as an ongoing quest (Benson, 2011b), stretching into post-migration life.

This tension between reality and imagination is termed ambivalence, explained as an everyday mismatch of post-migration experiences with previous hopes and dreams (O’Reilly & Benson, 2009:9). Some migrants rather
reproduce than solve pre-migration concerns, which become important for their post-migration trajectories (Benson, 2010).

Ultimately, as problematised in paper IV, such ambivalence may lead to a new decision process considering returning or a move elsewhere. In a beneficial scenario, the migrants would gain more nuanced, complex and dynamic understandings of their destination (Benson, 2013a). In a detrimental scenario, the migrants would wish to return but are not able to find employment or affordable housing in the Netherlands (Huete et al., 2013). As Benson (2013a) argues, this ambivalence possibly derives from the unclear boundary between tourism and migration.

4.3 Beyond the permanent-temporary binary

O’Reilly (2003) reflects on issues of temporality in migration research in her article When is a tourist? She urges an exploration of how tourism and migration are experienced in individuals’ everyday lives. Paraphrasing O’Reilly (2003), the main focus of this section is formulated as the question “When is a lifestyle migrant?” Primarily, three points are considered here: impacts of the global financial crisis on lifestyle migration, challenges to the conceptualisation of lifestyle migration (Huete et al., 2013) and the concept of lifestyle mobility (Åkerlund, 2012; Cohen et al., 2013).

First, the current global financial crisis has affected lifestyle migrants and their abilities to realise their quest for a better way of life. In a paper presented on the Lifestyle migration hub2 (2013), Karen O’Reilly states that as a result of the crisis, there are many British and other migrants in Spain “with negative equity”, struggling to pay back their mortgage on over-estimated property values.

Equally, some effects of the economic crisis on the migrants studied here become apparent from appendix 4. During the recession year of 2009, fewer Dutch moved to Sweden than the years before. This may be related to longer processes of selling property in the Netherlands. In addition and as a measure of safety, Dutch families postponed purchasing property in Sweden until their property in the Netherlands was sold. Also, competition for employment in Sweden reinforced as job opportunities decreased.

In addition, during or shortly after the fieldwork in 2011, some Dutch in Hällefors had lost their jobs, reducing their possibilities to stay in the area. Decreasing job opportunities in the area of origin furthermore distressed a return to the Netherlands and previous employment. Although the exact

---

2 A web-based forum for lifestyle migration research hosted by the School of social sciences and humanities, University of Tampere (Finland).
impacts of the global crisis are hard to anticipate, it is likely that numerous sending and receiving areas will be affected.

Second, and as a continuation of the above, Huete et al. (2013) compare labour migrants’ and lifestyle migrants’ response to the financial crisis in Spain. According to them, the concept ‘lifestyle migration’ is quite ambiguous as a guide to research, since in their quantitative approach, “it is not easy to deduce who the lifestyle migrants are” (ibid:336).

The authors criticise the definition of lifestyle migration for lack of precision. They wonder how relative affluent individuals of all ages can be recognised (Huete et al., 2013:332). They also reflect on the ‘various reasons’ that make lifestyle migrants perceive their destination area as an improvement in quality of life. Although both labour migrants and lifestyle migrants move in order to improve their life, the weight of economic motivations arguably constitutes the primary difference (ibid:333). In this rendering, labour migrants would be defined by their country of origin (being less socio-economically developed than the host country) and opposed to lifestyle migrants, who come from richer areas (ibid.).

Furthermore, they observe that lifestyle migrants and labour migrants in Alicante respond similarly to the financial crisis: for both groups, numbers of entries decreased and numbers of departures increased over the period 2005-2010. Based on this observation, Huete et al. (2013:331) call into question the value of contrasting lifestyle and labour migration.

Following this, the authors (Huete et al., 2013) claim that the actual importance of economic factors in lifestyle migration is downplayed when employing the migrant’s self-definition of primary motivation for moving as obtaining a better quality of life. They hold that the concept of lifestyle migration eliminates the occupational nuances of the term migrant (ibid.). They criticise the concept for ignoring age differences and migrants’ stronger or weaker connections with the labour market (ibid.).

This justifies the choice for family migrants (O’Reilly, 2003; Benson, 2010) over midlife and retirement migrants in this thesis. As such, my respondents are all economically active and in the same age group. They show concern for healthier and safer lives for children, a better education, and ‘quality time’ to spend together as family (Benson, 2010:48).

Third, a major issue in migration research concerns temporal dimensions of geographical movement. Bell and Ward (2000) compare different types of movement using spatio-temporal boundaries, resulting in a typology of movement (Table 5). They point at the arbitrary nature of defining migration roughly as a move across an administrative boundary, exceeding one year (ibid.).
This results in a multitude of mobilities, at times referred to as a tourism-migration nexus (Hall & Williams, 2002). Rather than drawing a temporal line between different types of mobility, this nexus indicates how tourism, migration and other forms of mobility are interconnected. A causal relation may exist, where people first visit a place several times for holidays, subsequently purchase a holiday home there and eventually move more or less permanently to the destination (Müller & Marjavaara, 2012). Moreover, after migration, these migrants invite friends and relatives and may thus induce a subsequent cohort of migrants.

Table 5. Comparing permanent migration with temporary mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of movement</th>
<th>Permanent migration</th>
<th>Temporary mobility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definition</td>
<td>Permanent change of usual residence</td>
<td>Non-permanent move of varying duration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key concepts</td>
<td>Integral concept</td>
<td>Less centrality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Usual residence</td>
<td>No intention to return</td>
<td>May involve a return ‘home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key dimensions</td>
<td>Lasting relocation</td>
<td>Varying duration of stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Duration</td>
<td>Single transition</td>
<td>Generally a repetitive event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Frequency</td>
<td>Minor seasonal variation</td>
<td>Large seasonal variation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bell & Ward, 2000:99

Consequently in the current era of mobilities, Urry (2000) argues that concepts of mobility contribute more to our understanding of societies than ideas of stasis, structure and social order. He advocates a new mobilities paradigm, implying that almost all places in the developed world are connected through networks and that “nowhere can be an island” (Sheller & Urry, 2006:209). This paradigm cautiously navigates between notions of sedentarism (assuming human lives to be place-bound) and nomadism (the opposite of sedentarism) at various scales, aiming to transcend theoretical contrasts between place and movement (Sheller & Urry, 2006).

Likewise, Cohen et al. (2013) employ the concept of lifestyle mobility as they hold that lifestyle migration research does not fully grasp temporal and spatial intricacies. Conceptualised as “ongoing semi-permanent moves of varying duration” lifestyle mobility is a more fluid and multi-transitional concept, they argue (ibid:4). Figure 6 adds the notion of belonging and a fourth dimension of temporality to Bell and Ward’s (2000) model. It involves multiple homes, belongings and sustained mobility dur-
ing the life course, capturing more various expressions of physical mobility as a defining aspect of privileged individual’s identity Cohen et al. (2013).

Figure 6. Comparing lifestyle mobility with temporary mobility and permanent migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Temporary Mobility</th>
<th>Lifestyle Mobility</th>
<th>Permanent Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Definition</strong></td>
<td>Non-permanent move of varying duration</td>
<td>On-going semi-permanent moves of varying durations</td>
<td>Permanent change of usual residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Key Concepts</strong></td>
<td>Less centrality</td>
<td>Multiple moorings</td>
<td>Integral concept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usual residence</td>
<td>May involve a return ‘home’</td>
<td>May involve a return (to) ‘home(s)’</td>
<td>No intention to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Generally fixed to one location</td>
<td>Not fixed to any one (or more) location</td>
<td>Fixed to one or two locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belonging</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Key Dimensions</strong></td>
<td>Varying duration of stay</td>
<td>Varying durations of stay</td>
<td>Lasting relocation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>Generally a repetitive event</td>
<td>Multi-transitional and on-going</td>
<td>Single transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Large seasonal variation</td>
<td>Some seasonal variation</td>
<td>Minor seasonal variation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonality</td>
<td>Occurs at a specific point during the life-course</td>
<td>On-going throughout the life-course</td>
<td>Occurs at a specific point during the life-course; a one-off event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporality</td>
<td>(Adapted from Bell and Ward, 2000)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cohen et al., 2013:5

However, such conceptualisations can be questioned. What is more important in the quotidian; attachment to place, a mobile life or a combination of both? Whereas Urry (2000) and Cohen et al. (2013) clearly opt for mobility as the pivotal fabric of today’s industrialised societies, I argue that lifestyle migration literature more aptly captures my empirical material, stressing people’s continued desire to connect with place.
Also, McIntyre et al. (2006) claim that mobility raises place-consciousness as it enables people to compare different places and their qualities. Over the life course, people may develop feelings of simultaneously being at home in different places. They discuss the concept of multiple dwelling, understood as a process rather than an object (ibid.). As such, multiple dwelling is an effort to negotiate meaningful links with family, national traditions and nature in an increasingly complex world.

During the interviews with Dutch families in Hällefors I have also encountered this tendency to connect with two places. Except for Rebecca Louwerens (“I will live here until I die”), most of my respondents regard their current place of residence in rather flexible ways. For instance, Jennifer Storm argues she will adapt to events occurring in the coming years and thus formulates no concrete plans for her shop or house. In contrast to a myth of no return among O’Reilly’s (2000) British respondents in Spain, Dutch families in Hällefors often refer to the adage ‘never say never’.

Although my respondents thus express flexible attitudes towards movement, the majority of their daily mobility patterns do not resemble those of the privileged persons studied in Cohen et al. (2013). For instance, the De Geer family does not have the resources to pay annual visits to family and friends in the Netherlands.

The definition of lifestyle mobility used by Cohen et al. (2013:7) does not capture all lifestyle mobilities. Moreover, referring to ‘semi-permanent moves of varying duration’ does not make this definition more lucid than the definition of lifestyle migration. It is difficult to know beforehand when a move is semi-permanent. Based on results from my field study - with Dutch families demonstrating varying durations of stay - I doubt if a distinction between lifestyle migration and lifestyle mobility is needed. However, if such a distinction is necessary at all and for reasons specified above, the most apt conceptual framework for this thesis is lifestyle migration.

Finally, a shift in geographical focus of lifestyle migration research is occurring. This implies diverting a focus from European flows towards studying lifestyle flows to novel destinations including developing countries, sites of recent foreign military occupation and former colonies. An example of such flows is constituted by North Americans moving to Latin America (Benson, 2013b).

This shift indicates the continuation of lifestyle migration research into new directions. However, also within the initial focus on Europe, this thesis contributes to lifestyle migration research by studying Nordic destinations.
5 Research design

5.1 Mixed methods

This thesis uses a broad methodological basis (Graham, 2000; McHugh, 2000). Qualitative and quantitative methods are combined in a mixed method research design. Such an approach provides an effective way to investigate different aspects of the research issues and develop a more comprehensive understanding of the studied phenomenon (Hennink et al., 2011:290). For this thesis, the main quantitative method comprises statistical analysis using the Bergslagen Database (BeDa), accompanied by a survey. The applied qualitative method consists of an in-depth interview study, assisted by observation in different settings. In the context of this study, the advantages of such a broad basis outweigh the disadvantages as well as the advantages of deep yet narrow analysis.

One disadvantage in combining different research methods is that different research methods could address different research questions (Hennink et al., 2011:55). Another disadvantage is that one method tends to dominate the other, which is an argument for selecting the dominating method as the only method. For instance, solely using BeDa for paper I in this thesis might have been a better strategy than a mix of methods, since the survey receives minor attention in the paper’s current outline.

For this thesis however, a decisive advantage of mixing methods is that it renders a comprehensive depiction of the phenomenon under study. Three more arguments for using mixed methods are presented by Hennink et al. (2011:55). First, quantitative data generate questions that can be addressed through interviews. Data derived from BeDa suggest e.g. that a relatively large proportion of recent Dutch migrants in rural Sweden are self-employed. This is further investigated through interviews. Second, the soundness of quantitative data can be tested through interviews. Third, expectations of the migrants, invisible in statistical patterns, are at least partly revealed through biographical interviews. In other words: interviewing people makes data come to life and facilitates addressing the central ‘why’-question of this thesis.

The Bergslagen Database (BeDa)

BeDa is a comprehensive longitudinal micro database available at Örebro University in cooperation with Statistics Sweden. It comprises demographic and socio-economic variables of all individuals aged 16 and older who are or have been registered as living and/or working in the counties of Värmland, Örebro, Dalarna and Västmanland sometime during the period 1990-

MARCO EIMERMANN Dutch lifestyle migrants moving to rural Sweden 1 49
2008. The variables in BeDa are derived from the general “integrated database for labour market research” (LISA), covering the whole of Sweden (Statistics Sweden, 2011). The aim of this database is “to increase the use of existing register data on […] the relation of individuals to the labour market” (ibid:7, my translation).

For BeDa, data are updated every three years from 1990 onwards. Thus, data for longitudinal analysis in this thesis are gathered in 1990, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2005 and 2008. For instance, Figure 3 in paper I is based on data until 2005, whereas Figure 1 in paper III is based on data until 2008. As such, the figures present developments considering the location of Dutch migrants in the Bergslagen area. Figure 7 in this chapter is a reprint of the figure in paper III, with some minor adjustments.

In this thesis, BeDa is used as a quantitative basis for further qualitative analysis. Its richness in variables provides good general insights for an exploratory study of Dutch migrants in Bergslagen. BeDa provides descriptive statistics on the migrants’ latest year of arrival, socio-demographic characteristics, family composition, patterns of settlement, employment status, mode of employment and more. Such descriptive statistics do not explain the observed patterns and socio-demographic characteristics. Therefore, additional data on motivations and decisions are gathered through an interview study.

**Expert interviews and biographical interviews**

The interview study for this thesis consists of two parts: seven expert interviews and twenty-one biographical interviews (Kvale 2009:70). Appendix 1 presents a chronology where the numbers indicating the expert interviews are preceded by an E and those indicating biographical interviews are preceded by a B.

The interview guide for the expert interviews is presented in Appendix 2a. They are conducted with municipality officials and stakeholders engaged in rural place marketing campaigns to attract new residents. The expert interviewees have been rather accessible, although at times it was difficult to establish a meeting. The interviews demanded extensive preparation, as “the interviewer should be knowledgeable about the topic of concern and master the technical language” (ibid.). During the one-hour interviews, some interviewees gave a standard answer or attempted to get round a question. In cases when confusion occurred during the analysis of the interviews, it has been possible to contact the interviewees after the interview. The expert interviews are tape-recorded, transcribed verbatim, analysed and used for papers I and II.
The biographical part of the interview study concerns the ‘Dutch side’. Interview data are mainly collected in two periods: a pre-study during autumn 2008 and spring 2009 focusing on Dutch migrants moving to rural Sweden, and a main study during 2011 considering Dutch migrants in Hällefors. The pre-study has an exploratory character. It includes two interviews with Dutch prospective migrants, five interviews with Dutch migrants in the Bergslagen area and one interview with a return-migrant.

The field study in 2011, for papers III and IV, focuses on Dutch families in Hällefors whose adults are economically active. A further preference is the presence of young children in the migrating families. Through Placement’s contact register, articles in the media and by multiple snow-ball methods starting from the pre-study (Hennink et al., 2011:100), 16 Dutch families in Hällefors were approached. Three families declined. Hence, the study comprises 13 families. As far as the family compositions of the families who declined are retrieved from other sources (such as newspaper articles), they are similar to those of the participating families.

The methods applied during biographical interviews are described for the three stages of data gathering, data processing and data reporting. Considering the first stage, all interviews with Dutch migrants in Hällefors are conducted in situ; either at their places of residence or work, which at times coincided. This facilitates basic observation of the migrants’ everyday life. It results in information on how they make use of a space, social setting or institution and it “helps [us] understand the place and then locate the activities or behaviour within this place” (ibid:176).

Conducting interviews in less formal settings facilitated an interactive-relational approach, which alleviated our encounters (Chirban, 1996). The interviews are one to three hours in length. They are semi-structured and based on the interview guide in Appendix 2b. Usually, both adults are present during the interview. In two cases, the interview is conducted with the mother only. Children are not present during the interviews.

The interviews with Dutch migrants in Hällefors are characterised as narratives, or biographical interviews, since “the narrative may concern the interviewee’s life story as seen through the actor’s own perspective” (Kvale, 2009:74). The purpose of such biographic research is to understand and interpret “societal processes through the analysis of individual life stories within their contexts” (Hedberg, 2004:57).

Within a biographic approach, experiences of individuals reflect wider structures in society (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993). Accordingly, “migration must be recognised as something inextricably and constitutively entangled with the biographies of those involved” (Halfacree, 2012:212). By carefully
formulating and timing the questions during the interviews, interviewees are invited to tell their stories (Kvale, 2009:73-74).

These interviewees thus provide information about decision making, beliefs and perceptions, motivations for migration, the meaning they attach to these experiences, their feelings and emotions, their personal story or biography, in-depth information on sensitive issues and the context surrounding their lives (Hennink et al., 2011:108). In doing so, this research gives voice to the hope, pain, nostalgia and triumph of lives lived in other places than people’s places of origin (King et al., 1995).

These biographical interviews are tape-recorded. Using a tape-recorder during interviews has advantages and disadvantages (Kvale 2009:93-94). Advantages consist of possibilities for the interviewer to observe the interviewee’s body language during the interview and to listen repeatedly and in detail to the interview afterwards. Disadvantages arise when interviewees become reluctant to speak freely or when technical problems occur. However, after a few minutes of introductory questions, my respondents became less aware of the tape recorder’s presence and a more in-depth part of the interview started. One technical problem occurred when I had no tape recorder at my disposal during the first interview with Dutch migrants in Hällefors (2011). Yet, it was fortunate that this occurred early in the fieldwork, as it reminded me to take notes parallel to recording (Dunn, 2005).

Considering the second stage (data processing), the recorded interviews are transcribed verbatim and labelled for analysis. Rather than using computer programs specifically designed for qualitative analysis such as NVivo (Dunn, 2005), data from the interviews are processed using a word processing programme. For two reasons, data processing for this field study is not significantly facilitated by using e.g. NVivo. One reason is the large amount of data for each interview. Another reason is the relative richness of the collected data, measured in expressed emotions and variety in topics. Instead, providing a structure for analysis, labels are added manually in the word processing programme (Baarda et al., 2000:176-188).

Analysing the interview transcripts, it is a challenge to “identify the core ‘story’ of [the] data and describe the issues influencing the story” (Hennink et al., 2011:279). As Hennink et al. (2011:279) explain, different stories may prevail in the data, or “alternative scenarios for different types of participants (e.g. for rural vs urban sites, for men vs women) may be interwoven”. This is further developed in the final section of this chapter.

Considering the third stage (data reporting), I use pseudonyms to increase the interviewees’ anonymity vis-à-vis the broader public. The main reason for this is to guarantee confidentiality of data (ibid:76-77). This means that information provided by the interviewees about other people is
confidential. Moreover, this decreases risks of violating the ethical practice of anonymity when sharing transcripts with others during analysis (ibid:76). However, as I have chosen to mention the name of the municipality, local inhabitants may figure out the identity of the interviewees after all. I have considered using a fictitious name for Hällefors, but this would not guarantee full anonymity either, as insiders may still understand which municipality is actually referred to.

An overview of the families included in the papers is presented in table 2 of paper III and table 2 of paper IV. Although these two papers are based on the same interview study, the participating families are anonymised differently: using numbers in paper III and using pseudonyms in paper IV. The rationale behind this is the more theoretical character of paper III and the rather empirical emphasis in paper IV. In retrospect however, this unfortunately decreases possibilities of comparing both papers’ findings.

Notwithstanding the researcher’s conscious efforts, some critical notes on interviews persist. One note considers the aspects of the move that may remain underdeveloped. It may be difficult for the migrants to admit the features of post-migration life that turned out differently than aspired. A second note considers time aspects. How much time is appropriate between the act of moving and the retrospective interviews concerning the move? The findings from the interviews should be seen in this light.

Other methods: a survey and observation
Data from BeDa are complemented through a survey at the annual Emigration Expo (EE) in the Netherlands in 2008. As the organiser told me during an informal conversation, about 25% of its 12,000 visitors are interested in Sweden. For the 2008 edition of EE, 120 stands are hired by various stakeholders from all corners of the world. Seventeen of these are Swedish, representing 76 municipalities (paper II). This number increases to 131 Swedish municipalities during the 2011 edition. The survey targets two groups: Dutch prospective migrants and Swedish stakeholders. Both target groups are posed open-ended questions.

Data gathered for the first target group concerns 100 prospective migrants. The survey design is demonstrated in more detail in appendix 3. Of the respondents, 59 are male and 41 female. Most of them (56%) are born in the 1960s and 1970s and 36% completed higher education. The largest proportion (27%) lives in strongly urbanised areas, while 20% live in extremely urbanised areas. These data, combined with more specific information about motivations for moving, are used for analysing the migrants’ characteristics and their motivations for moving.
The structure of the survey aimed at stakeholders (the second target group) is also shown in appendix 3. To questions 4, 5 and 6, multiple answers are possible. In addition to the 2008 and 2011 Expos, four Nordic information meetings are visited in 2008, 2009 (twice) and 2011. These meetings are organised by Placement in the Netherlands. They are visited by up to 2,400 prospective migrants. During these six events, observation and analysis of promotional material is carried out.

The aim of the observations is to identify the stakeholders’ place marketing efforts and communication strategies. A content analysis of the promotional material (Hopkins, 1998) is conducted. Moreover, observation of various representations of landscape and the rural idyll is related to Rose’s (2007:143) ‘discourse analysis I: text, intertextuality and context’. This method serves primarily as an exploration of the Swedish municipalities represented at these meetings. The basic information mediated through presentations and at the stands, combined with a study of the municipalities’ characteristics, is utilised in paper II.

5.2 Research area

Figure 4 in the introduction above illustrates the location of Central Sweden, Dalarna and Hällefors. Figure 7 in this chapter presents a more detailed map of this area, covering 53 municipalities. Together, the counties are home to over a million people (BeDa, 2013). These people live mainly in the regional administrative centres of Örebro, Västerås (both counting slightly under 140,000 inhabitants), Karlstad and Falun. Hällefors counts 6,973 inhabitants in 2012 (Statistics Sweden, 2013).

As far as the research area is concerned, the four papers in this thesis are intended as a sequence (Table 6). Combined, they address the central question why and how Dutch families migrate to rural Sweden in general and Hällefors in particular in the 21st century. In an exploration of the subject, paper I uses the whole area represented in BeDa; the counties of Värmland, Örebro, Dalarna and Västmanland. This broad spatial point of departure facilitates the selection of one or more municipalities for a field study.

In the context of this thesis, a primary suggestion from Figure 7 is to select Hagfors (Värmland) for a field study, due to its relatively large number of Dutch living there: 150 in 2008 (BeDa, 2013). However, as appears from paper II, this is essentially explained by a local broker selling houses on the Dutch market (Andersen & Engström, 2005). Instead, being the first municipality in Sweden to cooperate with Placement in a deliberate attempt to attract new residents from abroad, Hällefors is selected as a case study for paper II. Compared to the broker in Hagfors, Placement cooperates more closely with local government and includes broader and more
explicit focus on rural idylls and perceptions of the good life in their place marketing campaigns.

The research area for the second paper further includes Region Dalarna, an ambitious stakeholder comprising all of county Dalarna’s fifteen municipalities. Thus, the research area for paper II consists of one municipality and one region.

Figure 7. Location of Dutch migrants in the research area (2008)

Source: BeDa, 2013

In papers III and IV, the geographical level of analysis shifts from the regional to the local. Hällefors is selected as the main municipality of interest for this thesis. Besides being a pioneer in cooperating with Placement, rea-
sons for selecting this municipality are practical: from Örebro, Hällefors is located within a one hour’s journey by car or a two-hour’s journey by public transport. More importantly, the municipality’s socio-economic situation (stagnating economy and decreasing population) is similar to that of many rural municipalities in Europe (Klingholz, 2009; Hospers, 2011).

Table 6. Methods, geographical level and time period in the papers (P)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Geographical level</th>
<th>Time period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Quantitative: survey Qualitative: interviews, observation</td>
<td>Regional: Region Dalarna and Hällefors municipality</td>
<td>2008 – 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Qualitative: interviews</td>
<td>Local: Hällefors municipality</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Qualitative: interviews</td>
<td>Local: Hällefors municipality</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 Reliability and validity in qualitative research

Two concepts indicating the objectivity and credibility of research are reliability and validity (Peräkylä, 2011). Simply put, reliability concerns selecting the right interview questions and techniques, while validity concerns the extent to which a conclusion is well-founded and addresses the central question and research questions.

Conducting reliable research implies that the same research would render the same results, if conducted by another researcher in similar temporal and spatial settings. However, the cultural and professional background of the researcher influences data gathering and data interpretation differently in different circumstances. My personal characteristics influenced the interviews considering lingual, cultural and interpersonal interaction.

First, the interviews are conducted in Dutch, the mother tongue of both the interviewees and me. This probably increases the interviewees’ ability to express their feelings thoroughly and in detail.

Second, as Kvale (2009:67) points out, “different cultures may involve different norms of interaction with strangers”. Thus sharing a common (Dutch) cultural background with the interviewees facilitates expressions of discontent both with their pre-migration period in the Netherlands and with their post-migration experiences in Sweden. For instance, compari-
sons of social contacts between parents when picking up children from school in the Netherlands and Sweden may not come forward when interviewed by a Swedish (or other) researcher.

A third aspect is interpersonal interaction (Kvale, 2009:13-14). This is a complex matter and related to intersubjectivity; interpersonal dynamics between interviewer and interviewee developing before, during and after the interview. My person as a white male in his early thirties has certainly influenced the issues discussed during the course of the interviews. However, using the interview guide based on previous research and intervening in the conversation only when necessary, my intentions were to take an objective stance.

Moreover, at times I shared some of my experiences, e.g. as a father of young children growing up in Sweden. This was deliberately done both in order to encourage the interviewees to share more of their experiences with me and as a counterbalance for too large an asymmetry of power between interviewer and interviewee (ibid:14-15).

In addition, the validity of qualitative research concerns the interpretation of observations and conclusions in which they result. In other words: “whether or not the inferences that the researcher makes are supported by the data and sensible in relation to earlier research” (Peräkylä, 2011:365). Earlier in this thesis, the selected theories, concepts, study objects (Dutch families in rural Sweden) and research area (Hällefors and Bergslagen) are validated in relation to the overall aim of the study.

Consequently, interpretations are made during the interview study based on the information provided by the interviewees. Thus, knowledge is constructed incorporating the migrants’ understanding of their choices, rather than applying a top-down perspective in which the researcher explains the interviewee’s behaviour for them (Altheide & Johnson, 1998).

All in all, the objectivity and credibility of this study is obtained by observing the preconditions for reliability and validity throughout the thesis.
6 Paper summaries

This chapter presents summaries of the four papers included in this thesis. The first paper is an exploration of the recent wave of Dutch migrants moving to rural Sweden. The second paper turns towards the place marketing campaigns to attract new residents. The third paper analyses expectations and aspirations that inspired the move. The fourth paper studies the migrants’ post-migration realities and experiences.

**Paper I: Exploring Dutch migration to rural Sweden: International counterurbanisation in the EU.**

The aim of the first paper is to analyse contemporary international counterurban migration patterns in an integrated European Union, exemplified by recent migration flows from the Netherlands to Central Sweden. The research area is comprised of the earlier named four counties in BeDa. This area is termed Central Sweden in this paper, due to its rather central location in the country. However, the area is rural in character, indicating the studied flow’s difference from the majority of migration flows to Sweden.

Relating the movers’ characteristics to their motivations for moving, two questions are addressed in the paper. The first question is ‘what are the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of those who move from the Netherlands to Central Sweden in the early 21st century?’ The second question is ‘what motives do Dutch migrants have for migration from the Netherlands to Central Sweden?’

The exploration in this first paper is based on statistics, a minor survey and bodies of literature concentrating on motives for counterurbanisation (Hall & Williams, 2002; King, 2002; Moss, 2006; O’Reilly & Benson, 2009) and international perspectives on counterurbanisation. Critics of the term counterurbanisation are presented (Weekley, 1988; Flowerdew & Boyle, 1992; Mitchell, 2004), as well as studies of counterurbanisation in Sweden (Amcoff & Stenbacka, 1998; Amcoff, 2000; Lindgren, 2003). One central text in the paper’s conceptual framework is Halfacree’s plea for recognising a fuller picture of counterurbanisation, in which he wonders “just how well counterurbanisation travels” (Halfacree, 2008:485).

Dutch migrants in Central Sweden are divided into four cohorts, depending on their latest year of arrival. The latest cohort, those who arrived between the years 2000 and 2005, are then compared to earlier cohorts, German migrants and the local population. German migrants can function as a control group, due to their similar cultural background and patterns of movement (Müller, 1999).
Based on Halfacree’s (2008) British study of counterurbanisation, a number of characteristics are identified among the latest cohort of Dutch migrants in Central Sweden. The majority of these migrants are adults aged 26-45 years, not many retired; are families with children under 18 living at home; have a high and (to a lesser extent) medium level of education; are self-employed; and are settled in rural areas rather than in localities.

The results suggest that the migrants consciously combine a change of surroundings (from urban to rural) with perceived opportunities and challenges of adapting to political, economic, socio-cultural and geographic conditions abroad, and that this combination is an important motive for moving to rural Sweden. Thus, this paper demonstrates that international counterurbanisation is not an exhausted research topic.

**Paper II: Promoting Swedish countryside in the Netherlands: international rural place marketing to attract new residents.**

The aim of the second paper is to examine international rural place marketing efforts by Swedish municipalities in Dalarna and Bergslagen, toward affluent West-European migrants, exemplified by campaigns in the Netherlands. Four research questions are addressed in this study; ‘what are the locations and socio-demographic conditions of Swedish places engaging in international rural place marketing?’ ‘What communication strategies are most commonly used for the promotion of the Swedish countryside in order to attract new residents abroad?’ ‘What are the objectives and target groups of the rural place marketing campaigns?’ And ‘to what extent can the effectiveness of such campaigns be measured?’ This paper focuses on place marketing to attract new residents (as opposed to attracting tourists or businesses), specifically in a rural Nordic context.

This focus is mirrored in the paper’s conceptual framework. On the one hand, there are a small number of texts in Sweden concerning the promotion of rural places in order to attract new residents (Heldt Cassel, 2008; Niedomysl, 2004; 2007; Niedomysl & Amcoff, 2011). On the other hand, literature considering motivations of counterurban migrants offers relevant insights into aspirations and expectations of the prospective target groups for place promotional activities (Boyle et al., 1998; Hall & Williams, 2002; Van Dalen & Henkens, 2007; Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b). This second body of literature is termed lifestyle migration.

The research design for this study includes a questionnaire survey, interviews with both stakeholders and migrants, and observations and analysis of promotional material, at the 2008 and 2011 Dutch Emigration Expos and Nordic information meetings for prospective migrants in the Netherlands in 2008, 2009 (twice) and 2011.
Addressing the first question, the analysis suggests that municipalities engaging in international rural place marketing efforts are coping with less favourable or unfavourable conditions, such as a peripheral location, population decline and economic stagnation (Swedish National Rural Development Agency, 2008). Over time however, trends are observed where regional cooperation (e.g. Region Dalarna) is preferred over campaigning as a separate municipality (e.g. Hällefors). Larger and rather urban areas (e.g. Malmö) are increasingly involved in such regional cooperation.

Addressing the second question, findings suggest that Swedish municipalities’ strategies for rural place marketing to attract new residents from abroad focus on internet and migration information meetings. Results further indicate that natural amenities such as forests and lakes are most commonly mediated.

Findings related to the third research question suggest that Region Dalarna is looking for new entrepreneurs and employees to maintain the region’s economic prospects. The region’s campaigns target basically anyone from Europe. On the other hand, the objectives of Hällefors are more specifically to attract in-migration, ideally families with young children and adults willing to start or acquire a small enterprise.

Considering how the effectiveness of such campaigns can be measured, a more in-depth approach is proposed in addition to existing suggestions: interviews with migrants after migration. These interviews suggest that information meetings and the internet are subordinate to the myriad possibilities for migrants to gather information about potential destinations.

Finally, the paper concludes that regional policy makers may consider shifting focus from migration information meetings and internet to actively receiving potential migrants in the final stage of their decision process. Although communication strategies would continue including internet and migration information meetings, regional policy makers would shift focus from attracting potential migrants to assisting those who decided to move.

Paper III: Lifestyle migration to the North: Dutch families and the decision to move to rural Sweden.

In the third paper, focus shifts back to the migrating families. The aim is to examine what factors contribute to the decision of Dutch families to move to rural Sweden in general and Hällefo rs in particular. The research questions are ‘what are the socio-demographic characteristics of the migrating families?’, ‘what meanings do the migrants attach to their work environments and places of residence prior to moving?’ and ‘what motivations and expectations have shaped the decision to move?’ The first question is re-
lated to Florida’s (2002; 2007) creative class thesis while the second and third questions consider lifestyle related push and pull mechanisms.

This paper introduces three novel aspects to existing studies of lifestyle migration: first, the direction (north) and second, the destination (a ‘problematic’ Swedish rural municipality). The third aspect considers the conditions for the move; a municipality, deliberately engaging an agency in their rural place marketing efforts to attract new residents.

The theoretical point of departure consists of the creative class thesis and studies of lifestyle migration, associated with a post-migration myth of no return and motivations considering a spirit of adventure or self-realisation. More particularly related to rural destinations, concepts of a perceived good life, rural idylls and childhood memories of authentic places are discussed in the remainder of the paper’s conceptual framework.

Methodologically, this study considers the migration process in retrospect. Rather than interviewing prospective migrants, Dutch families in Hällefors are selected, visited and interviewed about their preceding migration process. In short, the interviews produced information on socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants, their decision process considering push factors related to places of residence, occupations and experiences before moving, as well as pull factors related to expectations of work environments, occupations and housing in Hällefors.

Addressing the first research question, it is recognised that these migrants are relatively affluent, as their levels of education, income and home ownership before moving demonstrate.

Addressing the second research question, effects of overpopulation and rapid urbanisation, both felt on the work floor and in the living environment, are a serious trigger to leave the Netherlands. As relatively few areas in the Netherlands are perceived as rural (Haartsen et al., 2003), a counterurban move often crosses international borders. However, an important difference between migrants employed within creative industries (Florida, 2002) and others is that for the former, transferring their pre-migration occupation to the destination facilitates a move to rural Sweden.

This is related to the third research question and the length of the decision process. On the one hand, some families where adults are not employed within creative industries move to Sweden more than a decade after their first visit. On the other hand, creative class members may move within a year, or their first visit may even be directly connected to moving. Even so, many Dutch lifestyle migrants in Hällefors share flexible attitudes towards mobility, summarised as ‘never state that you will never return’.

This tendency to consider returning as part of the ongoing quest for a better way of life is contrary to a ‘myth of no return’, articulated by some
lifestyle migrant populations (O’Reilly, 2000:96-98). These results offer an argument for regarding the permanent-temporary binary of mobility (Bell & Ward, 2000) as ‘unhelpful’ (Halfacree, 2012:213). Often, the families do not aspire to define the duration of their migration in advance.

A final issue in the paper considers the value of thinking about migration as an adventure or a spontaneous act. Mainly, migrants employed within the creative industries tend to characterise their move thus. They are more likely to communicate flexible attitudes towards their migration: in case their expectations and aspirations are not fulfilled, a return is relatively uncomplicated. In contrast, families who have passed through a longer decision process and more struggles finding an occupation may not regard their move as merely a nice adventure. This explains why not all lifestyle migrants in this study articulate their migration in terms of an adventure or a spontaneous act.

**Paper IV: ‘I felt confined’ – Narratives of ambivalence by Dutch lifestyle migrants in Hällefors.**

The aim of the fourth paper is to examine the migration process of Dutch lifestyle migrants in Hällefors and their ambivalent attitudes towards returning. The narratives of the thirteen families in the interview study in Hällefors are of central concern in this paper. The central question is ‘after migrating to Hällefors, what influences the Dutch households’ attitude towards returning?’ On average, the interviews took place four years after the move to Hällefors, in which period ambivalent attitudes towards returning had increased. Push, pull and keep factors expressed during this fieldwork are analysed in the context of the paper’s conceptual framework.

In this framework, seven interrelated concepts are introduced: lifestyle migration, the good life, the rural idyll, the urban-rural continuum, the creative class, ambivalence and identity shift. Ambivalence is related to the migrants’ attitude towards returning. Paradoxically, the possibility of instant return to the country of origin, or a move elsewhere, troubles the decision whether or not to stay in Hällefors. This decision is studied in connection to a possible identity shift after migration, related to the migrants’ characteristics, the nature of the places of origin and destination and the underlying forces and structures that condition movement (White, 1995).

First, considering the migrants’ characteristics, most respondents mentioned pre-migration feelings of discontent with their social surroundings as important push factors. The migrants expressed nostalgic sentiments about their youth. According to the respondents, the perceived rural idylls of their youth no longer exist. These expressions of discontent are related
to perceived social and physical disadvantages of progressive urbanisation and gradually more densely populated areas, such as increased criminality and traffic congestion.

Second, the nature of the place of destination is compared to the nature of the place of origin within social and physical contexts (e.g. property, natural environment, landscape and less populated surroundings). Results from the field study suggest that the perceived ambivalence is a result of strong contrasting factors. After migration to Hällefors, achievements such as a purchased property or living in less populated surroundings constitute strong keep factors. In contrast, friends, relatives and cultural aspects in the Netherlands are strong pull factors for a possible return.

The third aspect, underlying forces and structures that condition movement, also gives rise to ambivalence. On the one hand, migrants name affordable and accessible activities for children such as music classes, all kinds of clubs and theatre as a keep factor. This is related to a rural childhood idyll. On the other hand, a perceived lack of education opportunities for children aged sixteen years and over in Hällefors and similar municipalities is considered a push factor. All in all, the ambivalence may be best described using a feeling of being in between two countries.

A first suggestion from this paper is that the period of preparation before the move may also be decisive for the decision whether or not to stay, as long term planners show less ambivalence than spontaneous movers. Second, the rural childhood idyll both feeds the adult migrant’s nostalgic sentiments and senses of discontent related to rapid urbanisation of the rural areas of their own childhood and creates the adults’ aspirations of finding an idyll for their children, in which they can grow up.

Finally, the paper argues that Florida’s (2002) creative class thesis has stimulated Hällefors and similar municipalities to engage in rural place marketing efforts. Hällefors thus competes for the creative class with other stakeholders across the developed world. However, members of the creative class may not be as creative as expected. Their economic activities may not benefit local economy as aspired by the municipalities. Moreover, as members of the creative class in this study are engaged in projects both in the Netherlands, Sweden and elsewhere, their constraints for moving from Hällefors are smaller, compared to families whose adults are not employed within the creative industries.
7 Conclusion and Discussion

The empirical material in this thesis is studied using three interrelated theories. Counterurbanisation and lifestyle migration are used to comprehend the migrant’s tale. Creative class theory is combined with rural development and rural place marketing to frame the municipality’s tale.

The first paper puts Dutch counterurban movers to rural Sweden on the academic map. It explores basic dimensions such as the socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants and the volume of this orange wave of migration. Chapter 2 of this thesis provides a more thorough theoretical background for this paper, consisting of the counterurbanisation story. The chapter ends with a discussion of the consumption-production binary of migration motivations. The second paper examines Swedish rural municipalities and their international place marketing efforts. This is linked to creative class theory and the rural-urban binary in chapter 3. The third and fourth papers are related to lifestyle migration as presented in chapter 4. The third paper considers the expectations and aspirations of the Dutch families moving to Hällefors. The migrants’ post-migration experiences are studied in the fourth and final paper.

The findings are assessed in relation to the twofold aim of this thesis:

1) To study motivations and decision processes of Dutch families moving to rural Sweden in general and Hällefors in particular.
2) To explore how this migration flow can be conceptualised within migration theory.

In relation to this twofold aim, the main research question of this thesis is:

Why and how do Dutch families migrate to rural Sweden in general and Hällefors in particular, in the early 21st century?

7.1 Moving beyond binaries

The patterns of the migration flow studied in this thesis may be conceptualised as international counterurbanisation. However, lifestyle migration literature offers more apt insights for comprehending post-migration lives within wider life trajectories. Dutch families moving to rural Sweden constitute a rather exceptional yet not entirely unfamiliar group of migrants. Hence, relevant conclusions are drawn from this study.

First, the characteristics of these Dutch families and their motivations for moving resemble previously studied movements in counterurbanisation
research. To revitalise the counterurbanisation story, Halfacree (2008) proposes studying how well counterurbanisation travels. This suggestion can be interpreted variously. For instance, Grimsrud (2011a) and Šimon (2012) transfer the counterurbanisation debate to specific countries and test its applicability in specific (national) spatio-temporal contexts.

However, this thesis interprets Halfacree’s (2008) suggestion differently, studying a group of counterurbanisers across international borders. Although such flows have been studied previously (Buller & Hoggart, 1994; O’Reilly, 2000), the empirical material analysed in this thesis differs from earlier studies as the move abroad is more explicitly intended as a clean break with previous living environments. As such, the movers in this study literally engage in international counterurbanisation, demonstrating that the counterurbanisation story is not exhausted.

Some scholars regard international counterurbanisation as simply an extension of internal counterurbanisation. As a result of EU membership, Dutch counterurban movers are not contained by their national society in the decision process. Neither is the need to become a Swedish citizen after moving apparent (Favell, 2008:275). Compared to days of old and to classical destinations further afield, rural Sweden is in relatively close proximity to the Netherlands and moving there is not too complicated.

However, I argue that political, economic, socio-cultural and geographic conditions render this move essentially different from a counterurban move within the Netherlands. Part of the adventure (Bruillon, 2007) of moving to rural Sweden sits in overcoming these differences. This conclusion adds novel dimensions to existing studies of counterurbanisation.

Moreover, as a result of European integration, intra-EU counterurban moves differ from international counterurbanisation on other continents. EU membership renders potential destinations more accessible through lowering barriers to mobility (European Union, 2004; Benson, 2012:1686). As such, geographical space in the EU is unique since the sovereignty of nation-states to classify certain movements as migration is redefined (Favell, 2008). Thus reifying issues of scale, this thesis escapes conventional conceptualisations of migration centred on the nation-state (ibid.).

Second, in line with Champion and Hugo (2004), this study challenges the conceptual division between urban and rural spaces. In this thesis, diminishing social disparities between urban and rural functions go hand in hand with physical differences related to population size and density. After their move to perceived more pleasant surroundings in the Swedish countryside, Dutch migrants with remaining job errands in the Netherlands regularly travel between both countries. This mobility raises their place-consciousness (McIntyre et al., 2006), e.g. when they compare their current
living environment in rural Sweden with their densely populated areas of origin in the Netherlands. Thus, their flexible mobilities transcend the urban-rural binary.

My respondents furthermore transcend the rural-urban binary through the Internet (Moss, 2006) when they maintain quotidian contacts with friends and relatives in the Netherlands and elsewhere. Arguably, such opportunities are more prominent in Sweden (Eliasson & Westlund, 2013) and neighbouring countries (Herslund, 2012) than in other parts of the world. In this context, Hällefors appears extra well equipped as it offers outstanding broadband internet access (Hällefors, 2013). Nevertheless, as illustrated by its continued population decline, Hällefors remains a less obviously attractive municipality.

This also indicates that ‘the rural’ as one homogenous category is disappearing (Hoggart, 1990; Haandrikmn & Hedberg, forthcoming). Paper II demonstrates that only those Swedish municipalities and regions who are able to combine amenities with additional pull factors can win the competition for new residents. In this respect, policy makers on EU and other levels need to be aware that poorer rural areas unable to co-finance structural fund projects, often are the ones most in need of assistance to mitigate population decline. Hence, this thesis illustrates a broad trend towards more differentiated rural spaces with different potential for rural development (Bowler, 2001; Bijker & Haartsen, 2012).

Moreover, issues of selectivity in rural place marketing efforts demand increased awareness. Many Swedish local policy makers engaging in campaigns to attract migrants from the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Great Britain presume that these migrants remain longer and contribute more to local economy than refugees or migrants from other countries (SR, 2011). However, as discussed in paper IV, this is far from obvious. Nor is it self-evident that Dutch migrants integrate into local society more effortlessly than other migrants. Future research may study this development in relation to (in)visible minorities (Trumberg, 2011:163), white ruralities (Panelli et al., 2009) and rural racism (Nayak & Jeffrey, 2011:187-197).

Third, this thesis interrogates work done on the consumption-production binary of migration. My respondents often articulate how improving quality of life was the most important drive for migration. After migration, their work enables them to support their aspired way of life. Such a reliance on their own labour may be caused by economic necessity, while also creating opportunities for a more autonomous life (Stone & Stubbs, 2007; Eliasson & Westlund, 2013).

Particularly when studying economically active migrants such as the Dutch families in Hällefors, this thesis draws more attention to issues of
production within lifestyle migration literature. ICT not only has social dimensions, it also creates opportunities to combine a highly skilled job with a relaxed home base (Turner, 2013). During fieldwork, the Korevaar, De Geer, Van Leeuwen and Monnee families explicitly expressed such strategies of combining quality of life with distance working. In the words of Pauline van Vliet (project manager at Placement): “this is not a touristic area, but it has a lot to offer. Parts of Hällefors and surroundings are beautiful!” (e.g. illustrated on the front cover of this thesis).

In recent research, Turner (2013) studies how such processes may create ‘hotspots’. These are understood as places nearby deprived areas with lagging labour markets, located far from metropolitan areas, yet rich in amenities and surprisingly attracting new residents (ibid:253). Hotspots offer good living conditions, which can attract young families moving from cities due to increasing urban housing prices (ibid.). When previously declining rural areas are repopulated and redeveloped property prices are inflated, this is conceptualised as rural gentrification (Milbourne, 2007; Woods, 2009:87; Phillips, 2010; Stockdale, 2010). Future research in rural Sweden and elsewhere may combine aspects of rural gentrification with issues of counterurbanisation and incoming lifestyle migrants.

Fourth and finally, paper IV investigates post-migration lives in the context of aspirations before moving (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b) and the permanent-temporary binary of movement (Bell & Ward, 2000). As a move away does not necessarily weaken social ties, migration no longer carries significant risks of closing future employment in the area of origin (Perry, 2013; Bruillon, 2007). In the words of Bert Lochtenberg (Family 10 in Paper III): “the kind of migration that we engaged in is not complex, but a nice adventure”.

Such developments suggest diversification and transience within lifestyle migration research, where changing preferences over the life course intersect with lifestyle relocation. Most of my respondents maintain realistic and flexible attitudes towards future moves. Such flexibility is related to transitions in the life course such as child birth, children growing up and attending distant schools (Herslund, 2012:247), parents getting older or elderly grandparents in need of health care. As such, their adage of ‘never say never’ contrasts with the ‘myth of no return’ (O’Reilly, 2000).

Although unintended by Placement, Hällefors and other municipalities engaging in Holland projects, many attracted families appear to be ‘footloose’ (Andersson, 2012). This implies that they nor their friends or relatives have previously lived in the area, and that they are prepared to move on in the event of changes in the work or family life (ibid.). Hence, a novel trend appears, in which people consciously choose to live somewhere for a
period of time and then are open for opportunities elsewhere (Bendig et al., 2012:820).

As a family’s first and second homes may exchange status over time, a form of multiple dwelling (McIntyre et al., 2006) may emerge that does not occur simultaneously in space, but rather in a conscious chronological order. Future studies may relate lifestyle migration and the ongoing quest for a better way of life (Benson, 2011b) to multiple understandings of homeward and onward migration (Kelly, 2013).

7.2 Contributions of the thesis

Thus, flexible mobilities and senses of home, place and identity negotiated through multiple dwelling in time rather than space may become apparent in the years to come. I argue that lifestyle migration literature most adequately captures the dynamics studied here. Particularly, insights into post-migration lives become essential in an integrating EU where relocation does not stop once the act of migration is accomplished.

Yet, to study this phenomenon beyond societies (Urry, 2000) through the lens of lifestyle mobilities (Cohen et al., 2013) would be too much a focus on mobile lives and too little attention for place-consciousness in the decision to migrate. Apart from relating the adage ‘never say never’ to issues of ambivalence and a mismatch between anticipated lives and reality after migration (Halfacree & Rivera, 2012), this thesis offers three contributions to lifestyle migration research.

One contribution consists of broadening the geographic scope of lifestyle migration to include a wealthy Nordic destination country. Previous studies of lifestyle migration focus on South-European and low cost destinations (Casado-Díaz et al., 2004; Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b). My respondents also search for nostalgia and imagined authentic rural settings in a perceived more favourable (but colder) climate. Yet, childcare services, the school system and other lifestyle issues related to the Swedish welfare state constitute a latent background for their choice of destination. Such facilities offered by a wealthy country are then combined with local assets in Hällefors: tranquil surroundings and affordable housing.

Within this wealthy destination country however, Hällefors is located in the deprived industrial Bergslagen area, not renowned for tourism. This is the second contribution of the thesis, as issues of production become more apparent here. In combination with aspects of entrepreneurship (Stone & Stubbs, 2007) and relations with labour migration (Huete et al., 2013), I argue that issues of production are becoming an important addition to the previously rather consumption-oriented lifestyle migration literature. These
issues are illustrated by my respondents’ struggles and creative ways of finding (self-)employment after migration.

The rich qualitative data gathered for this study can assist in comprehending the act of migration within individual life trajectories (Benson, 2012). Thus investigating Dutch migrants’ biographies in-depth, this thesis contributes to an increased appreciation of the intentions involved in the migration decision (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993). However, even though subjective experience and personal agency play an important role in lifestyle migration (Benson, 2012:1690), we need to be aware that agency alone cannot explain this migration phenomenon.

This brings us to the third and most prominent contribution of this thesis: framing individual’s agency within deliberate attempts by Hällefors to attract creative new residents, as promoted by Placement. Although other migration consultancy organisations exist, the large volume of municipalities and migrants involved with Placement is unique in Europe.

Therefore, this thesis offers novel insights concerning migration decisions in relation to historical and material conditions such as the impact of globalisation on individual mobility. Individual biographies, pathways and actions are here combined with structural conditions offered by EU regulations (Benson, 2012), as well as attempts of rural Swedish municipalities to counteract the effects of rural depopulation.

Out of the frying-pan into the fire
Attracting new residents from populous areas in the Netherlands and elsewhere is not a panacea for declining rural municipalities in Europe (Klingholz, 2009). After the Holland project was formally finalised in Hällefors, political majority shifted, local politicians involved in the project were replaced, and the municipality’s strategy based on design, technology and culinary arts was altered. What is more, local political disagreement and a malfunctioning board resulted in bankruptcy of the House of Design.

Recently, additional structural constraints occurred in Hällefors. Local schools closed and apart from the School of hospitality, culinary arts and meal science, higher education is not available in the area. As a result of these alterations and Dutch families’ post-migration experiences, many of those attracted to Hällefors by the Holland project considered moving away again. For instance, recall Thea and Anton van Leeuwen from the introduction of this thesis. Disillusioned by such structural conditions in Hällefors, they decided to move to Southern Sweden.

Also, Jane and Adrian Mansveld were initially attracted to rural Sweden by helpful people and sparsely populated areas. In Hällefors, they found good schools, a labour market able to offer them employment and a per-
ceived authentic community. Yet, their experiences of a lagging local labour market and a declining population resulted in a re-evaluation of their decision to move. At the time of writing, they remain in Hällefors, but Adrian is forced to find new employment in a neighbouring municipality.

Other families remained in Hällefors as well, and still new Dutch families settle there, attaining their mountain of gold. Thus, an increasing number of families in the Netherlands move out of the pre-migration frying-pan into the post-migration fire (Tolkien, 1960:77). But some years after they moved there, they may find themselves seriously considering moving back again.

Yet, this is not to say the move was in vain, since the migrants’ everyday lives are enriched by their experiences abroad and the destinations’ social fabric is enhanced by novel impacts to local economy.
Summary in Dutch

Deze dissertatie heeft twee doelen. Het eerste doel is om de motieven en besluitvormingsprocessen te bestuderen van Nederlandse gezinnen die verhuizen naar het Zweedse platteland in het algemeen en naar de gemeente Hällefors in het bijzonder. Het tweede doel is om te verkennen hoe deze migratiestroom geconceptualiseerd kan worden binnen bestaande theoriën over migratie. Op basis van deze doelen luidt de centrale vraag:

Waarom en hoe verhuizen Nederlandse gezinnen naar het Zweedse platteland in het algemeen en naar de gemeente Hällefors in het bijzonder, aan het begin van de 21e eeuw?

Deze vraag is verder onderverdeeld in vier onderzoeksvragen die elk in een afzonderlijk artikel worden beantwoord. De hoofdvraag voor artikel I is ‘wat zijn de karakteristieken van mensen die van Nederland naar Centraal Zweden verhuizen aan het begin van de 21e eeuw?’ De hoofdvraag voor artikel II is ‘welke strategieën, doelstellingen en doelgroepen hebben gemeentes in Dalarna en Bergslagen voor hun internationale place marketing campagnes?’ De hoofdvraag voor artikel III is ‘welke factoren, motieven en verwachtingen dragen bij aan de beslissing van Nederlandse gezinnen om te verhuizen naar het Zweedse platteland in het algemeen en naar de gemeente Hällefors in het bijzonder?’ Voor elk artikel is een aantal meer specifieke deelvragen geformuleerd.

Artikel IV is een hoofdstuk in een boek. Het beantwoordt de vraag ‘nadat Nederlandse gezinnen naar Hällefors zijn gemigreerd, wat beïnvloedt hun houing ten opzichte van een terugkeer?’ Dit proefschrift bestudeert deze groep migranten (ook wel ‘de oranje golf’ genoemd) binnen een theoretisch kader, zoals toegelicht in hoofdstuk 2, 3 en 4.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft en analyseert literatuur over counterurbanisatie. Dit fenomeen is oorspronkelijk gesignaleerd in de Verenigde Staten, waar men in de jaren 70 van de vorige eeuw een sterkere bevolkingsgroei waarnam in plattelandsgebieden dan in grootstedelijke gebieden. Een aantal jaar later is dit ook in het Verenigd Koninkrijk en elders in Europa bestudeerd. Sommige onderzoekers beweren dat het academische debat over counterurbanisatie zo langzamerhand is verzadigd. Echter, het toevoegen van internationale dimensies zorgt voor nieuwe impulsen voor de overwegend nationale focus van dit debat.

Hoofdstuk 3 verdiept zich eerst in literatuur over de creatieve klasse. De Amerikaanse econoom Richard Florida dicht deze groep mensen een
belangrijke rol toe voor de economie van grote steden. Ook al bestaat er forse kritiek op deze stelling, toch hebben veel beleidsmakers zich laten inspireren door ideeën over de creatieve klasse. Zo ook op het Zweedse platteland, waar een aantal zogenaamde Hollandprojecten is opgezet. Deze projecten duren vaak drie jaar, met als doel om door place marketing een aantal Nederlandse gezinnen aan te trekken als nieuwe inwoners.

Hällefors was de eerste gemeente in Zweden om zo’n project te starten. Dit was in 2004, na vele jaren van bevolkingskrimp. Het gebied Bergslagen, waar Hällefors in ligt, is van oudsher een mijnenstreek. Gedurende honderden jaren heeft Bergslagen Duitse, Finse, Waalse en andere arbeidskracht aangetrokken voor de ijzer- en staalindustrie. Met de opkomst van de dienstensector is de plaatselijke economie gestagneerd en de werkgelegenheid afgenomen. De werknemers zijn weggetrokken, wat er voor Hällefors toe heeft geleid dat het aantal inwoners drastisch is gedaald: van bijna 12000 in 1968 tot minder dan 7000 in 2012.

In een poging om het tij te keren, heeft het gemeentebestuur in de eerste jaren van de 21e eeuw een vernieuwde strategie geformuleerd. Deze wordt samengevat met de slogan ‘van staaltijd naar maaltijd’, waarbij de aandacht is verschoven van de zware industrie naar design, techniek en culinaire kunsten. Hieruit blijkt hoezeer deze Zweedse plattelandsgemeente is geïnspireerd door het werk van Florida.


Hoofdstuk 3 sluit af met een beschouwing van de mogelijke effecten van dergelijke projecten voor de herstructurering van landelijke gebieden en plattelandsontwikkeling. Deze informatie over de ontvangende regio is een belangrijke voorwaarde om de motieven en het besluitvormingsproces van de Nederlandse migranten te begrijpen.

**Onderzoeksmethodes**

Hoofdstuk 5 bespreekt een combinatie van verschillende soorten data en methodes. Bij elkaar belichten deze methodes meer de breedte dan de diepte van mijn studie-object. Artikel I plaatst de oranje golf op de kaart op basis van beschrijvende statistiek uit de Bergslagen Database (BeDa). Dit is een longitudinale database met informatie over alle individuen van 16 jaar en ouder die tussen 1990 en 2008 hebben gewerkt en/of gewoond in de vier provincies Dalarna, Värmland, Västmanland of Örebro. Dit is tegelijk het onderzoeksgebied van de dissertatie als geheel, in artikel I aangeduid als Centraal Zweden. Een aantal van de in totaal 53 gemeentes in BeDa wordt tegenwoordig gerekend tot de regio Bergslagen.


Gebaseerd op deze methodes zijn de gemeente Hällefors en de provincie Dalarna geselecteerd voor het tweede artikel. Hierbij zijn vooral de place marketing campagnes en de socio-economische karakteristieken van deze exposanten geanaliseerd. Verschillen zijn onder andere dat Dalarna niet samenwerkt met Placement, dat het over meer middelen beschikt om de campagnes te financieren en dat mensen in Zweden een positiever beeld hebben van Dalarna dan van Hällefors.


**Conclusies en bijdragen van deze dissertatie**

Eén van de primaire conclusies van deze dissertatie is dat dit fenomeen weliswaar past binnen onderzoek naar counterurbanisatie, maar dat lifestyle migratie betere opties biedt om ook de periode na de migratie te conceptualiseren. Deze studie overschrijdt een viertal dualismen binnen theoriën over migratie.

Het eerste dualism is gekoppeld aan schaalniveaus. Het toevoegen van internationale dimensies aan studies van nationale counterurbanisatie
revitaliseert onderzoek naar dit fenomeen. Mijn respondenten zijn naar Zweden verhuisd omdat het type platteland dat ze zoeken niet in Nederland te vinden was. Verder hebben de verschillende politieke, socio-culturele en economische omstandigheden in het buitenland een toegevoegde waarde waardoor de verhuizing als avontuurlijk wordt ervaren, maar niet te uitdagend of te ver weg.

Dit heeft ook te maken met de unieke situatie van de Europese Unie. Nergens anders ter wereld is verhuizen naar het buitenland toch tamelijk goed geregeld dankzij de vrijheid van vestiging binnen de EU. De afnemende soevereiniteit van EU- lidstaten om te bepalen wanneer iemand een migrant is, levert een interessante dynamiek op voor onderzoek naar counterurbanisatie in de EU.

Het tweede dualisme is gekoppeld aan percepties van rurale en urbane gebieden. Hiermee bedoel ik dat landelijke gebieden qua functie niet langer duidelijk te onderscheiden zijn van stedelijke gebieden. Dit is te illustreren aan de hand van de mogelijkheden die ICT en goedkope manieren van reizen bieden. Mijn respondenten combineren landelijke en stedelijke activiteiten in het dagelijks leven die voorheen onverenigbaar waren.

Bovendien is er ook niet langer sprake van één type landelijk gebied. Er bestaat een breed scala aan landelijke gebieden met verscheidene functies en karakteristieken. Het is dan ook belangrijk voor beleidsmakers op verschillende schaalniveaus om zich dit te realiseren; regio’s die het meest afhankelijk zijn van bijvoorbeeld structuurfondsen om hun bevolkingsafname tegen te gaan, zijn zelden in staat om deze steun te co-financieren.

Het derde dualisme is gekoppeld aan consumptie en productie. In literatuur over lifestyle migratie is veel aandacht geweest voor sociale motieven voor migratie, die te maken hebben met het consumeren van een bepaalde ruimte. Daaraan voegt deze dissertatie toe dat economisch actieve mensen ook na de migratie inkomsten moeten verwerven. Zodoende zou er binnen onderzoek naar lifestyle migratie een duidelijkerke plaats moeten komen voor de relatie tussen consumptie en productie.

Het vierde dualisme is gekoppeld aan tijdsaspecten. De migratie van mijn respondenten kan niet getypeerd worden als permanent óf tijdelijk. Slechts enkele van mijn respondenten hebben van te voren een duidelijke opvatting over de duur van hun verblijf in Hällefors. Sommigen beslissen pas na enkele jaren of ze daadwerkelijk in Hällefors blijven wonen, anderen verhuizen naar andere plaatsen in Scandinavië en weer anderen verhuizen terug naar Nederland. Tijdens de interviews hebben mijn respondenten hun houding vaak samengevat als “zeg nooit nooit”.
Deze flexibele houding wil ik niet koppelen aan het ‘new mobilities’ paradigm. Evenmin past mijn empirie binnen de literatuur over lifestyle mobiliteit, waarin voortdurende mobiliteit en verhuizingen centraal staan. Het materiaal in deze dissertatie duidt er eerder op dat mobiliteit mensen meer bewust maakt van verschillende kwaliteiten van plaatsen. De interviewstudie suggereert dat mensen zich aan verschillende plaatsen tegelijkertijd gebonden voelen, maar in een bepaalde levensfase voor een bepaalde woonplaats kiezen. Deze mensen staan echter voortdurend open voor een andere woonplaats als die beter bij een volgende levensfase past.

Dit leidt tot slot tot een drietal bijdragen aan onderzoek naar lifestyle migratie. Ten eerste bestaat de geografische omvang van lifestyle migratie uit studies van landen in Zuid-Europa of landen waar de kosten van levensonderhoud tamelijk laag zijn. Deze dissertatie voegt daar een Noord-Europees land aan toe. Als verzorgingsstaat biedt Zweden een scala aan mogelijkheden, bijvoorbeeld voor kinderopvang en onderwijs. Dit hebben velen van mijn respondenten ervaren na de verhuizing, maar het heeft indirekt ook een rol gespeeld bij de besluitvorming voor de verhuizing.

Al zijn de kosten van levensonderhoud over het algemen in Zweden niet zo laag, deze kosten zijn in Hällefors lager dan in de Nederlandse Randstad. Een reden hiervoor is dat Hällefors in een minder populair plattelandsgebied ligt, zeker in vergelijking met de Spaanse Costas zoals bestudeerd in eerder onderzoek naar lifestyle migratie. De tweede bijdrage van dit proefschrift is dan ook de keuze voor bestemming met bevolkingskrimp en een stagnerende economie.

De derde en belangrijkste bijdrage is de structuur waarin de migranten hun besluit nemen. Deze structuur bestaat uit de doelgerichte pogingen van Hällefors en andere (Scandinavische) gemeenten om nieuwe inwoners uit het buitenland aan te trekken in samenwerking met Placement. In artikel II bekritiseer ik de werkwijze van de gemeentes die onderscheid lijken te maken tussen de ‘juiste’ (creatieve) mensen enerzijds en onaantrekkelijke (vluchtelingen) inwoners anderzijds. Voor onderzoek naar lifestyle migratie is een dergelijke structuur een nieuw gegeven, aangezien de besluitvorming voorheen meer gezien werd als een individuele vrije keuze.
Denna avhandling har två syften. Det första syftet är att studera motiv och beslutprocesser hos holländska familjer som flyttar till Sveriges landsbygd i allmänhet och Hällefors kommun i synnerhet i början av 2000-talet. Det andra syftet är att undersöka hur denna flyttström kan begreppsliggöras inom befintliga migrationsteorier. Studiens frågeställning är:

Varför och hur flyttar holländska familjer till Sveriges landsbygd i allmänhet och Hällefors kommun i synnerhet, i början av 2000-talet?


Artikel IV är ett antologikapitel. Frågan som besvaras där lyder ’efter flytten till Hällefors, vad påverkar de holländska familjernas attityd till en eventuell återflytt?’. Denna avhandling studerar den här gruppen av migranter (även kallat ’den orangea vågen’) inom en teoretisk ram som beskrivs i kapitel 2, 3 och 4.


Kapitel 3 börjar med litteratur om den kreativa klassen. Den amerikanska ekonomen Richard Florida anser att denna grupp människor är viktig för storstädernes ekonomi. Även om det finns en hel del kritik mot denna ståndpunkt, så har den inspirerat politiker och tjänstemän, både i storstäder och på landsbygden. Detta har lett till ett antal så kallade Hollandsprojekt som startats i Sveriges landsbygd. Dessa projekt sträcker sig oftast över
3 år, med syftet att genom platsmarknadsföring attrahera holländska familjer som nya invånare.


Kapitel 3 avslutas genom att koppla sådana Hollandsprojekt till litteratur om strukturomvandling och landsbygdsutveckling. Sådan information ger en viktig bakgrund för att förstå och studera de holländska familjernas motiv och beslutprocesser.


**Forskningsmetoder**

I kapitel 5 redogör jag för olika typer av data och metoder. Bredden i material och metoder möjliggör en allsidig belysning av fenomenet. Artikel I använder beskrivande statistik hämtad från Bergslagsdatabasen (BeDa) för att sätta den orangea vågen på kartan. BeDa är en longitudinal databas med information om alla individer äldre än 15 år som någon gång mellan


Som ett resultat av ovanstående metoder har jag valt att fokusera på Region Dalarna och Hällefors kommun i artikel II. Viktigast var då att analysera kommunernas situation och tillvägagångssätt för att marknadsföra sig. Skillnader är bland annat att Region Dalarna inte samarbetar med Placement, att Dalarna har en bättre ekonomi för att finansiera sina kampanjer samt att det i Sverige finns en mer positiv bild av Dalarna än Hällefors.


Slutsatser och bidrag
En viktig slutsats är att det studerade fenomenet visserligen kan ses som kontraurbanisering, men att forskning om livsstilsmigration ger bättre möjligheter att begreppsliggöra flytten samt perioden efter flytten. Andra slutsatser rör fyra dikotomer inom migrationsforskning.


Detta kan också relateras till den unika politiska situationen inom den Europeiska Unionen. Ingen annanstans är en flytt utomlands så väl reglerad som genom EU:s fria etableringsrätt. Det uppstår en intressant forsk-
ningsdynamik med tanke på den minskade suveräniteten som enskilda medlemsländer har att definiera när någon är en migrant.


Dessutom kan man inte längre tala om en homogen landsbygd. Det finns en stor variation mellan olika landsbygder med olika funktioner och karaktärstika. Därför är det viktigt att tjänstemän och planerare på olika skalfåter är väl medveten om följande: att de regioner som inte har möjlighet att delfinansiera projekt ur exempelvis EU:s strukturfonder, alltför ofta är just de regioner som är i störst behov av projekt för att motverka avfolkning.


Den fjärde dikotomin är kopplad till tid. Man kan inte säga att flytten för de holländska familjerna jag har intervjuat antingen är permanent eller tillfällig. Bara några få av mina respondenter hade en uppfattning om hur länge de skulle stanna i Hällefors innan de flyttade dit. Vissa bestämmer först efter ett antal år om de verkligen vill bo kvar i Hällefors, andra flyttar till andra kommuner i Sverige eller Skandinavien och ytterligare andra bestämmer sig för att återvända till Nederländerna. Många gånger har jag hört mina respondenter säga frasen ”man ska aldrig säga aldrig”.


Till slut leder detta till tre bidrag till forskning inom livsstilsmigration. För det första, tidigare studier av livsstilsmigration lägger geografisk tyngd på länder i Sydeuropa och länder där boendekostnader är låga. Denna
avhandling bidrar med en nordisk destination. Som nordisk välfärdsstat erbjuder Sverige en hel del möjligheter såsom daghem och utbildning. Mina respondenter har uppmärksammad dessa faktorer efter flytten. De har dock indirekt även påverkat beslutprocessen.

För det andra, även om boendekostnaderna i Sverige i allmänhet inte är låga, så är de lägre i Hällefors jämfört med de holländska städerna. Ett av skälen är att Hällefors ligger i ett mindre turistiskt område, i synnerhet jämfört med t.ex. spanska solkusten som studerats i tidigare undersökningar av livsstilsmigration. Det andra som denna avhandling bidrar med är således att destinationen är en avfolkningsbygd med stagnerande ekonomi.

Det sista och viktigaste bidraget är strukturen inom vilken migranternas tar sina beslut. Denna struktur består av Hällefors och andra kommuners riktade försök att attrahera nya invånare från utlandet i samarbete med Placement. I artikel II kritiserar jag detta arbetssätt eftersom de gör skillnad på kreativa (resursstarka) människor och mindre attraktiva invånare (flyktingar). Inom forskning om livsstilsmigration är en sådan struktur ny, ty förut har man sett beslutprocessen som individuell och fri från påverkan utifrån.
References


Amcoff, Jan (2000), Samtida bosättning på svensk landsbygd. Uppsala University: Geografiska regionstudier 41.


Amcoff, Jan & Erik Westholm (2007), Understanding rural change - demography as key to the future. Futures 39:363-379.


Andersen, Kristina Vaarst, Høgni Kalsø Hansen, Arne Isaksen & Mika Raunio (2010), Nordic city regions in the creative class debate – putting the creative class thesis to a test. Industry and innovation 17:215-240.


BeDa (2013), Bergslagen Database, available at Statistics Sweden and the Human Geography Department of Örebro University.


Benson, Michaela (2010), The context and trajectory of lifestyle migration. *European Societies* 12:45-64.


Benson, Michaela (2012), How culturally significant imaginings are translated into lifestyle migration. *Journal of Ethnic and migration Studies* 38:1681-1696.


Jackiewicz, Edward (2010), Guest editor’s introduction to the special issue on “lifestyle migration”. Recreation and Society in Asia, Africa and Latin America 1:1-4.
Jakobsson, Max (2009), From industries to experiences – a study of symbolic and material restructuring in the Bergslagen area. Örebro: Örebro Studies in Human Geography 3.
Lifestyle migration hub (2013), Researchers reflect on the impact of the global recession on lifestyle migration and residential tourism. Available at www.uta.fi/yky/lifestylemigration Latest access 29 August 2013.
Lundholm, Emma, Jörgen Garvill, Gunnar Malmberg & Kerstin Westin (2004), Forced or free movers? The motives, voluntariness and selectiv-
ity of interregional migration in the Nordic countries. Population, Space and Place 10:59-72.


McGranahan David & Timothy Wojan (2007), Recasting the creative class to examine growth process in rural and urban counties. Regional Studies 41:197-216.


Nuur, Cali & Staffan Laestadius (2009), Is the “creative class” necessarily urban? Putting the creativity thesis in the context of non-urbanised regions in industrialised nations, Debate June 2009, European Journal of Spatial Development.


Thulemark, Maria & Atle Hauge (forthcoming), Creativity in the recreational industry - re-conceptualization of the creative class theory in a tourism-dominated rural area. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Administration.*


Appendices
Appendix 1. List of interviews included in the interview study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1 21-09-08</td>
<td>The Bres fam.</td>
<td>Dutch prospective migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E1 06-10-08</td>
<td>Mrs v. Vliet</td>
<td>Dutch migrant, Hällefors project manager at Placement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2 06-10-08</td>
<td>The Evenblij fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2 06-10-08</td>
<td>Mr Andersson</td>
<td>Munic. official, Ljusnarsberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3 07-10-08</td>
<td>Mrs Verbleven</td>
<td>Dutch migrant, Ludvika employed at Region Dalarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3 07-10-08</td>
<td>The Jol fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Smedjebacken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B4 08-10-08</td>
<td>The De Geer fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4 08-10-08</td>
<td>Mr Björklund</td>
<td>Munic. official, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E5 20-11-08</td>
<td>Mrs Blomqvist and Mrs Erlingmark</td>
<td>Project managers, Region Dalarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B5 26-11-08</td>
<td>The v. Hijkoop fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Nora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6 16-12-08</td>
<td>The Adriaanse fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Örebro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B7 17-04-09</td>
<td>Mrs v. Gaal</td>
<td>Dutch remigrant, Gagnef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B8 18-04-09</td>
<td>The Stekelenburg fam.</td>
<td>Dutch prospective migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E6 14-12-10</td>
<td>Mrs v. Vliet</td>
<td>Dutch migrant, Hällefors retired project mgr, Placement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E7 13-02-11</td>
<td>Ms Hedman</td>
<td>German migrant, employed at Region Dalarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B9 09-03-11</td>
<td>The De Caluwé fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B10 14-03-11</td>
<td>The Korevaar fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B11 16-03-11</td>
<td>The Landers fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B12 19-03-11</td>
<td>The De Geer fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B13 31-03-11</td>
<td>The v. Leeuwren fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B14 03-04-11</td>
<td>The Lochtenberg fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B15 15-04-11</td>
<td>The Louwerens fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B16 18-04-11</td>
<td>The Mansveld fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B17 18-05-11</td>
<td>The Monnee fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B18 10-06-11</td>
<td>The Ouwehand fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B19 21-10-11</td>
<td>The Storm fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B20 21-10-11</td>
<td>The Swanenburg fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B21 07-12-11</td>
<td>The Thie fam.</td>
<td>Dutch migrants, Hällefors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All names are pseudonyms
Appendix 2a. Interview guide; expert interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Part 1** Background | What organisation / region do you represent?  
What is your function within this organisation? |
| **Part 2** Rural place marketing towards the Netherlands | Has your organisation engaged in rural place marketing to attract new residents before?  
When (what years)?  
Are you currently focusing particularly on the Netherlands?  
Since what year has your organised focused on the Netherlands?  
What is your main aim when attracting Dutch migrants?  
Are there, in your opinion, any specific characteristics that make potential Dutch migrants a particularly interesting target group?  
Are there any previous experiences with Dutch migrants that make this group a particularly interesting target group?  
Are there other reasons for focusing on potential Dutch migrants? |
| **Part 3** Rural place marketing towards other countries | Has focus been put on specific countries?  
What are the arguments for this focus?  
What other countries would be interesting for your organisation?  
Does your organisation cooperate with any other organisations (e.g. recruitment agencies)?  
If yes, what organisation?  
What are the future prospects for your organisation’s engagement in rural place marketing campaigns? |
**Appendix 2b. Interview guide; biographical interviews**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part 1</th>
<th>General socio-demographic characteristics of the family members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education prior to moving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Occupation prior to moving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Previous places of residence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part 2</th>
<th>Visits to Sweden prior to moving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First time in Sweden (month and year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subsequent visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency of the visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duration of the visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purpose of the visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mode of transport to and from Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Possible role of visiting other countries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part 3</th>
<th>The initial “spark”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When and why did you first consider a possible move to Sweden?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why did you decide for this Northern direction?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why this region in Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why this (part of the) municipality?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why this property?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What information has played a role in your decision?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Where have you obtained this information?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Did you know of any fellow countrymen living in the municipality before your move?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What aspirations and expectations did you have prior to moving, considering living and working in (this part) of Sweden?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What kind of preparations have you made prior to moving?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part 4</th>
<th>After the move</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Current and previous places of residence in Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Current and previous occupations in Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Experiences considering the current occupation compared to the aspirations and expectations prior to moving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Experiences considering living in the current property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency, duration and purpose of journeys to the Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency, duration and purpose of friends or relatives visiting in Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The short term future and long term future (&gt; 3 years) considering place of residence, occupation, everyday life and mobility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3. Survey design

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background information (prospective migrants)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gender?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Year of birth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Highest completed level of education?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Current (major) occupation?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. What are your latest three places of residence? From……- until… (three possibilities)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moving to Sweden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Are you considering working/living in Sweden?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. At what stage of the decision process are you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. What is the most important reason for this? (in general)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. What other factors prompted the desire to move from the Netherlands?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a. What do you consider advantages of living in Sweden? (three possibilities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b. What do you consider disadvantages of living in Sweden? (three possibilities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. If any, what Swedish area would you prefer to move to? Why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. What kind of work would you like to do in Sweden? Why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. In what way do you receive information about moving to Sweden?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. What role do emigration meetings play in this process?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Thank you for your cooperation!*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General information (stakeholders)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What municipality or region do you represent?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What is your function within the project?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>History, geographical orientation, objectives and target groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. How long has your organisation been engaged in this project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Does the campaign target any countries in particular? What countries?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. What is the purpose of the campaign in general and toward Dutch migrants in particular?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. What makes Dutch migrants an interesting target group?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Thank you for your cooperation!*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Neighbouring countries</th>
<th>Classical destinations</th>
<th>Lifestyle migration destinations</th>
<th>Nordic countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>7493</td>
<td>7956</td>
<td>1591</td>
<td>1181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>8684</td>
<td>8424</td>
<td>1397</td>
<td>1336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>7049</td>
<td>7403</td>
<td>1358</td>
<td>1263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>7115</td>
<td>6892</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>6953</td>
<td>7132</td>
<td>1552</td>
<td>1299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>8006</td>
<td>7654</td>
<td>1458</td>
<td>1333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>8588</td>
<td>9013</td>
<td>1466</td>
<td>1236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>9270</td>
<td>10822</td>
<td>1408</td>
<td>1342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>9284</td>
<td>9822</td>
<td>1525</td>
<td>1181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>9467</td>
<td>9552</td>
<td>1607</td>
<td>1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>10603</td>
<td>10245</td>
<td>2173</td>
<td>1549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>12008</td>
<td>11006</td>
<td>2614</td>
<td>1606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>11968</td>
<td>11513</td>
<td>2455</td>
<td>1482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>11629</td>
<td>11754</td>
<td>2454</td>
<td>1457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>9564</td>
<td>10402</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>9320</td>
<td>10632</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>9843</td>
<td>12526</td>
<td>2296</td>
<td>1610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>9683</td>
<td>12968</td>
<td>2321</td>
<td>1423</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


