

Discourses of Polish Immigrants in the Netherlands

*Media representations of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands before and after the
lifting of the labour restrictions*

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July 2014

Master's Thesis in Sociology: Migration and Ethnic Studies

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Abstract

Poland's accession to the EU in 2004 was accompanied by an inflow of Polish immigrants to several Western European states, including the Netherlands. A few years later, in May 2007, the Netherlands decided to lift the initial labour restrictions for Polish citizens. Previous research (Uitermark, 2010; Pijpers, 2007; Dzambo, 2011) showed that this has contributed to media representations of this immigrant group that were increasingly fearful in tone. In order to find out about the current media discourse, as well as possible change of the discourse of the period before and after the lifting of the labour restrictions has been analyzed. In particular, a Critical Discourse Analysis was conducted, which focuses on the emergence and the reproduction of the discourse (Van Dijk, 2000), on seven popular Dutch newspapers, with a total of 165 articles. The findings showed a discourse that was predominantly negative in character, as well as a downturn of this negative discourse over time.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In recent years, the Polish immigrant population in the Netherlands rose steeply. This increase started after the accession of Poland to the EU in 2004 (CBS, 2013). From that year on, Poland has been the most important country of origin of immigrants to the Netherlands of all new Member States. Since the lifting of the labour restrictions in 2007, the inflow of Polish immigrants even surpassed the annual increase of the four largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands, which made them the largest incoming immigrant group in the Netherlands (CBS, 2012). The Polish population in the Netherlands has been rising steadily since. These events came with an increased attention for this particular immigrant group in academia, in policy, as well as in the popular media. Representations of Polish migration in all aforementioned areas appears to have a negative tone.

Research shows that the growth of the Polish population in the Netherlands has been accompanied with fears towards this group in Dutch society. Engbersen, Snel and Boom (2010) argue that concerns among Dutch citizens with regard to Polish immigrants centres around the issue of concurrence on the labour market from the side of Polish immigrants, who are thought of as being responsible for dropping wages and pushing native workers aside. Furthermore, social concerns have been expressed about the insufficient medical insurance of this immigrant group, the low Dutch language proficiency of Polish children who enter Dutch schools and the nuisance caused by Polish adults in neighbourhoods – nuisance which is thought to be related to their drinking. Finally, concerns have been expressed about the unsafe or illegal housing of this immigrant group (Engbersen, et al., 2010).

The negative framing has also been reflected in policy. The advisory policy paper by Dagevos (2011), commissioned by the SCP (Social and Cultural Bureau), illustrates this clearly. In this report, the risk of Polish immigrants becoming a new minority problem in the Netherlands is analysed. Dagevos claims that there is a potential of Polish immigrants becoming a new minority problem in the Netherlands. He claims that such a development would arise from problems relating to high rates of unemployment, poor knowledge of the Dutch language and a lack of a social capital. It should be mentioned that Dagevos also points to the potential improvement of the group, referring to their relatively high qualifications (compared to other immigrant groups), good health and the relatively low social and cultural distance between Poland and the Netherlands (Dagevos, 2011).

In academia, not much research has been conducted on representations of Polish immigrants yet. Pijpers (2007), in her PhD dissertation, studied discourses on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands from a sociological point of view. Reports of parliamentary debates, as well as media coverage on the decision-making process of the lifting of the labour restrictions (which took place between 2003 and 2004) were examined in this research. No far-reaching stereotyping was found in the studied documents. Pijpers states that political decisions around sensitive migration issues are based on fears of the Netherlands being ‘flooded’ by large numbers of new immigrants. She explains these fears by irrationality, exaggeration and political opportunism (Pijpers, 2007).

Another study on media representations of Polish immigrants was conducted by Dzambo (2011), in her master’s thesis. Dzambo conducted a quantitative discourse analysis on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands from the viewpoint of communication studies. A framing of Polish immigrants mainly in terms of work, negative stereotyping and notions of threat was found. Furthermore, a shift of a focus from economic to cultural aspects in representation was found.

Gaining further knowledge about the media discourse on the Polish population in The Netherlands is highly relevant since the media has proven to be specifically influential in the shaping of people’s opinions, especially in the case of representation of immigrant groups (Van Dijk, 2000). This study will delve further into the media discourses on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands, by taking a sociological point of view, as well as by adopting an open and inductive approach, through the use of qualitative discourse analysis. It will focus on two time-points, which are February until July 2007 (with the lifting of the labour restrictions in May) and February until July 2013. The aim of this study is to enquire the media discourse on Polish migrants, as represented by popular Dutch newspapers, as well as to gain insights in the development of the discourse over time and over multiple newspapers. In order to attain this research goal, the following research question has been formulated:

‘What has been the media discourse on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands, as represented by the popular Dutch newspapers in 2007 and in 2013 and what could be the possible explanations for this discourse and its prospective change in this period?’

This thesis is outlined in the following structure. Chapter 2 presents the data and methods that were used in this study. In chapter 3, first, existing theory on immigrant media representations is presented. Second, the Dutch situation concerning immigrants and

immigrant representations is elaborated. And third, the situation of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands and previous findings on their media representations is presented. After this, the findings of this study are outlined. In the conclusion, an answer to the research question is formulated and the findings are compared to the existing theory.

Chapter 2: Data & methods

Leading in this study on the media discourse on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands is the method, which is *discourse analysis*. This form of analysis is part of the social constructionist approach. The social constructionist approach departs from the belief that meanings are not fixed and inevitable, but come into being because of historical events, social forces and ideology. A primary purpose of the social constructionist approach has been to raise consciousness about a certain topic, either in an overarching or a localized way (Hacking, 1999). The purpose of discourse analysis is exactly to reveal the mostly unnoticed discourses that exist in society, as well as to raise consciousness about these existing discourses (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

According to Koemans (2010), discourses can be seen as frames of thinking about certain situations or problems within society. The method of discourse analysis has primarily been used in the fields of language and in communication. The current study will focus more on the sociological meaning of discourse, in which the ideas of Michel Foucault have been leading. Instead of examining language by itself, Foucauldian discourse analysis is focussed more on systems of representations. The rules and practices that produce meaningful statements and regulate discourse in different historical periods are of main interest. As opposed to other theoretical streams on discourse, which focus more on the linguistic meaning of the concept, discourse in a Foucauldian sense thus is about language *and* practice (Wetherell, et al. 2001). Instead of a fragmented collection of statements, a discourse can in this sense be seen as groupings of utterances or sentences. These are enacted within a certain social context and are determined by that particular social context, while at the same time contributing to the form of continuation of that social context (Mills, 1997).

In other words, a discourse constructs the topic and is essential for meaningful reasoning about a certain topic. With this, it ‘rules in’ ‘proper’ ways of talking about a topic, while at the same time ‘ruling out’ other ways of talking (Wetherell, et al. 2001). This last point is one very important aspect of the Foucauldian notion of discourse, in the sense that it highlights the power-aspect of his thinking. Mills (1997) describes Foucault’s analysis of power as dispersed throughout social relations and producing, as well as restricting behaviour, as a productive model of power. This has also been influential in his thinking about knowledge, which he argues to be the outcome of power struggles. Foucault does not consider individuals as being oppressed by power relations, but considers them as the effects, the outcomes of power relations (Mills, 1997).

Foucault can be seen as the founding father of a particular stream of discourse analysis, that is referred to as *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA). Instead of mainly focussing on describing and detailing discourse, CDA also includes the interpretation and explanation of how discourses came into existence. It thus brings attention to the role of deeper social forces. This type of analysis typically concentrates on newspaper articles, political debates, etcetera. These reveal inequalities and manipulative strategies of interpretation that seem neutral to the larger part of the audience (Teo, 2000).

As mentioned in the introduction, in this thesis it has been decided to focus on media representations, and on newspaper articles in particular. The reason for choosing newspaper articles instead of other media such as, television or websites, was partially practical; transcribing television fragments would be very time-consuming and websites are manifold, which means that a considerable amount of time is needed to select useful websites. Moreover, newspaper articles are more likely to be read by the larger public than particular websites. In addition, news that appears on television is likely to appear in newspapers (often more extensively) as well.

These newspaper articles have been derived from the seven most popular Dutch newspapers, with the purpose of being able to give an extensive overview of the media discourse, as well as to be able to distinguish possible differences between the range of newspapers. The selected newspapers are: Het Algemeen Dagblad, De Volkskrant, De Telegraaf, Het Parool, Trouw, Het NRC Handelsblad and Het Financieele Dagblad. The actual newspaper articles have been derived from the online newspaper bank 'Lexis Nexis' (www.academic.lexisnexis.nl), which provides open access to newspaper articles for students and academics of subscribed universities. Lexis Nexis solely presents texts, which was the cause of the exclusion of lay-out and images in the analysis. Furthermore, it does not include articles that are not copyrighted by the publisher, articles that are considered 'less noteworthy' (advertisements, personal announcements, etc.) and parts of the newspaper that are difficult to provide in a technical sense (infographics, maps, etc.) (Utrecht University Library, 2014). This can be seen as a limitation. However, in discourse analysis text is the most important aspect of analysis, which justifies the use of LexisNexis as a source.

In LexisNexis the search terms 'Polen', 'Pools', 'Poolse' and 'Pool' were used and the articles were selected manually. News on foreign affairs have been excluded (news on Poland, news on international relations with Poland, sports), as well as articles on culture (books, television, art, etc), because these articles do not contribute to the discourse on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands.

This study further focused on the media discourse of the selected immigrant group at two points in time, to be able to trace possible changes in the media discourse over time. The first time-point runs from the 1st of February until July 31st of 2007. From this, conclusions could be drawn about the possible influence of the lifting of the labour restrictions at the 1st of May 2007 (which falls exactly in the middle of this timeframe) on the media discourse. The evolvement of the discourse exactly around the actual event of the lifting allows for the analysis of the direct effects of this event. The second time-point concerns the same months (February – July) in 2013. This second time-point was selected with the purpose of comparing the direct effects of the lifting of the labour restrictions on the discourse to the effects of the event after a considerable amount of time. The longer presence of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands in 2013 (compared to 2007), could be a possible reason for a potential change in media discourses on this group. As this research was conducted in May 2014, the year 2013 was the most recent possible time point to collect the newspaper articles.

After the data collection, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been conducted. CDA is concerned not only with describing the discourse, but also with finding out more about the underlying structures, the emergence, as well as reproduction of the discourse (Van Dijk, 2000). Furthermore, according to Van Dijk (2000) racist ideologies are expressed in text and talk, and thus are expected to be found in the analysis of these newspapers. Even though objectivity is impossible, because of the presence of discourses in society which are likely also influence the researcher, the research has been designed to be as objective as possible.

To start with, *open coding* (Gill, 2008) has been used to get to an objective understanding of the used representations of Polish immigrants. According to CDA, in this coding particular attention has been paid to *topical choices, headlines, quotation patterns, formulations, functional relations, disclaimers, lexical choices, number rhetoric, stereotyping* and the use of *metaphors* (marine and martial metaphors, metaphors of disease, infection, criminality, infestation and burden) (Van Dijk, 2000). Further extensions of the meanings of particular usages of these analytical concepts are presented in the following chapter. The particular usage of these analytical concepts in the newspaper articles helped to come to conclusions about the prevailing media discourse on the studied immigrant group.

From this point, Wodak and Meyer's (2001) book, 'Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis' has been used as a guidance for the analysis. *Discourse strands*, which can be seen as various themes that came up from the coding stage, have been identified. The next step has been to merge the different discourse strands, which are at this point referred to as *sub-*

themes, into larger structures (the discourse strands) that were found. The final step was to find examples, *discourse fragments*, of the discourse strands that were most congruent with that particular strand. These are ‘fragments’ because newspaper articles mostly contain multiple discourses, so one particular discourse is likely to be found only in a fragment of the article (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

The final decision of the division of the analysis into four different discourse strands (fear, exploitation, criminality and positive) has thus been made in accordance with the proposed method by Wodak and Meyer (2001). It might be noticed that there is some overlap between these discourse strands. The criminality discourse can be seen as fitting the fear discourse strand and the exploitation discourse strand can be considered as fitting the positive discourse strand. The reason to hold on to the division of four discourse strands, has been that the four different discourse strand showed to be even in size (amount of articles in which the discourse strand could be recognized) and that there were considerable differences between the discourse strands. These differences predominantly lie in the different sub-themes that came to the fore in the multiple discourse strands. This made it necessary to present the discourse strands separately. Moreover, according to Wodak and Meyer (2001) texts are likely to represent multiple discourses and should be coded as such. Furthermore, the discourse fragments cited in the text to illustrate each of the discourse strands were predominantly derived from ‘Het Algemeen Dagblad’ and ‘De Telegraaf’, the reason for this is that the most explicit representation of most of the discourse strands turned out to predominantly come from these two newspapers.

Additionally, the differences between the representations of the selected newspapers have been analysed. The comparison of the newspapers is outlined within each of the different discourse strands. Attention has been paid to the differences of the use of topics, as well as to differences in tone in the different newspapers.

Chapter 3: Immigrant media representations and the Dutch case

In this chapter, first, existing theories on immigrant media representations are presented. Thereupon the situation of immigrants in the Netherlands and their representations is elaborated, followed by a description of the situation of Polish immigrants and a presentation of their media representations in the Netherlands.

3.1 Immigrant media representations

To start with, representations of immigration as a ‘crisis’ to the nation are very common, as well as the use of marine metaphors, like representations of immigrants as ‘tides’, being ‘flooded’ by immigrants and ‘drowning’ because of the settlement of immigrants. In addition to that, martial imagery is used, in which illegal immigrants are framed as an ‘invasion’ and a representations of a need for protection of the nation from ‘attacks’ from ‘alien invaders’ is used (Massey & Pren, 2012). Cisneros (2008) further mentions disease, infection, criminal connotations, infestation and burden as often used metaphors in relation to immigrants (Cisneros, 2008). Commonly used metaphors in immigrant representations however, do not always have to point to negative representations of immigrants. In the case of Serbian refugees in England right after the Balkan conflict, the same metaphors were used to emphasize their urgent need for help and support (Khosarovinik, 2009).

Van Dijk (2000) has been active in the field of discourse and racism. His main interest lies in the ways in which discourses reproduce dominance and social inequality. Van Dijk conceives racism as a social practice. At the micro-level this is visible in discriminatory discourses and other acts of interaction and at the macro-level this is exposed in institutional arrangements, organisational structure and power abuse by certain groups. Van Dijk furthermore states that racist ideologies are expressed in text and talk, like news reports. Because of these underlying structures of talk and text, an emphasis on positive information about ‘us’, as well as negative information about ‘them’ can be expected. These biased discourses may lead to the desired biased mental model about representations of ethnic minorities. The production of these models, however, is also dependent upon the specific context, which may modify or block racist text or talk (Van Dijk, 2000).

Other than these often used metaphors in immigrant media representations, Van Dijk (2000) discusses the concept of ‘the new racism’, that was introduced by Barker in 1981 in his book *‘The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe’*. Media representations of immigrants have moved in the direction of a less explicit use of negative connotations. Explicit racist labels are avoided and instead negative wording is used (the

‘lexical’ choice), wording that can only be understood in its specific context. For instance, particular ‘code-words’ (like ‘welfare mothers’) are used, that are easy for readers to interpret in terms of migrants and the problems that are attributed to them. Differently than the previously more often used references to the biological inferiority of minorities, in the ‘new racist’ representations they are perceived to be ‘different’ because of their culture (Van Dijk, 2000).

Next to that, Van Dijk (2000) brings attention to *topical choices* of news about immigrants, which contribute to everyday racism. News about immigrants often revolves around certain events that tend to tropicalize immigrants as a threat, in terms of problems and deviance. These are events like the arrival of ‘new’ immigrants, migration policies, reception problems (housing), social problems (employment, welfare, etc.), response to the population (resentment), cultural differentiating, negative characterization (deviant), threats (violence, crime, drugs, prostitution) or integration conflicts. Other topics, like migrants leaving the country, their economical contributions, their daily lives and discrimination against immigrants tend to appear significantly less in the news (ibid.).

Furthermore, in the content of news articles, the new racism comes to the fore in multiple forms. For example, immigrants are often quoted less and less prominently than ‘white elites’. When immigrants are quoted, those who confirm the general attitudes about the particular group are selected. Moreover, they will seldom be quoted without the quotation of a white person that can confirm or convey the opinion in the same article. Next to this, specific *functional relations* between the meanings of sentences are often used in immigrant representations. One example is that news is usually written top-down, starting with a general summary (in headline and lead) and later going into details. However, details that are considered to be bad for ‘us’ might not be included. Another example of a functional relation is contrast, of which an example would be the emphasis of ‘their’ lack of initiative and ‘our’ help. Also, the use of *disclaimers* is typical in immigrant representations, which can be *apparent denials* of immigrant discrimination, *apparent concessions* of liking immigrants, *apparent empathy* and *transfer* (denying one’s own discrimination, while pointing to discrimination by other natives). Those are ‘apparent’ and not actual, because in the structure of their discourse, the negative part of the sentence is especially emphasized. Particular *formulations* can also point to the specific roles of participants, like *agents*, *targets* or *victims* of action. For example, *active sentences* emphasize the agency of subjects, whereas *passive sentences* background agency. Natives are usually represented as the victims of the actions of

immigrants. Also, the use of *number rhetoric* refers to precision, objectivity and credibility (ibid.).

Quasthoff (1978), as cited in Wodak and Reisigl (1999), furthermore states that stereotypes are elements of common knowledge, that are shared in a particular culture. Stereotyping manifests itself in a particular judgement that attributes or denies certain qualities or behaviours to a group of persons. These judgements are mostly oversimplified, generalizing and draw on emotional attitudes. This attributes to a sense of belonging to the in-group and marks the out-group, which becomes increasingly important in periods of internal strife and rapid social change (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999.). De Fina (2003) adds to this that stereotyping is the outcome of a lack of knowledge of immigrants, caused by ignorance towards self-perceptions of members of the immigrant group.

3.2 The Dutch case

In his book '*Dynamics of Power in Dutch Integration Politics*', Uitermark (2012) examines the effects of contemporary cultural and ethnic diversity on the social solidarity in the Dutch context. Uitermark's main argument is that the discourse on immigrants in the Netherlands in the past decades shifted in a more and more *Culturalist* direction. The media has been a driving force in this discourse shift (especially since the 1990s). Uitermark defines *Culturalism* as 'a discourse organized around the idea that the world is divided into cultures and that our enlightened, liberal culture should be defended against the claims of minorities committed to illiberal religions and ideologies' (Uitermark, 2012). His findings support Ray (2007), who argues that globalization has led to an increased tendency to hold on to national identities, as a reaction to the increasing global homogeneity. Citizens try to hold on to their own national identity and tend to exclude those that do not fit into their picture of a 'national'. As Billig has highlighted, this nationalism is expressed in banal ways in everyday life (Billig, 1995).

According to Uitermark (2012), the Dutch case is particularly interesting to investigate this change in discourse, as it is a country in which drastic change occurred in the form of a move from multiculturalism to policies that demand and enforce integration. In order to come to answers as to why this change (to a Culturalist discourse) has taken place in recent decades, Uitermark studied opinion pages of various Dutch newspapers of the period from 1980 until 2006. He argues that particular events and public figures, as well as the historical context, have led to the rise of the Culturalist discourse in the Netherlands.

A few historical facts have given solid ground to the Culturalist discourse in the Netherlands. Most important of these facts has been the Dutch tradition of pillarization. Pillarization refers to the situation the Netherlands in the 19th century. At the time, the Netherlands consisted of separate societal blocs (of specific religious backgrounds or social classes), that had their own political representatives and institutions of socialization, such as schools, churches and newspapers. This was the result of high fragmentation of the country in terms of religion and classes, along with the even distribution of power of these groups. This historical heritage is still influential today, for example in the right of minority groups to establish separate institutions like schools, with full financial support of the state. Another important effect of the pillarization heritage is that it is considerably easy for new parties to win seats, because only a very small percentage of the vote is needed. From the 1960s the so called de-pillarization started and new social movements aimed to address a larger public that had no affiliation with the existing pillars and, for example, wished to read newspapers that did not present the news from one particular point of view. This came with the formation of a secular ‘majority culture’ in the Netherlands, which could be an explanation to the antipathy towards religion and religious minorities (Uitermark, 2012).

Duyvendak and Scholten (2010) argue that although the idea that pillarization has been influential in immigrant discourses in the Netherlands, the history of pillarization should not be linked to an ‘assumed’ history of multiculturalism in the Netherlands. Multiculturalism refers to the belief that the recognition and accommodation of different groups (cultural, ethnic and religious) promotes their integration into society. A policy embracing that belief has, in Duyvendak and Scholten’s view, never fully been implemented in the Netherlands. Instead the goal has been to combat discrimination and social-economic deprivation. Pluralism has, according to the authors, not been caused by integration policies that were meant to construct pillars of minority groups, but by the institutions that were still pillarized in Dutch society. The assumed political history of the Netherlands as a multicultural immigration country is ‘blamed’ by politicians for the alleged failure of immigrant integration and used as a legitimation for a change in immigration policies towards a more liberal-egalitarian discourse (emphasizing ‘good’ or ‘active’ citizenship) in the 1990s and a assimilationist discourse (adaption to Dutch language and norms and abandoning of ‘former’ cultural norms) at the end of the 1990s (Duyvendak & Scholten, 2010).

Uitermark (2012) furthermore emphasizes the role of public figures in the Netherlands that attributed to the evolvement of the Dutch immigration discourse and this shift towards assimilationism and culturalism. In the Netherlands, starting from the beginning of the 1990s,

Frits Bolkestein was the first politician who stirred up the integration debate. His main argument was that integration policies should focus on the prevention and reduction of the formidable problems that came with mass migration. He mostly emphasized the difference in values and argued that the values of the Enlightenment were not up for discussion. His focus further was mainly on ‘foreigners’ and ‘minorities’, but more particularly on Islam as a way of life and because of that, incompatible with the Dutch liberal division of Church and state. He also clearly communicated his anti-racist views and spoke to former socialists with his arguments to promote integration in order not to lose grip on lower-class immigrants living outside the civil community (Uitermark, 2012).

The second half of the 1990s remained relatively calm in terms of the Culturalist debate. At the turn of the century, Paul Scheffer wrote his influential essay in *NRC Handelsblad* with the title *The Multicultural Drama*. In this, he states there was a formation of an underclass of minority groups that had accelerated over the last decade. He attributed this to the Dutch culture of relativism, complacency and consensus that was persisted by Dutch elites. The lack of acknowledgement of the Dutch identity, according to Scheffer, had the effect of immigrants not becoming part of Dutch society. Right after this up stir of the debate, the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon of 9/11 happened, which according to Uitermark did not immediately result in a change of the debate; it still mainly focused on ‘minorities’ and not particularly on Muslims (ibid.).

After Paul Scheffer, Pim Fortuyn became an important actor in the development of the Culturalist discourse in 2002. He desired a public debate in which gut feelings about immigrant groups could freely be outspoken. An interview in *De Volkskrant*, in which he expressed that asylum seekers should no longer be accepted, marriage migration from the ‘backward regions’ of Turkey and Morocco should stop and in which he challenged Article 1 of the constitution (which is meant to prevent discrimination), led to expulsion from this political party. Pim Fortuyn then initiated his own party, Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF), only 100 days before national elections. He blamed the former government for failing to stop the influx of foreigners and primarily emphasized his ability to lift the country out of the crisis. Fortuyn’s popularity was mainly accredited to his charismatic media appearances, especially on TV, but also in the newspapers. On the 6th of May 2002, he was assassinated. After this event his supporters fought to de-demonize the Culturalist discourse (ibid.)

The next public figure who followed in the development of the Culturalist discourse was Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Muslim herself, which offered a different perspective on the debate. Her most noticeable project was the movie *Submission*, which was made by noted filmmaker

and Islam critic Theo van Gogh. This movie was meant to show that in the Quran, women are considered fundamentally inferior to men. This contributed to thoughts on Muslims as having values that are fundamentally opposing 'Dutch' liberal democratic values, like freedom of speech and the position of women. Closely after the making of this movie, Theo van Gogh was assassinated on the 2nd of November, 2004 (ibid.).

After this, Geert Wilders has up to today been an influential figure in the Culturalist discourse. Wilders has been a visible politician for the VVD (liberal party) for a longer time, but in 2005 he started his own party, PVV (Party Of Freedom). Politically, Geert Wilders attacks the 'left elite' (as Fortuyn did), is said to support neoliberal ideas and focuses on Islamofobia, especially after 9/11. He also emphasized the importance of holding on to the 'values of the Enlightenment' and even takes this a step further by referring to the idea of the 'clash of civilizations' by Samuel Huntington, that he considers a clash between the West and Islam in the near future (Van der Zwan, 2011). In 2012, Geert Wilders also accused Polish immigrants of causing nuisance and opened a 'Poles hotline', where people could express their discontents on this immigrant group (Volkskrant, 13 December 2012).

In relation to these developments, Vasta (2007) describes how this integration into Dutch 'homogenous' and 'superior' culture is deemed necessary, as especially Islam was seen as a backward religion, coming with values that were incompatible with western democratic values. In this policy-shift a turn was also made from supporting group needs and identity towards promoting individual identity. According to Vasta, unemployment, poor educational attainment and spatial segregation, often used in immigrant marginalization are not the outcomes of bad integration or a generous welfare state, but of a specific type of discrimination, based on racial, ethnic and religious features. *Institutional racism* is key in this process and refers to the state and its institutions that reproduce the social exclusion of immigrants, in the forms of policies and programmes that do not achieve their goals and the persisting negative outcomes in the labour market and education. She furthermore states that in current times of insecurities in work and of life in general, and a lack of a universal understanding of the changes that are occurring, it is easy for the ethnic majority group to fall into ethnic minorities that they feel threatened by (Vasta, 2007).

Another explanation for increasingly negative media representations, relates to global developments and is the *securitization of migration*. This is caused by national migration policies, like those surfacing in the last decades in the Netherlands. The securitization of migration refers to a shift in the migration discourse towards an emphasis on security. A 'threat' is caused by cultural pluralism, as it is believed to lead to interethnic conflict, an

unstable host nation and the transformation of the host countries' identity. Next to that, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 caused migrants to be increasingly linked to terrorism, or seen as potential supporters of insurgencies in general (Ibrahim, 2005).

3.3 Polish immigrants in the Netherlands

What makes the case of the Polish population in the Netherlands particularly interesting with regards to the study of immigrant media discourses, are the recent impactful changes that have taken place in the relation between these two countries, especially the accession of Poland to the EU and the lifting of the labour restrictions for Polish workers. When Poland joined the EU in 2004, initially Ireland, the U.K. and Sweden were the only old Member States that did not close their labour markets for the new Member States. The Netherlands did open several labour sectors (in the form of eased granting of working permits) for Polish workers in 2006, but did not lift the labour restrictions until the 1st of May 2007. The first time an increase of the Polish immigrant population in the Netherlands became visible was 2004. In 2007, the Polish population had become the largest incoming immigrant group in the Netherlands (CBS, 2012). To that should be added that a large share of the Polish population is not registered in the Netherlands. Van der Heijden, Cruyf and Gils (2013) estimated that almost 25% of the Polish population was not registered in 2010.

The Polish immigrant population in the Netherlands is rather homogeneous. While the gender composition is balanced, the age composition is not. The majority of Polish immigrants fall in the range of 25 - 44 years old (62% of the Polish population). According to Dagevos (2011), motivations to migrate for the majority fit into the following three categories. The largest category consists of labour migrants (63%), followed by family migrants (13%) and marriage to an 'autochthonous' partner (12%). The remaining 11% declared to have 'other' motivations. When it comes to the composition of households, registered immigrants mostly lived as couples without children (29%), on their own (28%) or as couples with children (22%) (Dagevos, 2011).

The Polish population in the Netherlands is also a group in which emigration has increased, which could possibly be explained by the high percentage of Polish immigrants who come to the Netherlands as labour migrants. Polish migrants generally have lower incomes than native Dutch, as they tend to have jobs that require low education. However, they rely less on social security than other western immigrant groups. A large part of the group is not proficient in Dutch and they mostly interact with other Polish immigrants. This might also be ascribed to the temporal character of their migration with predominantly labour

purposes. Furthermore, Polish immigrants generally live in the urban areas of de Randstad, even though their labour participation is higher in the rural areas. The largest Polish immigrant population can be found in The Hague and Rotterdam and the Polish population tends to live highly segregated (ibid.).

3.4 Previous findings on the discourse on Polish immigrants

Not much research has been conducted on media representations of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands. Most studies on this topic have revolved around Muslim immigrants. Shadid (2005) summarizes what has been found in prior research on the supply of information and the view on immigrants of ‘autochthonous’ (native) people. The general finding was that the media contribute to the spreading of negative representation of ‘allochtonous’ people and even to their discrimination in society. This occurs through the underrepresentation of minorities in the media, selective representation, stereotypical representations and framing and priming (Shadid, 2005).

In a more recent article, Shadid (2009) describes the media representations on Muslims in the Netherlands. He poses four media frames on Muslims that can be distinguished: the ethnocentric frame, the stigmatizing frame, the layman’s frame and the cultural generalising frame. In the ethnocentric frame, the focus is on oppositions between ‘we’ and ‘they’, which became particularly visible after 9/11. In the stigmatizing frame, minorities and Muslims are represented as problematic and are disproportionately connected to criminality, the use of social security, terrorism and unemployment. In the layman’s frame, minorities and Muslims are represented as laymen and not as experts, resulting in a lack of chances to propose their opinions. Discussions in the media are based on opinions of ‘autochthonous’ people on the ‘allochtonous’ group. Lastly, in the cultural generalization frame Dutch immigrants of Turkish and Moroccan descent are represented as one homogenous group under the umbrella of ‘Muslims’ and the predominance of their religious identity is assumed (Shadid, 2009).

Of the research that has been conducted on media representations of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands, the most noticeable has been the study of Pijpers (2007). Pijpers studied parliamentary debates, as well as media coverage and wrote a narrative of the evolution of the debate around the lifting of the labour restrictions. She found an upsurge in media messages on the labour migration from the new Member States in opinion sections, columns and background articles in the last months of 2006. These comments mainly came from experts in the field. Pijpers found no far-reaching stereotyping or exaggeration, with the exception of a few headlines. Initial fears of mass migration, as represented in the media, was

about the outrage of Dutch workers by migrant workers from the new Member States. Experts later agreed upon the possible alleviation of structural labour shortages in more sectors than were at the time open for job competition in the Netherlands. According to Pijpers, this caused the threats to diminish. However, she predicted an emergence of new threats (on the side of low educated Dutch workers) over time (Pijpers, 2007).

Furthermore, a large amount of bachelors- and masters theses have been written on media representations of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands. The study by Dzambo (2011) most closely approaches the current study. In this communication-centred study, 1581 newspaper articles were analysed automatically and 150 articles were analysed manually; these articles stemmed from the period of 2000-2010. The manual analysis was focused on the level of the sentence. Dzambo used pre-determined themes, conducted from theory, as a starting point of the manual analysis (Dzambo, 2011).

The findings showed that Polish immigrants were 'labelled' less than other immigrant groups, and were mostly addressed in terms of 'workers'. However, negative stereotyping and notions of threat from this group were reported. The representation further mostly focussed on economic aspects at the time before the lifting of the labour restrictions, whereas at the time after the lifting in 2007 a tendency towards emphasizing cultural aspects and integration was found. After 2007, Dzambo furthermore found representations in terms of exploitation of Polish immigrants. The group was less framed in terms of criminality and reliance on social security than Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. The found framing could mainly be attributed to trade unions. Political actors were primarily negative towards the group. Dzambo further found similarities with the framing of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants and points to the risk of the Polish immigrant becoming the 'new' guest worker, along with the negative representation and that accompany this category (Dzambo, 2011).

Next to these studies, Lubczynska (2009) studied discourses on Polish immigrants from the side of Dutch citizens, instead of from the side of the media. In this research the opinions of Dutch natives on Polish immigrants and of Polish immigrants about themselves were studied via 'projective techniques' (animals were used as metaphors for characteristics in a questionnaire). The findings showed that perceptions of Dutch natives on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands revolved around hard work, temporal stay with the purpose of earning and saving money to support their family in Poland. Dutch natives furthermore thought of Polish immigrants as having a necessity to be 'sneaky' and act smart to survive in a foreign country such as the Netherlands. Next to that, they are perceived as loyal, friendly, timid and reserved

(Lubcsynska, 2009). This finding would suggest a discrepancy between the discourse that is sketched in the media and the opinions of the greater public in the case of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands.

From this theoretical framework, a few expectations can be derived. First, a negative media discourse on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands is expected, because of the Culturalization of the discourse on immigrants in the Netherlands, caused by globalization, increased nationalism and discrimination. Furthermore, according to Tolnay and Beck (1992), as the out-group grows, repressive measures from the side of the in-group grow, with the purpose to protect its privileged social position. In current times of the increased migration of Polish immigrants to the Netherlands, the sense of the dominant group to protect its position from the increasing out-group, is likely to lead to prejudice. Negative media representations of Polish immigrants can thus be expected because of a Culturalization of the immigrant discourse in the Netherlands, together with the growth of the Polish population in the Netherlands.

Chapter 4: The discourse on Polish immigrants

This chapter outlines the findings of the research. It is structured around four *discourse strands*, namely, the fear discourse strand, the exploitation discourse strand, the criminality discourse strand and the positive discourse strand, which were identified through the discourse analysis of the selected newspaper articles. These research strands are further divided into *sub-themes*. Furthermore, within each discourse strand, the change over time and the differences between the different newspapers in the particular discourse strand will be discussed. The discourses will be presented in the order of their prominence. Lastly, conclusions will be drawn on the intersections of the discourse strands.

Before proceeding with the presentation of each of the four strands, it is important to highlight a number of characteristics of the discourse on Polish immigrants which are common in all four strands and further crosscut distinctions between newspapers and over time. Interestingly, almost all articles revolve around ‘Polish workers’, ‘temporary workers’, ‘seasonal Polish workers’ or ‘guest-workers’. Even though, the findings of previous research (Dagevos, 2011) showed that finding work was the main migration motivation of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands, it also showed that a large number of Polish immigrants were triggered for non-economic reasons. The representation of Polish immigrants as workers uncovers and reproduces the dominant stereotype of the Polish immigrants as a labour migrant.

Moreover, the articles predominantly revolve around men. The very limited amount of articles on women, either concern Polish food shops or refer to women that were victims of a murder. This imbalanced gender representation in the articles does not reflect the characteristics of the Polish immigrant population. To the contrary, Dagevos (2011) has showed that about as many Polish men as women reside in the Netherlands. The underrepresentation of Polish women in the articles, further points to the stereotyping of Polish immigrants as ‘male workers’. Finally, Polish immigrants are almost in all cases only referred to by their nationality, whereas ‘natives’ are referred to by their names. Only a few articles on Polish victims of crime or success stories make reference to the names of these immigrants.

4.1 The fear discourse strand

One of the most prominent discourses that comes to the fore from the analysis of the newspaper articles, was what will here be referred to as the ‘fear discourse’ strand. Multiple sub-themes make up this particular discourse strand, namely: job-taking, house-taking,

permanent settlement, rise of the population, homelessness, concentration, bad language provision, bad integration, overtaking, taking advantage of the social system and religion. The amounts of articles characterized by this discourse strand in each newspaper are presented in Table 1 (pp. 29).

In this discourse strand, Polish immigrants are represented as a threat towards Dutch society. The fear discourse takes multiple forms, as can be seen from the various sub-themes. Roughly, the themes can be divided into two stages, which will be referred to as the mass migration stage and the bad integration stage. In the mass migration stage, fears for the expected inflow of Polish immigrants to the Netherlands are represented. One of the factors that causes these fears for mass migration is labour; Polish immigrants are expected to take the jobs of Dutch natives. Such fears are mentioned in the context of the lifting of the labour restrictions, but not solely. The presence of Polish workers that already came to the Netherlands is also used as an argument for even more Polish immigrants coming to the Netherlands in the future. This is described as a negative process and connected to problematic situations, like bad integration and concurrence on the housing market of the side of Polish immigrants. Furthermore, fears of Polish immigrants being ‘pulled’ to the Netherlands to benefit from the welfare state while not working are also represented.

In the ‘bad integration’ stage, the threat of what is happening or what will happen once Polish immigrants have actually arrived in the Netherlands is represented. Bad integration is here defined as representations of bad language provision, spatial segregation, the rise of Polish shops, the active practising of religion. Another fear concerning Polish immigrants that have already arrived revolves around housing, either represented as a fear of these immigrants taking the houses of Dutch natives or causing nuisance in the neighbourhoods where native Dutch reside.

The mass migration stage of the fear discourse is characterized fears of an **inflow** of Polish immigrants. Labour is represented as a large pull-factor for Polish immigrants. Polish immigrants are presented as **coming to the Netherlands** and **taking the jobs** of Dutch natives. The extensive use of active sentences in this sub-theme points to the agency of the immigrants. Polish immigrants are *stereotyped* as ‘**workers**’. In some cases job-taking is connected to the lifting of the labour restrictions in 2007, but it is also represented in 2013. *Metaphors* like **fear, flooding**, coming in ‘a **polonaise**’ were used. Another important feature in this sub-theme is the extensive use of *number rhetoric*.

Next to this, in the articles fitting the job-taking sub-theme, *functional relations* are used extensively that refer to ‘our’ good actions and ‘their’ bad actions. **Illegality** of Polish

immigrant workers is also referred to in a range of articles, even after the lifting of the labour restrictions. With that comes the representation of Polish immigrants as causing **unequal concurrence** for native Dutch workers, because they are **cheap** (accepting low wages) and they do **not take safety measures**. The seriousness of the fear for job-taking is backed up with cases of **employers who prefer Polish** over Dutch workers. Polish workers are also presented as **flex-workers** who will take the jobs of Dutch workers with fixed positions (where the employer has more obligations towards the employee). In this sub-theme *quotations* come almost exclusively from native professionals like employers or trade unions (especially of the Dutch FNV). Only in a few cases Polish workers are quoted, and of those quotations a large part come from professionals or spokespersons as well. The *discourse fragment* below presents the fears of job-taking.

Poles to the Netherlands in polonaise; ‘closing off fake constructions better’

Inhabitants of the countries in Mid- and Eastern-Europe that became members of the European Union in 2004, come to the Netherlands in polonaise to search for their luck on the labour market. From this week on these workers do not need a so-called working permit anymore to start working in the Netherlands.

Eventually the permits were only issued for work in few sectors that were dealing with a large labour shortage, like the agrarian sector. Later on more and more sectors were included.

Consequence: in 2005 almost 30.000 permits were issued, last year these were 59.407. By opening the borders the Second Chamber meets a long-lasting wish of employers. There have been set a few requirements for the opening.

Source: De Telegraaf, 2 May 2007

The fear for job-taking can be seen from the *metaphor* of a **polonaise**, which refers to a mass migration of Polish immigrants to the Netherlands. Furthermore *number rhetoric* is used to get credibility for the expected rise of this immigrant group. Polish immigration to the Netherlands of one year is shown, as well as a comparison with another year to further emphasize the rise. Next to that, the **raise** of the working permits is framed as a **direct consequence** of the opening of certain sectors. At the same time, the rise is linked to the **abolition of the working permits**, which only took place one day before. An underlying assumption of globalization having negative consequences to Dutch society is represented here.

Next to the threatening pull factor of jobs, another threatening pull factor that is represented in this discourse strand is social security. Polish immigrants are in this sub-theme represented as coming to the Netherlands with the purpose of **taking advantage** of the Dutch social benefit system (which is presented as more generous than the Polish system), instead of working. Wordings like **it pays off** and **profiting** are used, as well as *metaphors*, like the

allowances being a **goldmine** for Polish immigrants and **WW-tourism** (WW being an unemployment benefit). *Functional relations* to distinguish between us and them is also used in this sub-theme, especially with references to **our** country (represented as ‘good’), to which **they** or **the Poles** will come. *Quotations* of native professionals, like politicians, the trade union (FNV) are used, and one quote of a Polish professional (head of Polish association). Below is a discourse fragment that provides a good example of this sub-theme.

OPEN BORDERS Height of allowances based on last-earned wage in the Netherlands – WW-Tourism pays off for Pole

The cabinet already saw the clouds coming two years ago. When the borders for Eastern-European workers will open, they can easily get living allowances in the Netherlands for three months. “The cabinet wants to prevent Europeans without a job and means coming to the Netherlands en masse and apply for a living allowance at that time,” the ministry of Social Affairs reported in October 2005.

In order to prevent this ‘allowance tourism’, the law was adjusted. The first three months EU-workers in the Netherlands do not get allowances.

But what about unemployment benefits? Whoever worked here for 26 weeks, has the right to have an unemployment benefit. A European law from 1958 turns out to be lucrative for smart Poles, Hungarians or Czechs.

Source: Het Algemeen Dagblad, 28 April 2007

Most important in this article are the used *metaphors* of the clouds and the tourism. The **clouds coming** refers to something dangerous and unpleasant that is about to begin. The ‘**tourism**’ used in the term ‘WW-tourism’ refers to people who go to a country for a limited amount of time leisure time, so not for work. It also refers to pleasure and having an enjoyable time. It is thus framed like Polish immigrants would come to the Netherlands for a limited time to have an enjoyable time, without working, **at the expenses of the Dutch social system**. Next to that, the **fear of the mass migration** of Polish immigrants because of the allowances is represented in ‘coming to the Netherlands **en masse**’. In the second paragraph this fear is downplayed first, but then the fear is ‘acknowledged’ again by referring to another problem that is still there, which refers to the *functional relations* of these sentences. Furthermore, **what about** refers to an underlying fear of Polish immigrants taking advantage of that particular benefit, that is not yet abolished for them. The word **whoever** depersonalizes the Polish (Hungarian and Czech here also mentioned) immigrant and **lucrative** points to an underlying assumption of these immigrants **will take advantage** of this. Here, the Dutch state is represented as a *victim* of European law.

The bad integration stage represents the fears that arise upon the actual arrival of Polish immigrants to the Netherlands. These fears centre mostly around bad integration of Polish immigrants and them taking over neighbourhoods of native Dutch citizens. Bad integration is

represented most prominently in terms of **bad or no Dutch language provision**. The language theme is often named, but in most cases there is no moral stance taken towards this. **Assumptions** of Polish immigrants not speaking the Dutch language underlie these statements, which can be seen as *stereotyping*. In some, a moral stance is taken towards language. Especially in cases of Polish immigrants staying permanently language is represented as a problem, predominantly in terms of their **children not speaking Dutch**, which is framed as a problem for schools. *Quotes* of native professionals are used predominantly. Below a discourse fragment that represents language as a problem.

Schools

(...) Especially those who want to settle here with their family, want to stay. The report presents this sunny side. The shady side we know from the news: a lot of schools can barely handle the inflow of Polish children who do not speak the language.

Source: Het Algemeen Dagblad, 29 May 2013

The representation of language as a problem can be seen from the *metaphor* of the **sunny side** versus the **shady side**. The children not speaking ‘the language’ are framed as a **problem** to the school (can **barely handle** it); they have to put extra effort in it to get these children on the same level as native Dutch children. This refers to a *functional relation* of the meanings of these sentences, where ‘**our**’ **help** and ‘**their**’ **lack of initiative** is emphasized.

Another fear that is expressed, is that Polish immigrants form a ‘**little Poland**’ in some Dutch neighbourhoods, referring to large proportions of Polish immigrants living segregated. Moreover, there is a **rise** of Polish shops which is represented as a sign of Polish immigrants **overtaking** these neighbourhoods. The following discourse fragment is an example of this representation.

Polish immigrant prefers Oud Zuid

Next to Chinatown (Centre) Amsterdam can on short terms also gladly say they have a ‘Little Poland’. More and more Poles settle in the town and they turn out to concentrate in De Pijp.

Currently already more than 3200 people with a Polish background (2026 with the Polish nationality and more than 1200 with at least one Polish parent) are officially registered in Amsterdam and this keeps rising. The past three years 1070 Poles came, becomes clear from numbers of the Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek.

The expectation moreover is that even a lot more Poles are in the city, because a large amount stays in the Netherlands temporarily, often for the time a job takes.

Main language

Currently the rise is beginning to get visible in the street view. Like in the Van Woustraat there is the Polish bar Sami Swoi and a few weeks ago in the same street a shop with Polish delicacies opened. At the Prins Hendrikkade a floating travel agency opened where the main language is Polish.

Source: De Telegraaf, 21 June 2007

In the article the use of the word **'little Poland'**, referring to the expected Polish enclave, explicates the described discourse. In this example, this is framed in a positive way, as they **gladly** say this is expected. Furthermore, *number rhetoric* is used to support the argument of the rise. The mentioning of the **Polish shops** further supports the argument. The lead of **main language** refers to the emphasis on the **lack of Dutch language proficiency**, which is **assumed** because of the language that is spoken in one travel agency. By using this as a lead (while not seeming to be the main topic of the paragraph), this is emphasized.

The housing of Polish immigrants is represented as a problem. Fears of the immigrant group **taking the houses of native Dutch** are expressed, as well as fears of **nuisance**, even in cases where solely plans for their settlement in a neighbourhood are made. Furthermore, fears are expressed about their **religious** participation. Polish immigrants are represented as going to **church more often** than native Dutch, as well as **building their own churches** in the Netherlands. Lastly, fears of Polish immigrants ending up on the streets or bringing **diseases** with them are represented. The discourse fragment below is an example of the housing sub-theme.

The Hague is highly worries about the growing army of Poles that populates attic rooms illegally. According to the city council the liveability of the tons of other quarters will become under pressure because of that.

For that reason the municipality is strongly opposed to the intention of the government to drop the working permit for guest workers from EU-countries. City councillor Marnix Norder fears for the flooding of The Hague by Poles who end up in illegal rooms en masse.

De Telegraaf, 17 April 2007.

The representation of fear can clearly be seen from the use of *marine and martial metaphors*, like **an army of Poles** that **populates** the rooms, **flooding** of The Hague and ending up in illegal rooms **en masse** (referring to expected mass migration). The threat is further accentuated by the *functional relations* of the sentences. First comes an example of the horrific situation at this moment, followed by an example that would lead to an even worse situation in the future.

Bryman (2001) proposed the theory of an active audience, that come to resistant reading, as opposed to a passive audience, that take over the meanings represented by authors. The discrepancy between the opinions of 'the people' and the representations of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands in Dutch newspapers has also been found by Lubczynska (2009). The fear discourse becomes visible in regular articles, as well as in send-in letters, which would in this case point to the newspapers actually representing the fears of

the readers. However, there were more send-in letters with a critical tone towards these represented fears than confirming these fears, which points to the readers having opposite opinion and which is in accordance with the active audience theory (Bryman, 2001) and the finding by Lubczynska (2009).

When examining the change over time in the fear discourse strand, it becomes clear that there are more articles published after than before the lifting. Before the lifting (the first three months of the first time-frame in 2007) articles on fear centre around the coming lifting of the labour restrictions and the expected rise of Polish immigrants as a result of that. Furthermore, fears of illegal labour and housing are expressed, as well as fears for the exploitation of the Dutch social security system. After the lifting, the same topics appear in the rest of the articles in 2007 (May, June, July). The change that does become visible is that after the lifting, fears become more focused around the expected and noticed ‘problems’ Polish immigrants cause once they actually arrived in the Netherlands. Fears of job-taking and house-taking are still represented, but next to that, fears of bad integration, spatial concentration together with the formation of Polish enclaves (because of growing numbers of Polish shops) and fears expressed on the actual rise that took place became visible. When considering the articles in the fear discourse strand of 2013, it can be concluded that the amount of articles fitting this discourse in a topical sense, almost halved compared to 2007. Fears still revolve around the coming of more Polish immigrants who would take the jobs of Dutch natives and profit of Dutch social security (by not paying road tax), but now also revolve more around the permanent settlement and supposed bad integration of the group.

Differences between newspapers are to be seen partially in the amount of articles that fitted the fear discourse strand. In order to come to useful conclusions the proportional, instead of the absolute amounts of articles of one discourse strand in a certain newspaper should be taken into account. De Volkskrant, Het Parool, Trouw, Het NRC Handelsblad and Het Financieele Dagblad have the highest proportion of articles fitting the fear discourse strand topically, which would point to these newspapers contributing to the fear discourse strand. However, differences in topical choices (representations of different sub-themes) point to different stances of the newspapers in this discourse strand. While De Telegraaf, Het Parool, Het Financieele Dagblad spend a large proportion of their articles (on Polish immigrants) on this discourse strand, in their topical choice was predominantly on the sub-theme of job-taking. The representation of this subtheme seems to be predominantly neutral in these newspapers (with the exception of De Telegraaf). De Telegraaf had a more negative and fearful representation of this sub-theme, especially after the lifting and this became even

more negative in 2013. Het NRC Handelsblad predominantly presented articles fitting the overtaking sub-theme and the tone in these articles was negative, fearful and blaming. Het Algemeen Dagblad and De Telegraaf had the largest amounts of articles (in an absolute sense), which might be an explanation for their variation in topics (all sub-themes were represented). Het Algemeen Dagblad was predominantly negative and blaming in tone, as well as De Telegraaf, which was also fearful in tone and got even more fearful in tone in 2013. Lastly, Trouw was also varying in topical choices, but opposed to the other newspapers, there was a predominantly positive tone in 2007, which took a slightly more fearful turn in 2013.

Table 1
Articles fear discourse per newspaper, per year

	Articles Fear discourse 2007	Articles Fear discourse 2013
De Telegraaf	11/35	4/17
Het Algemeen Dagblad	9/31	7/19
De Volkskrant	6/13	4/5
Het Parool	4/9	2/9
Trouw	4/9	2/4
Het NRC Handelsblad	2/6	1/1
Het Financieele Dagblad	2/5	½

Note: numbers behind the slash refer to the total of articles in the newspaper in that particular year

4.2 The exploitation discourse strand

Another important discourse strand that is found is what will here be referred to as the ‘exploitation discourse’. In the exploitation discourse, fears of primarily politicians are expressed on the expected exploitation of Polish immigrants after the lifting of the labour restrictions, as well as a small amount of articles on Polish immigrants who have actually been found to be exploited. Exploitation is in some instances referred to in general terms, but sub-themes did become visible. The sub-themes that have been found are the following: underpayment, bad housing and unsafe work. The amount of articles that fitted this discourse strand can be found in Table 2 (pp. 34).

The underpayment sub-theme refers to the fears that revolve around low wages of Polish immigrant that is both presented as unethical, but also as leading to unequal concurrence. The bad housing sub-theme refers to concerns that revolve around unsafe and too expensive housing for this group. Lastly, in the unsafe sub-theme concerns are expressed on Polish workers not working safely, either because their employers do not take safety measures or because they do not take those themselves (to safe costs), which brings them in

danger. Quotations in all of these sub-themes came almost exclusively from native Dutch professionals, like politicians, employers, employment agencies and spokespersons of the trade union FNV.

The fact that the exploitation discourse has primarily been found around the event of the labour restrictions, together with the fact that these concerns have primarily been expressed by politicians, might point to other underlying motives other than the protection of Polish immigrants. According to Ray (2007) globalization leads to increased forms of nationalism. This can be found in this exploitation discourse strand, because the lifting of the labour restrictions means a loss of national sovereignty, in the sense that part of the sovereignty (the control over who gets to work in the Netherlands and who does not) is given to Europe with this decision. A fear of a loss of national sovereignty could thus be a reason for politicians to try to prevent (and later try to reverse) the lifting of the labour restrictions. The representations of the exploitation of Polish immigrants might be a 'positive' argument to mask their actual motives for not wanting to lift the labour restrictions for this group.

First, the underpayment sub-theme revolves around concerns of **low wages** for Polish workers. This is mostly related to the lifting of the labour restrictions. Emphasis is placed on the need to pay Polish workers **equally** as Dutch workers. This is framed in an **ethical** sense, but in a lot of cases also as a **threat**. In the first case, *passive sentences* (which backgrounds agency) referring to Polish workers being the *victim* of underpayment are used. In this instance **employers** are being framed as responsible and guilty of this underpayment, because they should have recognized the **low fares** and refused the offer. Furthermore, **malafide employment agencies**, which operate between Polish employees and Dutch employers are held responsible. In these articles, **the wages themselves are named** literally, in order to speak to the readers underlying knowledge of the readers about acceptable Dutch wages (and to show that these fares are under).

In the second instance **unequal concurrence** is used to refer to the threat caused by Polish workers to the labour position of native Dutch workers. In this case Polish immigrants are represented as being responsible for their low wages themselves, by accepting those wages, because they are **higher than in Poland**. In this instance, the Polish immigrant is **blamed** for its own problems. Furthermore, *formulations* like '**working for a penny**', **underpayment** and working **under the minimum wage** are used, but also more positive wordings like **decent payment**. In the first instance, agency is put more on the immigrants by the use of *active sentences*, while in the second, agency is put more on employers with the use of *passive sentences*. *Quotations* are almost exclusively of politicians in both instances.

Related to this, Polish immigrants are represented as being the **victim** of working long hours, by the use of *passive* sentences. *Number rhetoric* is used to express the **hours** these workers actually make in order to speak to the knowledge of readers of the coming working hours in the Netherlands. Below is a discourse fragment that is an example of the **blaming** of the low wages and the long hours on the **Polish immigrants themselves**

Letteboer estimated that one to two percent of all work in construction is being done by illegals. Sometimes exploitation is at play: illegals who work for thirty euro's a day, sleep at the working place or make extremely long days. "The clues the informants give are usually obvious: work is being done outside working times, there are vans with foreign number plates in front of the doors or the work is not being done safely. They are standing on ladders while there should have been standing scaffolds. Or they use diesel engines inside the house. Perilous."

Source: Het Algemeen Dagblad, 28 February 2007

In this fragment the actual expressions of wages are represented to speak to the readers underlying knowledge on this subject. **Sleeping at the workplace** and **unsafe work** are used to blame the Polish workers for their circumstances further. References to **illegality** are made, which is a *functional relation* that refers to 'our' good actions and 'their' bad actions.

Second, in the bad-housing sub-theme Polish immigrants are represented as living in illegal and unsafe houses. This is presented in relation to the lifting of the labour restrictions (in 2007), but also after (in 2013). *Formulations* like **miserable, dirty and dangerous** are used to describe the houses of Polish immigrants. Unlike in the underpayment sub-theme, here the blame is not put on the Polish immigrants themselves, but more on employers and '**huisjesmelkers**', landlords charging rents to tenants that highly exceed the actual lease. **Employers** are presented as being responsible for arranging housing of their Polish employees and **illegal and unsafe** housing is said to be provided in a lot of cases. Polish immigrants are presented as living with **many persons** in small houses, in **caravans** on camping sites and on **vacation parks**. *Passive sentences* are used, which downplay the agency of the immigrants. Next to that, bad housing is linked to **nuisance** or *stereotypical* images that inhabitants of the neighbourhoods have of Polish immigrants, which is represented as a cause of the lack of availability of other houses for this immigrant group. This points to the **blaming of Polish immigrants themselves** for this problem. The housing of Polish immigrants is, however, also represented in some instances as a reason of the lack of availability of housing for native Dutch. In this sub-theme, representations also come predominantly from the side of politicians (and municipalities) and *quotations* mostly come from these politicians, as well as other native professionals (employers, employment agencies and trade union FNV). In the discourse fragment below the **blame on the employers and**

municipalities becomes clear, as well as the representation of Polish immigrants **living on vacation parks**.

Housing

An employer that applies for a working permit for an Eastern-European employee at the CWI, needs to take care of 'suiting' housing. Because the CWI almost does not monitor the housing statements, it regularly happens that employees end up in unsuitable houses.

Employment agencies also accommodate their employees in vacation parks or camping sites.

Municipalities have to keep monitoring. Because they do not always get informed of the living places of Eastern-Europeans by the CWI, this is difficult. The housing of Eastern-European employees is often lucrative for municipalities. A Pole in a vacation house mostly yields more from tourist taxes, than in case of official registration as an inhabitant.

Source: Het Algemeen Dagblad, 17 April 2007

In this fragment, '**suiting**' and **unsuitable** housing refers to the lack of requirements that is set for housing of Polish immigrants, which is further explicated by the lack of monitoring of the CWI, as well as it **lucrative** for municipalities not to monitor the housing. This points further points to the victim position (*passive* sentences, agency is put to the background) of Polish immigrants. Note that the first references are to **Eastern-European employees**, while only in the last sentence a reference is made to a **Pole**. This seems to be a kind of *disclaimer*, as it could be seen as an apparent neutral stance towards the immigrant group, while later on explicating which immigrants are actually being referred to. It is also in accordance with the 'cultural generalization frame' that Shadid (2009) found in the case of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands.

Third, the unsafe work sub-theme is about concerns about dangers that Polish workers face in most cases. Predominantly, employers are **blamed** for lacking to **taking safety measures** for these workers. Discussion revolve around the **responsibility for the safety** of the Polish workers, which no one wants to take (employment agencies or employers). This discussion evolved predominantly out of the event of a Polish worker that died in a construction site. In some other cases, **Polish workers themselves are blamed** for their unsafety and are accused of saving on safety measures to be able to work cheaper and in that case being more of concurrence for Dutch natives. The discourse fragment below shows the discussion on the responsibility of the safety of Polish workers. It also points to the 'willingness' of the political parties to '**stand up against**' the **abuses**. This points to a *functional relation* of positive representation of '**us**', of '**our**' willingness for change.

For ABU and FNV Bondgenoten the case of the Polish temporary worker Pjotr Mikszik is an important test for the question who is responsible for the labour circumstances of an temporary worker. It is the first time they start a case together. After a broadcast of the TV-show 'Netwerk' about the crimping of

Poles for dangerous jobs in the Netherlands, the case also got attention from politics. Members of the Parliament from PvdA, CDA and SP asked state secretary Van Hoof (social affairs) to stand up against the abuses.

Source: Trouw, 7 February 2007

When considering the different time frames, it becomes clear that most articles that fit the exploitation discourse appeared in 2007. Moreover, most of these articles appeared before the lifting of the labour restrictions (May 2007). The articles that appeared in the three months after this event (in 2007) can be said to be framed more negatively and more blaming towards Polish immigrants about the exploitation than before. In 2013 only 3 articles were published that were concerned with exploitation. It can thus be said that the newspapers were concerned with exploitation only at the time before the lifting and paid less attention to the topic after this event. As mentioned earlier, a possible explanation for this can be found in the use of this discourse strand as an apparent positive argument for not lifting the labour restrictions. Furthermore, when examining the topical choices, no clear differences become visible between 2007 and 2013.

Differences between the representations of the exploitation discourse strands are not visible in absolute numbers. In a proportionally sense, again the newspapers with the smallest amounts of total articles (on Polish immigrants in general) are the largest in the representations of this discourse strand. When it comes to topical choice, also little variance is visible. Sub-themes are often presented together in articles or payment and housing are overrepresented, apart from *Het Algemeen Dagblad* and *Het Parool*, that had varying topical choices and *Het NRC Handelsblad*, in which more emphasis was put on the housing sub-theme. Differences in tone did point to a difference in representations of this discourse strand. Whereas *Het NRC Handelsblad*, *Het Parool* and *Het Financieele Dagblad* showed to be neutral in tone, *Het Algemeen Dagblad* was also relatively neutral, but had a fearful undertone, *Trouw* was predominantly negative and blaming in tone, *De Telegraaf* also had a negative, but also fearful tone and in *De Volkskrant* the fearful tone was predominant.

In all newspapers, worries about the lifting are represented and in this, the government is held responsible for solving the foreseen problems before the actual lifting. *Het Financieele Dagblad* presented the lifting of the restrictions as the solution to the exploitation, as the workers are not dependant of one employer anymore. *Trouw* takes the most noticeable negative and blaming stance, and presents a few articles on the event of the bankruptcy of a mushroom farm because of exploitation. This is represented as the

exploitation story being untrue and the Polish workers are represented as lying about their exploitation.

Table 2

Articles exploitation discourse per newspaper, per year

	Articles Exploitation discourse 2007	Articles Exploitation discourse 2013
De Telegraaf	7/35	1/17
Het Algemeen Dagblad	6/31	1/19
De Volkskrant	7/13	0/5
Het Parool	3/9	0/9
Trouw	4/9	0/4
Het NRC Handelsblad	3/6	0/1
Het Financieele Dagblad	1/5	0/2

Note: numbers behind the slash refer to the total of articles in the newspaper in that particular year

4.3 The criminality discourse strand

The third discourse strand that was found is the ‘criminality discourse’ strand. The sub-themes that make up this discourse strand are: robbery, homicide/violence, drinking and illegality. Of these four sub-themes, the drinking sub-theme seems to be unfitting the pattern. The drinking sub-theme is included in the criminality discourse strand, because drinking is linked to traffic accidents or nuisance in most representations. The amount of articles fitting the criminality discourse strand can be found in Table 3 (pp. 38).

In the criminality discourse strand Polish immigrants are represented as a threat towards Dutch society, because they are criminals. Some of these discourses are direct representations of crimes that have taken place (predominantly in cases of robbery and homicide), while others are indirect representations, for example articles that sum up criminal records of Polish immigrants or articles concerned with the Dutch police in relation to Polish immigrants. Robberies committed by Polish immigrants are linked to the rise of the Polish population in the Netherlands. Furthermore, homicide that is linked to Polish immigrants is most cases related to a Polish victim. Next to that, Polish immigrants are often linked to drinking, and in turn to nuisance and accidents (mostly in traffic) of which other persons or themselves become the victims. Lastly, Polish immigrants are represented in terms of illegality, predominantly in relation to work and housing.

The first sub-theme in the criminality discourse strand is that of robbery. With regard to Polish immigrants’ criminal records robbery is represented as their most prominent offence. The robberies refer mostly to **shoplifting** or **pick pocketing** , but references are also made to a shift later on towards **more serious and violent robberies** like robberies of jewellery

shops, house robberies and art robberies. Furthermore, the **rise of criminal activities** of Polish immigrants is emphasized and is linked to the **rise of the Polish population** in the Netherlands and even to the **lifting of the labour restrictions** (already in 2007). An event of the Dutch police arranging contact with the Polish police and making courses of **Polish language** and **culture** available is represented as a necessity because of the rise of robberies committed by Polish immigrants. This refers a connection that is being made between the robberies and Polish **culture**. *Functional relations* are used to emphasize ‘our’ help and ‘their’ lack of initiative. The discourse fragment below shows the ways in which crime, committed by Polish immigrants, is represented.

Up until now

The number of Poles in our country grows fast. According to the CBS 70.000 Poles were staying in the Netherlands in the mids of last year.

From the 1st of May of this year Poles can without a working permit can sojourn in our country. Meanwhile, an estimated 100.000 Poles stay in our country.

From the numbers of the National Police it turns out that last year more than one in twenty Poles in our country got in contact with the police. In total there were 2.743 suspects. They form 1 percent of all suspects in our country last year. To compare: in 2001 the police only detained 1.128 Polish suspects.

Of the Poles who got detained last year, 45 percent was suspect of one or more robberies. More than half of this groups had committed multiple shopliftings. 13 percent of the Polish arrestees was detained for drunk driving.

Source: Het Algemeen Dagblad, 22 May 2007

In this fragment, *Number rhetoric* is used to emphasize the seriousness of the case and to present it as objective. Comparisons with Dutch natives or other immigrant groups are not made, which might downplay the problem. The growth of the Polish population in the Netherlands is linked to the growth of the crimes committed by them. The word **sojourn** refers to Polish immigrant staying in our country without actively participating, which presents them as less deserving and more likely to commit crimes. *Quotations* come from Dutch professionals, mostly from the police and native laymen.

The second sub-theme is homicide and violence. A few articles are found on homicide of which the offenders were Polish immigrants. The articles are mostly presented factually, but in some instances the **cruelty** of the homicides was emphasized. Most striking in this sub-theme is that the victims of the discussed homicides are in most cases **Polish women**, which have been murdered by their Polish husband or other Polish immigrants. Next to the homicide, violence is presented. In this instance, Polish immigrants have been represented as victims of violence towards them in a few instances. The discourse fragment below shows a factual representation of the **homicide** on a **Polish woman** by her Polish husband. References

are made towards the **cruelty** of the deed with words like **heavily mutilated**. As can be seen, all persons are referred to by their nationalities, as opposed to their names.

Samples of the found body parts have been compared to the dna and blood that had been donated by the parents of the Polish woman. According to the police they reacted appalled on the murder, which was presumably committed by her already last week arrested husband. The body of the woman turned out to be heavily mutilated. The husband has not given an acknowledgement yet.

Last week a fearful search on the missing Polish woman started in Alphen. Above all the research team searched through the flat of the Polish couple extensively. The research will be closed off in the following days.

Source: Het Algemeen Dagblad, May 30 2013

The last sub-theme is the drinking sub-theme. Polish immigrants are frequently represented as **drinking a lot**, which is often expressed in relation to certain events, like **traffic- or other accidents** (with them or others becoming victims of this). This is part of the *stereotyping* of Polish immigrants. In other cases, it is not clear whether alcohol has been the cause of an accident, but drinking is assumed. Furthermore, Polish immigrants are represented as causing **nuisance** because of the consumption of alcohol. *Formulations* of ‘**drunken Poles**’ are used extensively. This can be seen their representation of being **less important** or deserving because of this, which becomes apparent in representations of accidents of or violence towards Polish immigrants. Drinking and also **drunk-driving** are furthermore represented as being related to Polish **culture**. This is also expressed in the earlier mentioned event of the Dutch police, who wants to learn about Polish culture partially because drunk-driving would be part of it. Moreover, drinking and Polish immigrants are being related to each other in **indirect ways** (like references to high sales of beer in Polish shops) or **assumptions** are made about their drinking. This could point to *stereotyping*, and with it an attempt to speak to the underlying knowledge of the reader about this immigrant group. The discourse fragment below shows an example of the connection that is made between drinking and Polish culture, assumptions of Polish immigrants drinking and nuisance caused by it.

“Actually we would have preferred to keep the Eastern-European people out”, manager Antoine Schraavan of Patersven tells. “But I had no other choice. Tour operators do not want to rent the houses anymore. Then we decided to cooperate with employment agencies who house Polish and other workers here. Of course there are Dutch who own a house here, who are less enthusiastic about it. Eastern-Europeans deal with alcohol in a slightly different way, that is part of their culture after all. Of course, there have been a few incidents, but we have had those with regular tourists as well. When a few hundred are here, there will always be some bad ones.”

Source: Het Algemeen Dagblad, 17 April 2007

The connection that is being made between drinking and Polish culture can be seen from *formulations* like **deal with alcohol in a slightly different way**, which is a *functional relation*, referring to the difference between **them** having bad alcohol habits and **us** being better able to deal with alcohol. Right after this sentence this ‘dealing with alcohol’ is connected to **their culture**, which is *stereotyping*. Furthermore, on the one hand, the quoted manager tries to represent the **side of native Dutch** by stating that he would have **preferred to keep Eastern-European people out** but he had **no choice**, while on the other hand, he tries to mask his racist expressions by referring to **there always being some bad ones**. This is a *disclaimer of apparent denial*, he first makes discriminating claims and after tries to downplay this. The reference to the **Dutch house owners who are not enthusiastic** and his downplaying of the problem with the reference to **some bad ones** is also a *disclaimer*, of *transfer*, in which he is denying his own discrimination and point to the discrimination from the side of the house owners.

Lastly, Polish immigrants are referred to in terms of illegality. This is not about their citizenship status in the Netherlands, but is more framed with references to illegal labour and illegal housing. Illegality is named extensively, also in cases where the topic of the article is not illegality. Polish immigrants are accused of **working illegally** in the Netherlands (before the lifting this refers to having **no working permit** and after it refers to working without paying tax) in this sub-theme. This is linked to the fear of **unequal concurrence** from Polish immigrants on the Dutch labour market. As opposed to illegal labour, **illegal housing** is framed more in terms of **exploitation** of Polish immigrants, with the consequence of them being forced to pay high rents for **unsafe housing**.

From Table 4 it can be concluded that, in proportional terms, there are much more articles fitting the criminality discourse strand in 2013 than in 2007, a rise in the representation of this discourse strand has taken place. In 2007, most articles revolve around the drinking sub-theme, either in relation to accidents of which Polish immigrants (or sometimes others) become victims, in relation to nuisance they cause because of it or in assumptions. In 2013, more articles revolve around the robbery sub-theme, as well as around the event of one traffic accident where a Polish immigrant drove up to 3 native people, which caused their deaths. Drinking in relation to this accident is assumed in some instances. It thus seems like there has been a shift from primarily articles on drinking and nuisance towards articles which represent concerns on more serious crimes like violent robberies and homicide.

Differences between the representations of the criminality discourse strand in the different newspapers can already be seen from Table 3. Het Algemeen Dagblad and De

Telegraaf spend the most of their articles on this discourse strand, while the rest of the newspapers only spend a very small amount on this. When it comes to topical choices, Het Algemeen Dagblad, De Telegraaf and Het Parool, show to be varying, with a slightly larger representation of the drinking sub-theme. The small amount of articles in the other newspapers revolved around the drinking sub-theme and accidents (the formerly mentioned event of the traffic accident in 2013). The tone of the representations in Het Algemeen Dagblad was negative, exaggerating, assuming and blaming. Also in De Telegraaf a negative, assuming and generalizing tone became visible, but a turn a neutral framing could be seen in 2013. Het Parool also had a negative, assuming and generalizing tone. Het NRC Handelsblad and De Volkskrant both only had one article representing this discourse strand and these were rather neutral in tone.

Table 3
Articles criminality discourse per newspaper, per year

	Articles Criminality discourse 2007	Articles Criminality discourse 2013
De Telegraaf	9/35	10/17
Het Algemeen Dagblad	11/31	8/19
De Volkskrant	1/13	0/5
Het Parool	2/9	4/9
Trouw	1/9	2/4
Het NRC Handelsblad	1/6	0/1
Het Financieele Dagblad	0/5	0/2

Note: numbers behind the slash refer to the total of articles in the newspaper in that particular year

4.4 The positive discourse strand

The fourth discourse strand that was found was what will here be referred to as the ‘positive discourse’ strand. The sub-themes that make up this discourse strand are: positive open borders, entrepreneurship and integration. The amounts of articles that fit the positive discourse strand are presented in Table 4 (pp.42).

In the positive discourse strand Polish immigrants are represented as valuable to Dutch society and as good citizens. The positive open borders sub-theme refers to the representation of the lifting of the labour restrictions, which is often framed as a solution to the labour shortage. In the entrepreneurship sub-theme representations of Polish immigrants that are often entrepreneurs are found, as well as representations of success stories of Polish immigrants. The integration sub-theme revolves around representations of Polish immigrants that are adjusting well to Dutch society, as well as what will here referred to as ‘reversed integration’. More quotations of Polish immigrants are used in this discourse strand, which

were mainly quotes by Polish professionals. This is opposed to the findings of Shadid (2009), who found that Muslim immigrants that were quoted were mostly ‘laymen’.

First, in this discourse strand Polish immigrants are presented as a valuable addition to Dutch society, especially because this is a **solution** to the labour shortage of some sectors in the Netherlands for which **no native Dutch staff can be found**. Furthermore, the opening of the borders is represented as a **solution** to exploitation of Polish workers in the Netherlands. *Formulations* like the opening being **beneficial** and even a **blessing** to the Netherland, Polish immigrants being able to save the harvest, and Polish workers being **urgently needed** are used. Next to that, Polish immigrants are predominantly represented as **hardworking** and (to a more limited extent) as being **dedicated** and delivering **quality** work.

Additionally, multiple send-in letters critique the fearful articles on the opening of the borders. In this, a **reversed form** of the *functional relation* of the **us-them** opposition is used, in the sense that there is a reference to ‘us’ as **not as good of a country** as we think (and the reason why a lot of Polish immigrants were expected to come) and to ‘them’ as being a **valuable addition** to Dutch society. The following discourse fragment is an example of this positive open borders sub-theme.

(...) Without limitations and administrative burden thousands of Poles, Slovaks, Lithuanians and other Eastern-European seasonal workers were able to start working to save the harvest.

“The companies called the Polish employees themselves to ask whether they could come earlier and as far as we know that worked out”, Klaar Ras says, relations manager at detachment company AB Zuidoost-Brabant.

This time applying for a working permit for them via the agriculture and horticulture organization in the south, ZLTO and the CWI, as was necessary in the other years was not needed. “In that case the strawberries and asparagus would be rotting here just like in Germany and Britain because of a lack of people who could take them off the fields”, is Ras’ conviction. The open borders are a blessing. In the permit a date was set at which the seasonal worker was allowed to start, earlier was not allowed. Also other workers, students that pick in their holidays, are not yet available. In the region – de Peel en de Kempen – that AB Zuidoost Brabant reaches, currently 300 to 400 Eastern-Europeans are working, Ras estimates. At the place a lot of companies are situated which have asparagus as well as strawberries. Top activity it is.

Source: Trouw, 31 May 2007

The positive framing of the opening is reflected in the *formulation* of Poles that were able to **save the harvest** already in the first sentence. Later on, the opening is represented as a **blessing** and *number rhetoric* is used to express the size of the seasonal working population from eastern Europe, as well as the objectivity of this information. In this case, as opposed to the more often found representations, number rhetoric is used in a positive sense. Furthermore, a reference is made to **eastern-Europeans** in the first sentence, while in the title the reference was to **Poles** only. This was possibly used to speak to the underlying

knowledge of the reader, as they might not know other eastern-Europeans, because the Polish population is the largest immigrant group from the region in the Netherlands. Shadid (2009) found a 'cultural generalization frame', in which Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands are presented as one group. As can be seen from this (and other) articles, this also happens with the entire group of Eastern Europeans.

The second sub-theme is the entrepreneurship sub-theme. In this sub-theme Polish immigrants are represented as being **entrepreneurial**. This was mostly presented neutrally and in other cases framed more positively than negative. In these articles, Polish immigrant entrepreneurs are compared to other immigrant groups and represented as the **biggest and fastest growing group** of immigrant entrepreneurs. Furthermore *formulations* like **increase** or **vastly increased** are used. Also *number rhetoric* is used in order to express the rise of the Polish immigrant entrepreneurs and the objectivity of this information.

Moreover, so-called **success stories** of Polish immigrants are represented, which predominantly represent those who started to work in agriculture or construction upon arrival in the Netherlands and had their own businesses in the Netherlands (predominantly **Polish shops** or one-man **construction companies**) only a few years later. The shops are predominantly framed in a positive sense, which can be concluded from *formulations* like **fresh, hip, and intriguing**. In the discourse fragment below, the positive framing of Polish entrepreneurship is shown.

Iwona Olszeweska (31) is one of the Poles that is not planning to head back. Seven years ago she came to the Netherlands. She started, like so many Poles, in the Westland. "Cutting cucumbers", she says. Several jobs followed until she opened a Polish delicacy shop in the Weimarstraat in The Hague last Monday. "Why? There are enormous amounts of Polish people living in this neighbourhood, so I thought: there is probably a market for it", Olszeweska says. Among other things she sells Polish bread, meat, beer and all other kinds of foods. A bit ahead, at the Beeklaan, her Turkish boyfriend runs a Polish bar. In front of her shop a Polish couple greets a mutual friend.

Olszeweska is one of the many Poles who used the opportunity in the past years to start an own enterprise in the Netherlands without obstacles.

From today published numbers of the Chamber of Commerce it turns out 3.350 Poles started a company in the Netherlands last year.

Source: Trouw 1 May 2007

The article presents the success story of a female Polish immigrant. In the very beginning of the article, Polish immigrants are *stereotyped* as agricultural workers by the reference to the women as having worked with **cucumbers, like so many Poles**. Later, by referring to the woman's **Turkish boyfriend**, who is runs a Polish bar, the **openness to other immigrant groups** in the Netherlands is emphasized. In the sentence after the **greeting**

further refers to the **social character** of Polish immigrants. The article goes on in a broader sense by referring, and again **generalizing**, to the many Poles who started their own enterprise. The use of the *number rhetoric*, with the rest of the article coming before it, is used in a positive sense and here refers to the **success** of the immigrants, instead of to a threat.

Lastly, in the integration sub-theme Polish immigrants are represented as **adjusting well** to Dutch society, doing **well economically** (being employed) and **prosper in the Dutch climate**. Also **comparisons to Rumanian and Bulgarian** immigrants are made, in which Polish immigrants are represented as adjusting easier to Dutch society. This sub-theme was only found in 2013, not in 2007. Even though more references were found to difficulties resulting from the presented bad language provision of Polish immigrants, this positive discourse also came to the fore.

Moreover, what will here be referred to as '**reversed integration**', positive framing of and an interest in Polish **culture, food** and **language** was found. In the following discourse fragment, the positive framing of the integration of the Polish immigrants becomes clear from the *formulations*, like '**the Polish fit us**' because they are also **hardworking** people. Furthermore, in the second paragraph the man **applauds** Polish immigrants **settling** in Zundert and refers to them as the **Zundertenaren of the future**, which points to him being content with Polish immigrants that stay in the village.

City counsellor Johan de Beer admits to his neighbours that a part of the wealth in Zundert is to be subscribed to the influx of Poles that flooded his borough in 10 years of time. "We in Zundert are hardworking people. We don't do five-day workweeks and as far as that's concerned the Polish fit us. We need them for our economy. And they are right they want to stay. It is a good place to be."

At the primary school in Zundert already thirty Polish children are present. Housing broker Remco van Hassel tells he already sold five houses to young Polish families that year. "I applaud it. These are the Zundertenaren of the future. When the Eastern-Europeans would not have come, it would have been a lot more quite out here."

Source: Het Algemeen Dagblad, 10 July 2013

When examining the change over time it becomes clear that the integration sub-theme has only been found in 2013. This may be ascribed to the increased visibility of Polish immigrants in the media. Another possible explanation is that the group that has settled in the Netherlands permanently has been in the Netherlands for a while (in 2013) and is therefore expected to get adjusted to Dutch society. When looking at the positive open borders sub-theme, this was mostly related to the lifting of the labour restrictions, but in 2013 articles fitting this sub-theme have also been found.

Differences between the representations of the positive discourse strands in the different newspapers can partially be conducted from Table 4. De Volkskrant, Het Parool, Trouw, Het NRC Handelsblad and Het Financieele Dagblad have the largest proportions of articles fitting the positive discourse strand. When examining the topical choices of the newspapers Het Algemeen Dagblad and De Telegraaf show to be varying, while in the other newspapers an emphasis is put predominantly on the positive open border sub-theme. Furthermore, Het Parool and De Volkskrant shift to representations of the ‘reversed integration’ in 2013 as well. Even though none of these articles can be labelled as negative in tone, there is a difference in the degree of positivity. Het Algemeen Dagblad, NRC Handelsblad, Het Parool, Het Financieel Dagblad and De Volkskrant can be said to be most positive in tone, while Trouw was more neutral and even fearful in tone.

Table 4
Articles positive discourse per newspaper, per year

	Articles Positive discourse 2007	Articles Positive discourse 2013
De Telegraaf	7/35	3/17
Het Algemeen Dagblad	5/31	3/19
De Volkskrant	7/13	3/5
Het Parool	4/9	2/9
Trouw	4/9	0/4
Het NRC Handelsblad	2/6	0/1
Het Financieele Dagblad	3/5	0/2

Note: numbers behind the slash refer to the total of articles in the newspaper in that particular year

4.5 Intersections of the discourse strands

In the analysis, specific topics came to the fore at the intersections of the discourse strands. These topics were represented in multiple discourse strands. Examples of these are Polish immigrants who work in the Netherlands, as well as multiple forms of integration of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands.

To start with, almost all studied articles revolve around Polish workers, which is a possible explanation for the representation of this topic in all four discourse strands. In the fear discourse strand, Polish workers are represented as a threat towards native Dutch workers, as they are expected to take their jobs. In the exploitation discourse strand, Polish immigrants are represented as the victims of Dutch employers, who are likely to underpay them, provide them with bad housing and not take safety measures for them. In the criminality discourse, Polish workers are predominantly represented in terms of alcohol abuse

and accidents. And lastly, in the positive discourse Polish immigrants are represented as a solution to the labour shortages that the Netherlands faces.

Furthermore, multiple representations can be seen in all forms of integration of Polish immigrants. In a general sense, integration of Polish immigrants into Dutch society is in the fear discourse represented as not happening enough and, in turn, Polish immigrants are presented as a threat towards Dutch society. Integration has also been represented in the positive discourse, in the form of good (economic) integration. Related to this, Polish shops are represented in multiple discourse strands. In the fear discourse strand, Polish shops are represented as an example of Polish immigrants taking over certain Dutch neighbourhoods, while in the positive discourse, these shops are presented as an interesting addition to the Dutch range of food shops.

A last topic that is represented in multiple discourse strands is housing. In the fear discourse strand Polish immigrants are represented as a threat, because they are expected to take the houses of Dutch citizens, as well as because of forming Polish enclaves (not integrating) and causing nuisance in cases of living close to native Dutch. In the exploitation discourse, Polish immigrants are represented as the victim of their employers and 'huisjesmelkers' in their housing situation.

Chapter 5: Conclusion & Discussion

In this concluding chapter, an answer to the research question is formulated and the findings of this study are compared to the findings of previous research. Furthermore, recommendations for future research are provided. The research question formulated at the beginning of this thesis was the following: *'What has been the media discourse on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands, as represented by the popular Dutch newspapers in 2007 and in 2013 and what could be the possible explanations for this discourse and its prospective change in this period?'*

The overall representation of Polish immigrants in the seven Dutch newspapers that have been studied can be said to be more negative than positive. This already came to the fore in the description of the discourse strands. The representations of the exploitation discourse strand and the positive discourse strand can be argued to be not as positive as they perceive to be at first sight. First, the exploitation discourse could be seen as a positive argument to mask the underlying intention of not opening the borders, which is likely to actually have other reasons (like the fear for mass migration). Moreover, the findings showed that Polish immigrants were also blamed for their own exploitation in multiple articles. Second, the positive discourse revolved mostly around positive representations of Polish immigrants in an economic sense, which was represented in the form of Polish immigrants alleviating the labour shortage in the Netherlands or in the form of good economic integration.

Previous negative findings on immigrant representations have for the largest part been confirmed by this current study. The use of martial and marine metaphors (Massey & Pren, 2012) and metaphors of disease and criminal connotations (Cisneros, 2008) were used in the description of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands. The often used media representations of immigrants in the form of 'the new racism' (Van Dijk, 2000) were found in the predominance of topical choices of threat, problems and deviance. They have also been found in quotations that are predominantly from the side of Dutch natives, stereotyping of the group, the use of disclaimers and in formulations of either active or passive sentences to mark or background agency of the immigrants. Exception to these representations is the positive discourse strand, in which the formerly mentioned representations were found to a significantly more limited extend. In this strand, topics like the economic contributions to the country and articles on their everyday lives have also been found, as well as more quotations of Polish immigrants, 'reversed' us vs. them framings and active sentences to highlight their agency (their accomplishments) in a positive way.

The overall discourse on Polish immigrants that was found is generally in accordance with the findings by Dzambo (2011). However, the found differences relate to the current findings of the criminality and the positive discourse strands. Whereas extensive representations of Polish immigrants in terms of criminality and extensive positive representations were not found in Dzambo's study, these representations have been found in the current study. The opposing finding of the criminality discourse in 2007 can be explained by the sub-theme of drinking, that was included (and extensively found) in the criminality discourse strand. However, in 2013 representations of more serious crimes were found, which points to the raise of representations of Polish immigrants in criminal terms (as this has not been found in Dzambo's time-frame, 2000-2010). Furthermore, Dzambo (2011) did find the positive representation of Polish immigrants in terms of alleviating the labour shortage, but the entrepreneurship and integration sub-theme were not found in her study. This discrepancy can also be attributed to the change in the discourse in 2013, where the formerly named sub-themes were found more extensively than in 2007. Next to that, the findings of this study are partially in opposition to those of Pijpers (2007), who found no far-reaching stereotyping or exaggeration. However, her findings of the fears on the mass migration of Polish immigrants, as well as the representations of Polish immigrants as alleviating the labour shortage (Pijpers, 2007), are in accordance with the findings of the current study.

Comparing the findings to those of Shadid (2009) of the representations of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands, the ethnocentric and the cultural generalization frame (to a much more limited extend than in the case of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants) have also been found in the case of Polish immigrants. The stigmatizing frame was defined by Shadid as representations of criminality, the use of social security, terrorism and unemployment. Even though not all of these connotations have been found in the case of Polish immigrants, the group can be argued to be stigmatized with an emphasis on criminality and the use of social security. Furthermore, an opposing finding came up with regards to the laymen's frame; in case of the quotation of Polish immigrants, these were mostly professionals (not laymen). This points to a more positive representation of Polish immigrants (even though their quotation is still very limited) compared to Muslim immigrants.

Theories of immigrant representation in the Netherlands (Dzambo, 2011; Uitermark, 2012; Duyvendak & Scholten, 2010) mostly revolve around the evolvement of these representations in recent decades towards more and more emphasis that is put on the cultural threat caused by immigrants. Explanations of the found discourse can be said to be partially in accordance with these theories. Uitermark (2012) refers to this as 'Culturalist discourse', in

which an emphasis is put on integration into Dutch society and adopting liberal enlightened values, which are prominent in Dutch society. These are assumed to be very different from the values of some immigrant groups, especially Muslims (Uitermark, 2012). The expectation was that this discourse in the Netherlands, together with an increase of Polish population in the Netherlands would lead to a negative media discourse on this group. Representations of such cultural fears towards Polish immigrants were found in the ‘bad integration’ sub-theme, in the forms of bad language provision, spatial segregation, the rise of Polish shops and the active practising of religion of Polish immigrants.

However, in opposition to existing theories, this was not found to be the most important representation of the group. More important than the representations of cultural fears were the representations of economic fears, in the form of fears of Polish immigrants taking the jobs of Dutch natives. The fact that other discourse strands have also been extensively represented further points to the lack of prominence of the representations of cultural fears. Vasta (2007) attributed this ‘ease’ on the side of the dominant ethnic group to blame immigrants for the insecurities they face in work and in life to the current times of broader universal changes, that might be hard for citizens to understand.

Possible explanations of these prominent representations of economic threat can be found in the event of the lifting of the labour restrictions, together with the actual rise of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands after the accession of Poland to the EU. This brought attention to the economic threat Polish immigrants could possibly form. Another explanation of the non prominence of representations of Polish immigrants in terms of cultural threats might be that the values of Polish immigrants perceive to be closer to the liberal, enlightened values that are prominent in the Netherlands than those of Muslim immigrants. Lastly, the proximity in the religious histories of Poland and the Netherlands can be an explanation for this. Uitermark (2012) proposed that a secular ‘majority culture’ exists in the Netherlands, which explains an antipathy towards religion. In this study however, representations of fears of the religiosity of Polish immigrants has only been found to a limited extent.

The fears of bad integration that were found in the representations of Polish immigrants can furthermore be attributed to the turn in Dutch migration policies in an assimilationist direction (Duyvendak & Scholten, 2010). The ‘securitization of migration’ (Ibrahim, 2005), referring to the discourse in which a need to secure the nation from threats of interethnic conflict and the transformation of the host-countries identity, can also be recognized in this part of the representations of Polish immigrants. Polish immigrants are not

linked to terrorism, but they are linked to insurgencies in the sense of causing nuisance, which is especially related to drinking (represented as part of their culture).

Overall, the discourse seems to corroborate the view that today's globalization came with increased nationalism (Ray, 2007), as this is something which is evident in media representations of Polish immigrants. All representations revolve around Polish immigrants not fitting the picture of the Dutch national, either because they cause a threat on the labour market (also in the exploitation discourse), to 'Dutch culture' or because they are criminal. In the positive discourse, the fitting of Polish immigrants in Dutch society is presented as less important, as they are of economic value to Dutch society.

Over time (2007 compared to 2013), media representations of Polish immigrants overall halved. Representations of fear persisted, while representations of exploitation dropped drastically. However, representations of more serious criminality rose (instead of representations predominantly in relation to drinking) and the positive discourse in relation to integration rose (even though these are primarily representations of economic nature). The negative evolution of the largest part of the discourse, especially the connections of criminality to culture and the rise of representations of fears of bad integration, do fit the theory of Uitermark (2012) of the Culturalization of the discourse on immigrants in the Netherlands. However, the overall drop of representations of Polish immigrants would point to the weakening of concerns on Polish immigrants, and would thus be a counterargument to the Culturalization of the discourse on Polish immigrants in the Netherlands.

For future research, a few recommendations can be made. First, the inclusion of lay-out and images in the analysis would be an interesting addition for future research, as this might lead to different conclusions about the existing media discourse. Second, an analysis of other media, particularly the internet would be an interesting and important addition to existing literature on the representation of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands. And third, future research in the form of a critical discourse analysis on a longer time-frame would be interesting, as the evolution and potential reproduction of the discourse could be studied more accurately in with this method.

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Appendix I: Table of used newspaper articles

Newspaper	Date	Title	Page
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De Telegraaf	2-5-2007	Poolse nouveau riche naar Nederland'; Oost-Europese media jubelen over openstellen grenzen 'Polen in polonaise naar Nederland'	3
De Telegraaf	2-5-2007	Polen in polonaise naar Nederland; 'Schijnconstructies beter dichttimmeren'	23
De Telegraaf	2-5-2007	Kwart starters in 2006 Polen	23
De Telegraaf	3-5-2007	Pool klust nu legaal; Huiseigenaren tuk op uurtarief van 7 euro	1
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De Telegraaf	15-5-2007	Polen ingehaald door Bulgaren en Roemenen	6
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De Telegraaf	12-6-2007	Pool dood na ongeluk	9
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De Telegraaf	19-6-2007	Stormvloed van Oost-Europeanen	7
De Telegraaf	21-6-2007	Poolse immigrant gaat bij voorkeur naar Oud Zuid	33
De Telegraaf	22-6-2007	Poptempel moet toch 3 maanden deuren sluiten; Burgemeester niet te vermurwen na dodelijk incident	31
De Telegraaf	25-6-2007	Weer Pool overleden	3
De Telegraaf	2-7-2007	Pool dood na val van bierkratje	1
De Telegraaf	4-7-2007	Polen gepakt bij inbreken	37
De Telegraaf	5-7-2007	Aalsmeer bouwt kamp voor Polen; Gastarbeiders in gestoffeerde containers	8
De Telegraaf	9-7-2007	Pool na feest doodgereden	9

De Telegraaf	12-7-2007	Kennismaken met Polen; Festival Karavaan van start in Noord-Holland	17
De Telegraaf	15-7-2007	Politieagenten op Polen-les; 'Dronken rijden en crimineel gedrag uitbannen' 'Cultuur en gewoontes beter leren kennen'	7
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De Telegraaf	20-7-2007	Polen bellen het meest	14
De Telegraaf	6-2-2013	Glaasje op	11
De Telegraaf	7-2-2013	Boerenhulp moet erf af	11
De Telegraaf	11-2-2013	Eigen rechters aangehouden	3
De Telegraaf	15-2-2013	Pool na veertien jaar opgepakt	2
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De Telegraaf	26-6-2013	Poolse drugshandelaren 'in ons land geworteld'	11
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De Telegraaf	9-7-2013	Bulgaren hebben 'zorgelijke' positie op de arbeidsmarkt	21
De Telegraaf	10-7-2013	Kettingrukkers	9
De Telegraaf	12-7-2013	Migratiebeleid EU is kwalijk	7
De Telegraaf	29-7-2013	Polen hengelen visvijvers leeg; Stroperij is in het hele land groot probleem	6
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Het Algemeen Dagblad	21-2-2007	Grenzen per 1 maart open voor de Polen	16
Het Algemeen Dagblad	28-2-2007	Wat vindt u? Als de grenzen voor Polen opengaan, komt er vanzelf een einde aan de illegale arbeid.	2
Het Algemeen Dagblad	28-2-2007	Eigenaar villa huurt <i>illegaal Polen</i> in - Risico op <i>boete</i> groot	2
Het Algemeen Dagblad	4-4-2007	Jaartje onderhuur verandert huis van familie in puinhoop	7
Het Algemeen Dagblad	7-4-2007	Donner: Grenzen open voor de Polen	5
Het Algemeen Dagblad	14-4-2007	Mildere straf voor gezinsmoordenaar verbijstert familie	5
Het Algemeen Dagblad	16-4-2007	Zundert heeft alcoholverbod na dood van Poolse arbeider	6
Het Algemeen Dagblad	17-4-2007	POLEN Zundert ergert zich aan wangedrag gastarbeiders uit Oost-Europa - 'Drinken? Ja, we lusten wel 'n biertje'	10
Het Algemeen Dagblad	17-4-2007	Huisvesting	10
Het Algemeen Dagblad	17-4-2007	Tot nu toe	10
Het Algemeen Dagblad	19-4-2007	Dit is mijn droom. Alleen de caravan had ik er nooit bij gedroomd.' - Italiaanse dromen in Brabant	8
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Het Algemeen Dagblad	28-4-2007	WW goudmijn voor Polen - Na half jaar werk in ons land tot zes keer hogere uitkering	1
Het Algemeen Dagblad	28-4-2007	OPEN GRENZEN Hoogte uitkering gebaseerd op laatstverdiende loon in Nederland - WW-toerisme lonend voor Pool	2
Het Algemeen Dagblad	28-4-2007	WW-uitkering - Ook Pool heeft sollicitatieplicht	3
Het Algemeen Dagblad	1-5-2007	Brieven - Polen	17
Het Algemeen Dagblad	1-5-2007	Polen zijn zeer ondernemend	13
Het Algemeen Dagblad	2-5-2007	Brieven - Polen	19
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Het Algemeen Dagblad	22-5-2007	Poolse journalist in Nederland - 'Als gezinnen overkomen, verdwijnen de problemen'	9
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Het Algemeen Dagblad	22-5-2007	Politie heeft handen vol aan Polen	1
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Het Algemeen Dagblad	26-5-2007	DE WEEK DIE WAS volgens ons lezerspanel: Poolse les voor politie	29
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Het Algemeen Dagblad	30-6-2007	Alimentatie na stichten brand wekt verbijstering	9
Het Algemeen Dagblad	2-7-2007	KORT NIEUWS Man overlijdt na val van bierkrat	5
Het Algemeen Dagblad	5-7-2007	De nieuwe nationale ramp: haringterrorisme	4
Het Algemeen Dagblad	16-7-2007	VVD wil Europese regels tegen het WW-toerisme	9
Het Algemeen Dagblad	14-2-2013	Hoera, Poolse les!	12
Het Algemeen Dagblad	18-2-2013	Kort nieuws; Kunstroof uit hotel mislukt	5
Het Algemeen Dagblad	16-4-2013	Faillissement reus in champignonkwekerij	19
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Het Algemeen Dagblad	26-4-2013	Flexkrachten Polen vervangen jou à la minute ; Timmerman De Ronde verdient onze zegen; 650.000 werklozen in een open Europa	26
Het Algemeen Dagblad	29-4-2013	'Buitenlandse auto? Belasting betalen!'	2
Het Algemeen Dagblad	4-5-2013	Jaren cel voor wrede ontvoerders Roma	25
Het Algemeen Dagblad	7-4-2013	Het Lam Gods	15
Het Algemeen Dagblad	21-5-2013	Pool schept fietsende opa, oma en kleinkind	11
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Het Algemeen Dagblad	15-6-2013	Cel dreigt na wrede straatroof	11
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Het Algemeen Dagblad	11-7-2013	Hollandse Polen Inburgeren mag ook via kenteken ; Integratie voltooien	25
Het Algemeen Dagblad	13-7-2013	20.000 toeslagen gestopt om fraude	5

Het Algemeen Dagblad	26-7-2013	'Roofdier' Patrick S. wilde seriemoordenaar worden	6
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De Volkskrant	6-2-2007	Vakbond sleept uitzender voor rechter; Uitzendbureau Euro Business Holland beschuldigd van dood uitzendkracht door nalatigheid	7
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De Volkskrant	2-5-2007	Polen	9
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Het Parool	7-3-2013	De stad van Auke Kok	13
Het Parool	5-4-2013	Naast Pool past geen Hollander	1
Het Parool	29-4-2013	Weekers wil ook belasting voor buitenlandse auto's	6

Het Parool	21-5-2013	Automobilist rijdt ouder stel en kleindochter dood	10
Het Parool	22-5-2013	kort nieuws; OM: ongeluk met 3 doden door roekeloos rijden	2
Het Parool	15-6-2013	Eigen groente en een scheutje wodka	39
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