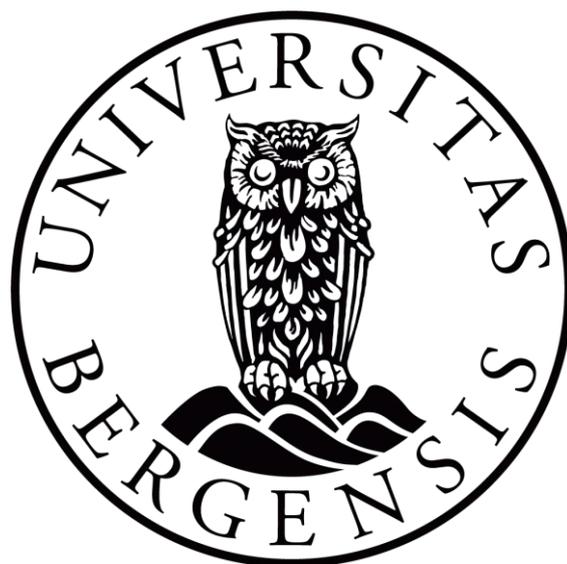


PORTRAYING A MAJOR MINORITY IN TELEVISED PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING

Portrayal of Polish Immigrants in the
Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation

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SAMANDRAG

Problemstillinga som blir svarta på i dette studiet er «*Korleis har polske innvandrara i Noreg historisk vorte portrettert av NRK gjennom NRK si kringkasting av fjernsyn frå 1970 til 2008? Korleis kan denne utviklinga bli forklart?*». Studiet er todelt, beståande av ein kvantitativ- og ein kvalitativ del. Den kvantitative delen undersøker tekstbaserte programskildringar frå NRK sin interne database SIFT. Den kvalitative delen presenterer funn frå kvalitative innhaldsanalysar av eit enkelt program per tiår i perioden. I søkinga etter å forklare utviklinga, vert det nytta teori om stereotypiar, transnasjonal konstruksjon av klasse, framstilling av polske innvandrara i europeisk migrasjonsfilm og skilnadar i nasjonale verdidimensjonar. Resultata viser ei i hovudsak sympatisk tilnærming til polske innvandrara, som har svinga noko over tid. Resultata indikerer tre viktige faktorar som bidrar til å forme framstillinga av polske innvandrara i NRK: situasjonen i Polen i tida då framstillinga blir kringkasta (samt mottakinga av denne i Noreg), stadfestinga av det norske nasjonale narrativ (som presentert i NRK) samt NRK sine egne vedtekter (konkrete interne retningslinjer nytta i NRK sin utvalsprosess).

ABSTRACT

The research question answered in this thesis is “*How have Polish immigrants in Norway historically been portrayed by the NRK through its television broadcasts from 1970 to 2008? How can this development be explained?*”. The study is two-fold, consisting of one quantitative part and one qualitative part. The quantitative examines text-based programme descriptions from the NRK’s internal SIFT database. The qualitative part presents findings from qualitative content analyses of a single programme from every decade in the period. In searching to explain the development, theory on stereotypes, transnational construction of class, depiction of Polish immigrants in European migration film and differences in national value dimensions are utilised. The results reveal a primarily sympathetic approach to Polish immigrants which has fluctuated over time. The results of the study indicate three important factors which contribute to shaping the portrayal of Polish immigrants in the NRK: the situation in Poland at the time of broadcast (and reception of this in Norway), confirmation of the Norwegian national narrative (as presented in the NRK) and the NRK’s own bylaws (concrete internal guidelines utilised in the NRK’s selection process).

PREFACE

In examining the portrayal of Norway's largest immigrant group in the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation, I have increased my knowledge on the topic of immigration in Norway. Through viewing and reading about programmes in the NRK's rich archive and in-depth reading of op-eds and research reports, I have learned much about the academic process and the greatly diverse plethora of programmes produced by the NRK over the years. The completion of this project, however, would not be able without the help of a series of people.

I would like to thank the SCANPUB-project (The Immigration Issue in Scandinavian Public Spheres), which included me in their weekly meetings, discussions, presentations and winter symposium. Thanks for all the feedback and inspiration you have given me. I would also like to extend my gratitude to everyone at the NRK research centre for the hospitality and enthusiasm shown during my collection of empiric material. Anita, thank you for making me dinners and coffee. Thank you, Lars and Cecilie, for reading my thesis only days before delivery.

Finally, I would like to extend my highest gratitude and thankfulness to my supervisor, Professor Jostein Gripsrud, for his keen eye, formidable knowledge and interest in my project.

Anders Løkeland Slåke

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1. Introduction

My 90-year-old grandfather lives in a remote corner of the world. In a fjord, by the sea, in the rural, sparsely populated Western Norwegian countryside – in a village mostly vacated. He has never been to Oslo, the capital of Norway. The two public broadcasters are always on; either on radio or TV; NRK and TV2. They are thus vital for his understanding of the world. Every other week he gets visitors. I am not speaking of his friends or family but rather a married couple from Poland. A woman doing his dishes, cleaning the house, and a man, tending the garden and the 60-year-old hedge. How did they end up doing maintenance work for my grandfather? Through a long series of events that has led Poles to leave their fatherland in the search for financial stability and bettered living conditions. Poles are otherwise a people he has learned to know through the television screen, but what has he learned exactly?

The thesis is written in collaboration with, and as a contribution to the ongoing research project “SCANPUB – The Immigration Issue in Scandinavian Public Spheres 1970-2015”. SCANPUB is led by Professor Jostein Gripsrud, Department of Information Science and Media Studies, University of Bergen. The overarching aim of the research project is to through a series of qualitative and quantitative studies examine how the attitude to immigrants and immigration policy comparatively have developed in the initially similar-looking Scandinavian countries. SCANPUB will examine how this can be a result of the individual country’s rhetoric, debate, political climate and, as a result of this, public sphere (SCANPUB, 2018).

In this study I will analyse the historical portrayal of Polish immigrants in Norway in The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation’s television channels (NRK1 and NRK2) in the period from 1970 to 2008. Through examining how the portrayal has developed historically, I wish to discuss media coverage and how this can be seen in relation to the situation in both the emigrant and receiving country.

The Norwegian Broadcasting Association’s approved bylaws state in Article 14 (Fordal, 2010) that:

“b. The NRK shall help to strengthen Norwegian and Sami language, identity and culture. A large proportion of this provision shall be rooted in Norway and reflect Norwegian realities. The NRK shall broadcast programmes for national and linguistic minorities. The NRK shall provide daily broadcasts for the Sami population.”

And

“c. The NRK shall disseminate knowledge of diverse groups and of the diversity of Norwegian society. The NRK shall create arenas for debate and information about Norway as a multicultural society.”

Both points are stated as means which through their execution ultimately shall help the “NRK [...] strengthen Norwegian language, identity and culture.”(Fordal, 2010). An important question is thus to what extent Polish immigrants represent or are part of Norwegian language, identity and culture. The debate if incorporation of foreigners is part of Norwegian culture, has been going for a long time and is central in the question of immigration and Norwegian policymaking regarding the issue. Research has shown that in spite of Poland’s relative geographical proximity to Norway, differences in culture often lead to cultural collisions and misunderstandings (Jakobsen, 2015). Another signifier of this collision can be exemplified

through labour on construction sites in the vicinity of Oslo being divided into “Norwegian jobs” and “Polish jobs” (Clausen, 2013).

As I will show, a series of searches conducted in The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation’s internal databases reveal that despite it being the largest immigrant population in Norway (98 576 (Statistics Norway, 2018c)), the broadcasts covering Poles and Poland have been few compared to the coverage of other nationalities.

The ambivalence of being the largest immigrant group and yet sparsely represented in media makes the portrayal of Poles an interesting object for study. Especially compared to the much more extensively covered, smaller national, religious and cultural minorities.

The article is written in English despite the items of study being Norwegian. Throughout the article, I will translate elements of the items discussed where I deem this relevant, such as in titles or quotes. My institution of study is the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (Norsk rikskringkasting AS). I will refer to it by its established Norwegian abbreviation, the “NRK” from now on.

1.1. Research question and hypothesis

The main research question asked in the study is:

“How have Polish immigrants in Norway historically been portrayed by the NRK through its television broadcasts from 1970 to 2008? How can this development be explained?”

I aim to answer this question through the following supplementary questions:

“What have been the primary subjects in the NRK’s broadcasts on Polish immigrants in Norway?”

“How have the NRK’s central portrayal of Polish immigrants in Norway developed over time?”

“To what extent are the NRK’s portrayals of Polish immigrants in Norway balanced between sympathetic and unsympathetic?”

“What trends, in terms of the NRK’s portrayals of Polish immigrants in Norway, define the decades?”

In the discussion, I will discuss the following question:

“How can factors such as political situation, social situation, national values and self-understanding, both in Poland and Norway, contribute to shaping the trends in the NRK’s portrayals of Polish immigrants?”

1.1.1. Hypothesis

The research question asked is of great interpretive nature. Writing a master’s thesis of interpretive nature require a strong awareness of self. In developing a hypothesis for the topic researched, I unavoidably examine my own expectations. These expectations result from purely subjective world views. I will therefore first give a short explanation of my background, before presenting what I believe this study will uncover. This is done for the reader to understand on what basis the interpretations are made.

I consider myself as a socialist on the left of Norwegian politics. I deem myself a cosmopolitan and I am in general positive to immigration. In my understanding, integration is *the* fundamental factor in deeming immigration successful or unsuccessful. I have never been to Poland but have two first-generation Polish immigrant friends. Both speak Norwegian fluently despite having lived here for less than a year, and are what would be considered kind persons. They are similar to me and my friends in terms of interests, with the only prominent differences being their catholic backgrounds and humour which is not always immediately understandable to me. My general perception of Poles is that they are a generous people having small but not non-existent cultural differences from our own. I am positive to labour migration and labour migrants' presence in Norway, but acknowledge that social contact with labour migrants often feels difficult to me. I will however stress my principles that Poles have the same basic rights as Norwegians, both in the labour market, and in private. I deem the NRK my number one most trusted news source and television channel. The channel is frequently on in my home and can thus be considered a very important factor in shaping my attitudes and opinions.

Based on my first-impressions of the portrayal of Polish immigrants in the NRK, I approach my material expecting to find a broadcaster rarely portraying Poles as heroes and frequently connecting Poles to issues considering smuggling and social dumping. In total I expect an overweight of threat and victim portrayals, and a smaller number of hero portrayals. In terms of subject I expect the material to be fairly balanced with a somewhat higher than average amount of units with crime and work as their primary subjects.

1.2. Project outline and background

Through applying quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques to programme descriptions and TV-programmes in the NRK archive, the objective is to examine the NRK's media coverage of Poles as case of a national broadcaster's coverage of a major minority. The aim is to give an overview of coverage over a long period of time, but also to provide in-depth knowledge through in-depth analysis of selected units. Coverage of the topic of Polish immigration is relevant due to my material showing that Poles, as Norway's definitively largest immigrant group, is being underrepresented in the NRK's media coverage, and thus presumably public discourse in general (figure 4). In accordance with SCANPUB's goal to examine immigration coverage from 1970 to 2015 my project initially aimed to examine the same period. The NRK database used however ends in 2009 (attachment 2.). This limiting factor has made 1970 to 2008 the prime period for study. This will be elaborated in the methodology chapter. I will not examine the normative aspects of how Polish immigrants are or *should be* portrayed, I will rather give a descriptive analysis and shed light on how the situation has been.

In relative terms Norway is the largest receiver of labour from Eastern Europe (Friberg and Golden, 2014, p. 14). With Statistics Norway officially having registered 98 576 Poles in Norway at the start of 2018 (Statistics Norway, 2018c), there's also an agreement that there's a significant number of unofficial Polish immigrants in Norway, maybe as many as 50 000 – 60 000 according to Polish researchers mapping the phenomenon (Amundsen, 2017).

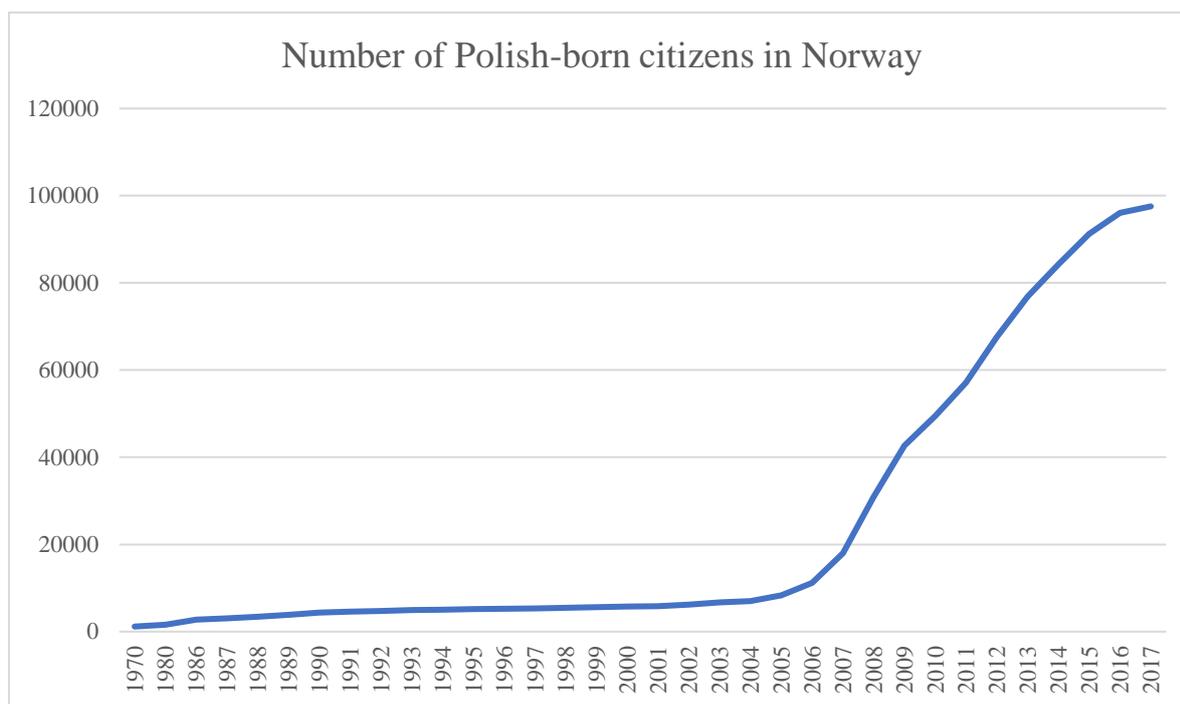


Figure 1: Note that the earliest intervals are intermittent. This is because of initial less frequent measuring (Statistics Norway, 2018c).

The aim of this study is to give a quantitative overview of coverage, supplied with qualitative analysis by means of a case study, focusing on one episode from each of the following TV-programmes; “Saturday Night with Erik Bye” (Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye, 1973), “The Saturday editorial” (Lørdagsredaksjonen, 1981), “This is our Mallorca” (Dette er vårt Mallorca, 1991) and “Focal point: Proud, Polish and poor” (Brennpunkt: Stolt. polsk og fattig, 2006).

The following sections will provide historical background for understanding Poland’s immigration history to Norway.

1.2.1. Poland’s geographical, geopolitical and cultural position

According to Statistics Norway’s definition “Immigrants are persons born abroad of two foreign-born parents and four foreign-born grandparents.” (Statistics Norway, 2017), immigrants accounts for 14% of Norway’s total population. Poles are the largest immigrant group in Norway by far, and constituting more than number two, Lithuania (38 371) and number three, Sweden (35 813) put together (Statistics Norway, 2018b).

First, it is important to emphasise that Norway is not unique as a receiver of Polish labour migration. Several countries, such as Spain, Ireland and England (Friberg and Golden, 2014, p. 14) has been attractive to Poles since the fall of the Iron Curtain and the following gradual Europeanisation of Poland culminating with the country joining the EU in 2004. Polish nationals went from being the 13th largest immigrant group in the UK before the EU-expansion, to being the largest one at the end of 2007 (Frech, 2008, p. 9). What is unique in Norway’s case however, is the role as the largest receiver of Polish labour relative to its population (Friberg and Golden, 2014, p. 14).

Poland has for decades been a nation of rapid and often unexpected developments because of its geopolitical situation and geographical position squeezed between capitalism and communism – the political West and East. Although Poland never directly was part of the Soviet

Union, the neighbour in the east influenced and stimulated communistic thought in Poland. Joseph Stalin established the People's Republic of Poland in 1952, and through cooperation with communistic forces and rigging of elections, Poland practically served as a Soviet-backed puppet state for the entirety of the cold war (Seim and Lundbo, 2018). Poland was such part of the Eastern Bloc, but not part of the Soviet Union. This limited independence allowed for cultural expressions which were not stopped by the Soviet Union's strict guidelines and censorship. Poland could thus continue the development of its own culture without being put through the same grinder as the remaining Soviet countries. This allowed several cultural expressions which over time has come to characterise the perception of Polish cultural life. Examples of such expressions are the Polish poster art tradition (Austoni, 2010), Polish free jazz (Williams, 2014), and distinct classical musical works, such as the compositions of one of the foremost representatives of avant-garde, Krzysztof Penderecki (Lewis, 2014). The film directors Andrzej Wajda and Roman Polański are also well known for their praised contributions to film art (Wilkinson, 2016).

This heritage would also become visible with Polish artists and cultural personalities who settled in Norway. Some of them over time grew famous in Norway, such as the musicians Alexandra Naumik (Alex), Andrej Nebb and intellectuals like Nina Witoszek. One of Norway's if not Europe's most prominent jazz musicians, Jan Garbarek is of Polish origin, being the only child of the Pole Czeslaw Garbarek (Morken, 2015). Jan Garbarek's daughter Anja Garbarek a modern musical- and now acclaimed scenic artist (Engelstad, 2018). Poland as a destination for artistic inspiration and education was also popular among curious Norwegian artists, such as filmmaker Haakon Sandøy (Svendsen, 2011) and actress Juni Dahr (Store norske leksikon (2005-2007), 2009). Although modern immigration from Poland to Norway did not become a notable phenomenon until the 1980s, there were several cultural exchanges and artistic curiosity on both sides, laying the groundwork for mutual sympathy in the following decades.

1.2.2. Polish-Norwegian immigration history

To make sense of the material and findings presented in this study, the reader requires a basic understanding of Norwegian-Polish immigration history. Friberg and Golden (2014) tracks the emigration of Poles back to the end of the 19th century but argue that in the case of Norway "the dam did not breach" until the start of the 1980s (2014, p. 12). These years coincide with the stabilisation of the registration of Polish immigrants by Statistics Norway, which starts reporting annual counts in 1986. Every consecutive decade since has had its own distinct paradigm in this respect. At the end of the section there is a short subjective reflection on whether we have entered a new phase in Polish immigration history since Friberg and Golden's publication.

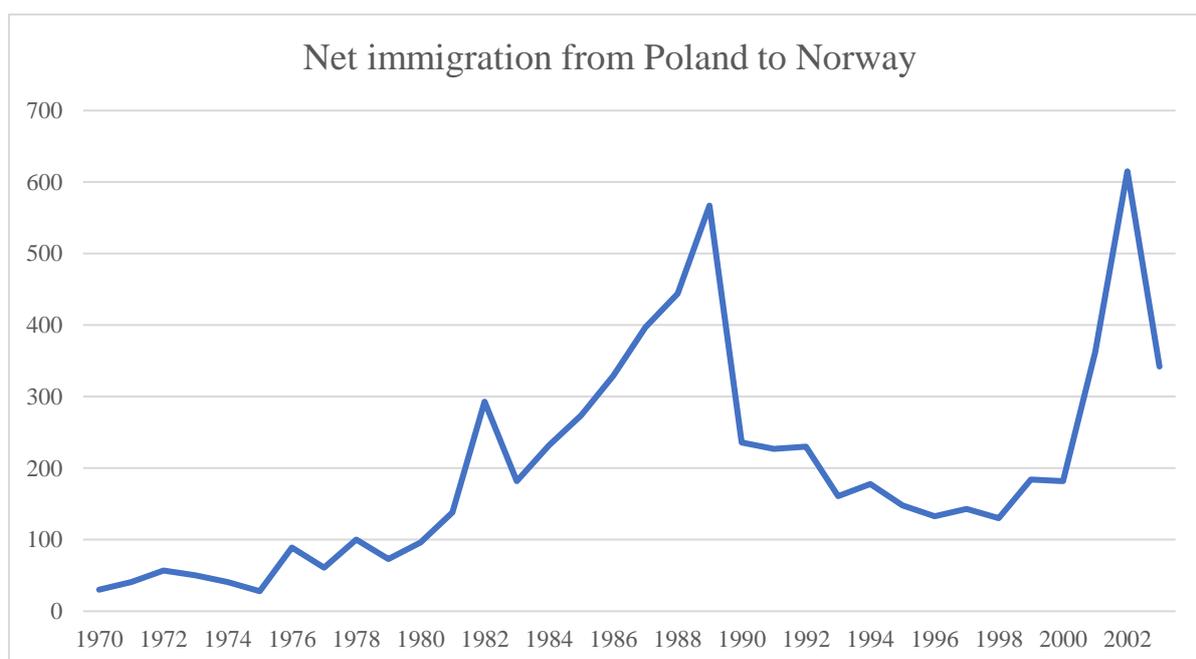


Figure 2: Net immigration from Poland to Norway from 1970 to 2003 (Statistics Norway, 2018a).

1.2.2.1. 1980-1988: Communist restrictions and refugees

Friberg and Golden (2014, p. 12) calls the period from 1980 to 1989 the first phase in modern Polish-Norwegian immigration history. This period was characterised by civil unrest in Poland. A great discontent with the conditions of shipyard workers resulted in illegal strikes at several shipyards during the 1970s. These strikes culminated in 1980 in the establishment of the trade union *Solidarność*. The recognition of the trade union by the state however proved premature for the communist government as this inspired even more demands among the workers. *Solidarność* inspired a movement led by Lech Wałęsa, which initially strived to better the conditions. Over time however the movement appropriated a symbolic value as a spearhead against the Soviet Union's permeating grasp over Poland. Following a recording of critique against the Soviet leadership the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's party, Stanisław Kania was dismissed in October 1981. A rapid decision by Soviet to insert a new leader to oppose the civil unrest, led to General Wojciech Jaruzelski seizing control as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's party in October 1981. Following the declaration of martial law by Jaruzelski December 13th, 1981, tens of thousands of *Solidarność* sympathisers were forced to seek refuge (figure 2). Several of these political refugees were intellectuals and artists, much like the exotic Poles presented in Norwegian television during the 1970s. In 1986 there were 2688 Polish-born immigrants in Norway, and many of the immigrants that arrived in this period and their descendants still to this day lives as well established individuals in Norwegian society (Friberg and Golden, 2014, p. 12).

1.2.2.2. 1989-2003: Polarisation and seasonal workers

Emigration restrictions adopted under the communist regime, withered as the Soviet Union collapsed. This led to the beginning of the second phase of Polish-Norwegian immigration history. Economic challenges, both as cause and effect of the transition to market economy, led many Poles westwards. At first this to a large extent covered Poles working in the informal economy, but over time, several countries made bilateral agreements. In Norway's case this in made it easier for Poles to work for shorter periods, primarily in agriculture. The widespread

Norwegian notion of Poles as seasonal strawberry pickers is in this study’s material first mentioned July 4th 1989 in the news item “East Norway: Turks picking strawberries” (Dagsrevyen: Østlandet: Tyrkere plukker jordbær, 1989), featuring a Polish chemical engineer picking strawberries. This also illustrates Friberg & Golden’s point that also well-educated Poles supplemented their yearly income with seasonal work (Friberg and Golden, 2014, p. 13). Short term work permits led to stable net immigration, and combined with the situation in Poland calming down, and the decline in refugees, the net immigration was lower than in the preceding decade (figure 2). Of the Polish immigrants arriving in the second phase, women were the ones primarily settling down, through family establishment with Poles already in Norway or through marrying Norwegian men. Specialist-permits were also distributed within the healthcare sector (Friberg and Golden, 2014, pp. 12-13).

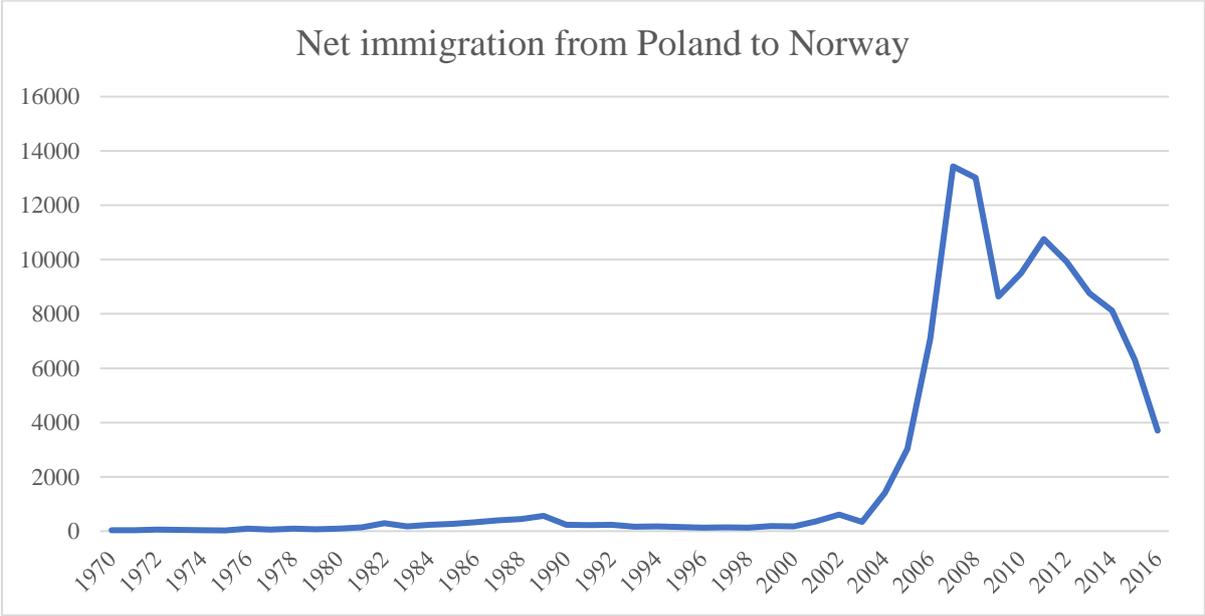


Figure 3: Net immigration from Poland to Norway from 1970 to 2017 (Statistics Norway, 2018a).

1.2.2.3. 2004-: The great inflow

In terms of pure numbers May 1st, 2004 marks the start of the single-handedly most important event in modern Norwegian immigration history; the expansion of the European Union and inclusion of Poles in the free labour market. This third phase is one characterised by an increase without comparison, as the number of Poles in Norway has radically increased from approximately 6 987 in 2004 to 98 576 in 2018 (table 1) (Friberg and Golden, 2014, pp. 14-15). The two primary motives for the ongoing migration was in 2010 self-reported as “to find work and/or earn more money” and “to reunite with family or partner who was already in Norway” (Friberg et al., 2012, p.158). Initially, the showing of contracts for full-time work at Norwegian wage levels was required to obtain a residency permit. There were also restrictions on access to welfare benefits (Friberg et al., 2012, p. 152). This was implemented to make for a smooth transition for Norway as labour migration was expected to increase. Despite these restrictions, immigration from Poland increased much faster than expected and the requirements were phased out in 2009. A high demand for workforce made Poles attractive as cheap and competent labour in the construction, shipbuilding and fishing sectors. A wage level at 4-5 times the level in Norway also made this cheap workforce attractive to the Poles. This potential for profit made bringing Poles to Norway a primary focus for recruitment agencies.

The financial crisis in Europe in 2008 and 2009, initially lead to a decline in net immigration. However, over time, as it turned out that Norway came from the crisis rather unscathed, the steady increase returned. The typical Pole arriving in Norway has changed from mostly lone men sending money back to Poland in 2004 to trends of entire families moving and reuniting in 2014 (Friberg and Golden, 2014, pp. 14-15). It is however particularly interesting to see that the net immigration of Poles has been on the decline since 2011 (10 751 immigrants) to 2017 (2 800 immigrants), and that the total number of Poles seem to have stabilised over the last three years.

YEAR	POLISH-BORN CITIZENS IN NORWAY	NET IMMIGRATION
2004	6 987	1 414
2005	8 303	3 030
2006	11 150	7 090
2007	17 965	13 432
2008	30 848	13 009
2009	42 665	8 645
2010	49 518	9 513
2011	57 100	10 751
2012	67 565	9 918
2013	76 898	8 759
2014	84 248	8 118
2015	91 213	6 306
2016	96 066	3 709
2017	97 553	2 800
2018	98 576	UNAVAILABLE

Table 1: Number of Polish-born citizens in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2018c) and net immigration from Poland to Norway (Statistics Norway, 2018a) in the period since the EU-expansion.

1.2.2.4. 2015-: The great outflow?

One can argue that since the publication of Friberg and Golden's article in 2014, Polish-Norwegian immigration history has entered phase four. It may be too early to conclude, and one might not always be aware of a phase until it is over, but there are several indicators to this claim. A new trend is clearly visible in terms of numbers, as net immigration has decreased significantly (table 1). Several news articles explain this as the result of two main factors; a weaker Norwegian economy (Hirsti, 2015) and a flourishing Polish economy (Hammerstrøm, 2017). The latter news article even argues that Poland may become a major *receiver* of labour migration over the next 15 years. In a letter to the editor published in Aftenposten in 2014, Poland's ambassador Stefan Czmur reminds the readers that Poland, as the only country in the

EU, despite of the financial crisis, has had uninterrupted economic growth for the last 20 years, and that “[...] the distance between Poland and Norway is getting smaller.” (Czmur, 2014).

1.2.3. Historical treatment of different nationalities in the NRK

In this section, data on the mentioning of nations and nationalities in the NRK’s internal databases are presented. The data was retrieved through a series of searches, and the numbers can be found in attachment 3. The data presented here should not be considered definite findings, it should rather be seen as demonstrating the relevance of the thesis. A subjective reading and historical explanation of figure 4 follows below. The reader is, however, strongly encouraged to read figures and create his or her own interpretations.

It must be stressed that the search results in figure 4 is not necessarily immigration-related as immigration is not part of the search phrase. These searches simply show mentions of nations and nationality. All the numbers presented are totals of decades. Poland’s increase in media coverage after the expansion of the EU in 2004 is as such levelled out by the fewer items from 1999 to 2004. One should also note that the lack of explicit mentioning of nationality may be perceived as an indicator of successful integration, and that well-integrated immigrants as such to a lesser extent will be mentioned by nationality. A low number of search hits should thus not only be considered a lack of coverage, but more correctly as illustrating lack of explicitly mentioning nationality. The numbers therefore are lower in instances where NRK archivists have not deemed an explicit mention of nationality necessary. A base assumption in the thesis is however a trust in archive procedures on continuity, and as such a trust in the archivists’ professional integrity.

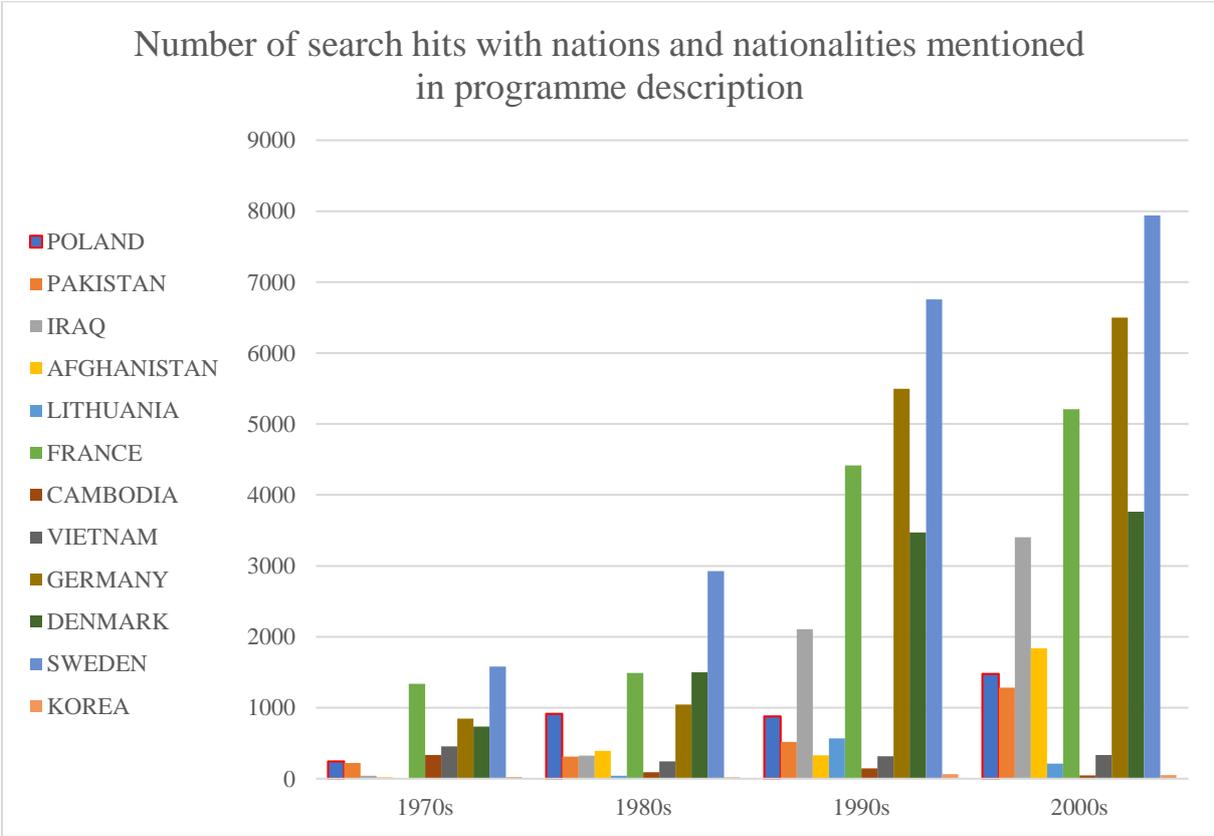


Figure 4: These results are subject to uncertainties as they will cover all explicit mentions of nation or nationality, not exclusively immigration-related hits. The results will for example cover foreign affairs such as coverage of war abroad. This graph can still, to a certain extent, be seen to indicate trends. The search phrase used is “nation”* eller “nationality” og

decade i sen* ("Polen* eller polsk* eller polakk* og 197* i sen" in the case of Poland). The codes in these searches are explained in section 3.2.

Based on a series of general searches on the number of items related to different countries, the trend seems to be that widely-considered Western countries, such as Sweden, Germany, France and Denmark top the statistics. Approximately five times more are written about Sweden than Poland. USA would be the definitive number one if included in the figure, but has been left out as the huge number of USA-related items would deem the figure unreadable. Yet, it is worth noting that USA, by large, is the most represented country I could find, having a total of 32 458 items, compared to Poland (3 618) and Sweden (19 731) (attachment 3.) The results from this however illustrates the importance of media coverage of Poles; one can argue that the less media items one is exposed to, the larger percentage every individual item becomes of the total, and thus carries a heavier weight in the portrayal of the group. The coverage can also be an indicator of what countries are perceived relevant and thus important to Norwegian interests; the USA as a strong ally and major influence in culture, Sweden as our closest neighbour, and Germany as a symbolically strong European ally. Poland is geographically close, but hasn't historically been as visible in Norwegian society as the others, assumedly due to both countries historically having close allies with opposing world views. Geographical placement is of major importance in media's decisions on what stories to cover, but so are political and cultural placement. The sudden jump during the 1980s might be explained by the general expansion of TV-schedule, a general increase in news and in the 90s – the launch of the NRK's second broadcasting channel. Germany passing Denmark and France in the 90s is a probable result of an increased focus on Germany following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the establishment of the European Union in 1993.

The extreme growth in all the geographically close widely recognised western countries should be noted, something which might indicate a polarisation between countries close and far away as well as a narrowing of focus. Poland's graph much more parallels the graphs of Pakistan and Afghanistan, with a relatively small growth over the period. Lithuania is even lower than Poland, and Sweden is the largest in the graph. It is particularly interesting that most of the countries seem to have a steady increase in search hits except for Lithuania, Vietnam and Cambodia. The two South-Asian neighbouring countries was both ravaged by war and unrest during the 1970s and 1980s and might illustrate the point that once unrest subsides, a nation's media value falls.

The relatively small amount of hits, despite Poland's geographical position and the radical increase of Poles in Norway, makes for an interesting case of under-representation.

1.3. Structure of thesis

The thesis starts by introducing existing research which will be utilised in describing eventual explanatory factors in the discussion chapter. This is followed by an in-depth explanation of the methodological decisions done to produce my results. As the results are a direct consequence of the methods utilised, this is followed by a chapter presenting my results and interpretations of these. Following this, I discuss my results in relation to the existing research, before finally in the conclusion chapter conclude and discuss possible room for improvement and observations for possible future research.

2. Theory

In this chapter, theoretical material from existing research relevant to my research question will be presented. This theory is selected on basis of the field researched. It will be discussed in relation to the results in the discussion chapter. The individual theory's relevance for my discussion, will be explained at the end of every section. The question for discussion is as follows:

“How can factors such as political situation, social situation, national values and self-understanding, both in Poland and Norway, contribute to shaping the trends in the NRK's portrayals of Polish immigrants?”

2.1. The socialist left and meetings with the East

As media coverage should be seen in the context of its current world situation, it is important to go into Norwegian politician's attitudes and opinions on communistic regimes in the Eastern Bloc.

2.1.1. Curiousness of the communistic East

Following the second world war, and the optimism following the death of Josef Stalin in 1953, especially the Norwegian leftist parties had a central ideal of reconciliation and peaceful coexistence with socialist countries located in the Eastern Bloc. This was part of an idea of a golden mean, centred between Soviet style communism and US style capitalism. Optimistic expectations were rarely in line with the poor living conditions that met Norwegian politically involved who travelled eastwards. This did not however challenge the optimism at first, on the contrary, these visits lit the hope that over time, opportunities for greater freedom and better living conditions could emerge. Living conditions better than those that would be possible under eventual capitalistic government. Flourishing socialist-driven societies would grow from the ashes of the ones that had collapsed (Rossavik, 2011, p. 251). These hopes were especially prominent in SV and were reinforced through representative's meetings with Eastern Europeans. These were mainly official representatives, but also ordinary people were sought out. To understand the extent of the Socialist Left Party's interest in communist regimes during the 70s and 80s, one can look at the relation to North Korea; Bjørgulv Froyn, a political representative in SV, was appointed honorary citizen by Kim Il Sung, and a delegation was sent to study the North Korean model in 1974. North Korea paid for the trip (Rossavik, 2011, p. 254). Such paid vacations and representative trips were also conducted to other countries such as Romania (Rossavik, 2011, p. 259).

Reports became increasingly unpleasant as time went by. For the most part, the supporters of pushing SV in a more Marxist-Leninist direction, were not direct supporters of dictatorship, but rather supporters of the idea that peaceful coexistence, reconciliation and reduced tension between the West and East only could be achieved through communication and understanding. A prevalent notion was that such strategies over time could lead to a gradual democratisation (Rossavik, 2011, pp. 256-257). It must be stressed that this was not politics that the entirety of the party agreed on. Another important note was that this understanding also was prominent in the Labour Party, (Rossavik, 2011, p. 257) which was in government for extended periods of time during the Cold War, with sporadic interruptions mainly by coalition governments.

The Socialist People's Party's commitment is by Bård Larsen problematised as he claims that the party “[...] in its eagerness to build a new reality, also struggled with authoritarian

tendencies: in the view of different models for building socialist societies out in the world and in the view of building democracy back home.” (Larsen, 2011, p. 9). The party’s leader Berit Ås called the North Korean society “an economic miracle”, self-sufficient and non-threatening. Larsen criticises these visits to North Korea by stating that Ås forgot to mention the state of freedom of speech in the country (Larsen, 2011, p. 49). According to Rossavik, SV’s Stein Ørnhøi visited “a normal family” during one of his visits to North Korea. This visit was primarily remembered as the most clean home he had ever seen – too good to be true (Rossavik, 2011, p. 255). Internal disagreements in SV on the state of North Korea was as such existing, yet the common belief seemed to be that the socialistic idea was inherently good. If conditions were bad it was solely blamed on bad implementation.

In conclusion it belongs to the story that Rossavik states that he “[...] left SV in 1996. Since have I voted SV sporadically, but not every time. The personality is split in a half liberal and half socialist.” (Rossavik, 2011, p. 496). Larsen’s book is written in a very emotional language implicitly drawing lines between SV and Nazism through Communism (Larsen, 2011, p. 11), speaking of “[...] The Soviet Union’s rape of Eastern Europe.” (Larsen, 2011, p. 51) and speaking of all the socialist projects gone wrong, mentioning Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola and Mozambique (Larsen, 2011, pp. 51-54). Larsen is a former member of the Norwegian Communist Party but the book is published by the liberal think tank Civita. Both write from a point of experience in Norwegian leftist movements.

2.1.2. Summary and relevance for research question

The Norwegian Socialist People’s Party, later Socialist Left Party (SV) dallied in the 70s and 80s for longer periods with communistic regimes, such as North Korea, Poland and Cuba. There was a prevalent notion in the party that communist-organised states received more critique than deserved, and that they because of this were unfairly treated in the public discourse. Visits in the Eastern Bloc countries was not unusual but meetings with ordinary people, who initially were seen as living exemplary lives, over time led to the recognition of harsh conditions. Ideals of peaceful coexistence and reconciliation with the East where prevalent in the period, and part of the political left’s central world view. This can be expected to be reflected in the results. In the discussion chapter, the results will be discussed considering these ideals, seen as the Socialist Left Party’s self-understanding of Norwegian national values.

2.2. Norwegian stereotypes of Poles

In meeting immigrants of different ethnicities, an individual also meets his or her own prejudices. Such prejudices, or stereotypes, can be of both a positive and negative nature, understanding the ethnicity as “better” or “worse” than reality. It is important to have the existing stereotypes of Poles in mind while analysing media coverage, as they may be prevalent or ultimately shape the coverage. Which prejudices, or stereotypes, on Polish immigrants are the most prevalent among Norwegians? This section gives a short presentation of some of the Polish stereotypes that are central in Norway. These impressions are based on a series of op-eds and letters to the editor in some major news outlets, as well as two research reports. The op-eds and letters to the editor are primarily written by Poles in Norway, searching to explain how Poles *really* contrast with the Norwegians’ stereotypes that they claim to meet in their everyday life.

Several of the sources selected are results of a debate that was central during the autumn 2014, connected to the NRK’s release of the drama series “Kampen for tilværelsen” (“The struggle

of existence”)(Kampen for tilværelsen, 2014), which follows the Polish linguist Tomasz Novak upon arriving in Norway in search for his father. The debate mobilised (among others) Polish intellectuals in Norway, Norwegians themselves and even Poland’s ambassador to Norway, who claimed the series was based on “outdated stereotypes about Poland” (Czmur, 2014).

2.2.1. Op-eds and letters to the editor

I will here present three prevalent stereotypes. The first paints a picture of the Pole as a hero, the second sees the Pole as a victim, and the last has an implicit understanding of the Pole as a threat.

2.2.1.1. *The hard-working construction worker*

The historically most prevalent stereotype is of the hard-working Pole employed in the construction sector. Poles plunge into work (Witoszek, 2013) “[...] delivering the necessary services for half the price, without too many questions, with a smile and creative approach to things [...]” (Witoszek, 2014). The notion of Pole’s efficiency and low pricing is confirmed by Nordvik (2014). Historically this stereotype has been present for a long time, going back to the 90s where the notion of seasonal workers as “strawberry pickers” became prevalent (Godzimirski, 2011).

Poles are flexible and do almost anything that Norwegians have little interest in doing, such as cleaning, carpentry and refurbishment work (Nordvik, 2014). Witoszek (2014) writes that “Their work ethics reminds us about Norwegian fathers and grandfathers; people who lifted the country out of poverty.”, and calls them “the new builders of the welfare state”.

Stefan Czmur, the Polish ambassador in Norway in 2014 claims that the Norwegian stereotype of Poles as construction workers is outdated and points towards all the activities and diversity among Poles in Norway (Czmur, 2014).

2.2.1.2. *The oppressed Pole*

Through referring to Norwegians being “wealthy, happy, blessed with historical luck, without training in living with evil”, and calling this the perfect contrast to Poland, Witoszek implies that Poles are poor, unhappy, cursed with historical bad luck and overqualified in living with evil. In this understanding there is a prevalent notion that Poles, due to being squeezed between the East and the West have had to fight for their freedom and as thus do not see the world through rose-coloured glasses. They love their country but hate the many historical decisions that have made the people suffer. Freedom is not taken for granted. Witoszek claims that “Norwegians have a romance with Norway, Poles have a mental illness – they are the only patriots in Europe who hate themselves.”. (Witoszek, 2013)

In an interview with Erlend Loe, one of the three authors of “Kampen for tilværelsen”, Loe mentions that a widespread notion of Eastern Europeans is that they are seen as the result of totalitarian regimes, with its associated pros and cons (Nordvik, 2014).

2.2.1.3. *The lazy and criminal self-neglecting Pole*

In particular Kristoffer Nordvik (2014) mentions a series of stereotypes that shows how Poles in Norway are neglecting themselves. Poles are perceived as lazy, watching television, drinking beer, smoking and swearing. They are criminals, being a nuisance to the rest of society through stealing, fighting, smuggling and driving cars with worn-out tires. They have a careless attitude,

not bothering to learn Norwegian. There is no self-irony or humour to be seen. Poles live in shanties and basements because of poverty.

Witoszek exaggerates and describes how you notice the Poles at construction sites: “they sweat in the middle of juicy “kurwar” [...], eat sandwiches with sausages from Krakow and smoke 122 cigarettes a day.” (Witoszek, 2014). “Kurwar” is a Polish profanity. In other words, one of the central stereotypes are Poles as self-neglecting and living unhealthy lives. Erlend Loe claims that Eastern Europeans are often seen as not understanding or abusing the western way of life (Nordvik, 2014).

The observations of stereotypes as expressed in the op-eds and letter to editor, should be supplemented with conducted research to further examine academical evidence in relation to the existing stereotypes.

2.2.2. Research reports

In the first research report presented, Jon Horgen Friberg (2012) suggest that Poles’ ethnicity is a factor of high importance in forming Norwegians’ attitudes towards them. Friberg argues that understanding of Poles is primarily a product of the positive stereotype of ‘the hard-working construction worker’. The second report, by Hege H. Bye, Henrik Herrebrødsen, Gunnhild J. Hjetland, Guro Ø. Røyset and Linda L. Westby (2014) shows how mapping of stereotypes can indicate an ethnic hierarchy in Norwegians perception of different immigrant groups. In this hierarchy Swedes are by far the most positively associated immigrant group. Poles are considered a number two in terms of their competence, and as such also holds a high position in the hierarchy.

2.2.2.1. *Ethnic divisions at Norwegian construction sites*

Jon Horgen Friberg’s research seemingly supports the notion of the hard-working Poles. Through survey-based qualitative research, Friberg has shown that it is a prevalent notion among Norwegian employers on construction sites in Oslo that Poles are hard-working and following orders without question. On one hand this makes them a stark contrast to “lazy Norwegians”, and suitable for routine and semi-routine jobs (Friberg, 2012, p. 1924). On the other, there is a widespread notion among employers that Poles’ apparent dependency on orders and instructions make them unfit for jobs which requires free-thinking, planning and decision-making. This perception creates a divide on construction sites between “Polish jobs” (work-intensive and temporary) and “Norwegian jobs” (permanent, decision-making, experience- and knowledge-based tasks) (Friberg, 2012, pp. 1926-1927). This division further forms an understanding of Poles as part of a group identity. According to the employers, freedom with responsibility is completely unknown to Poles (Friberg, 2012, p. 1926). On the other hand, Poles complain that they are not allowed to ask questions to employers. This results in work often being done several times even though the Poles initially notices causes for concern. They are expected to follow orders. Living in vulnerable situation with temporary contracts, asking questions and not fulfilling the employers’ expectations might put them at risk. This leads to Poles acting in accordance with the stereotypes and expectations of the employer, thus creating a self-fulfilling prophecy, and a distinct ethnical division at Norwegian construction sites (Ladegård, 2012).

The notion of Poles being good at routine jobs is also the case in London, as reflected by findings from 2007 that three-quarters of the recently arrived Poles and A8 (EU-expansion of 2004) migrants were employed in semi-routine and routine jobs (Eade et al., 2007, p. 8). The

study also finds that Poles were the A8 migrants that benefitted the least from education and experience (2007, p. 8). This is an indicator that the same notion is present; *Poles are good routine workers but less suitable for experience- and knowledge-based work.*

2.2.2.2. Poles in the Norwegian ethnic hierarchy

In a two-part pilot study on the use of the so-called “Stereotype Content”-model in a Norwegian context, Hege H. Bye, Henrik Herrebrødsen, Gunnhild J. Hjetland, Guro Ø. Røyset and Linda L. Westby (2014), found indications of an existing ethnic hierarchy in Norwegians’ stereotypes and expectations to immigrant groups. The Stereotype Content-model is a social-psychological tool that places social groups in a grid with “competence” on the horizontal axis and “warmth” on the vertical axis. The placements are results of surveys that are designed to collect information on the informants’ stereotypes and understandings of other social groups (Bye et al., 2014, p. 469). One of the fundamental ideas of the Stereotype Content-model is the standardisation of questions that makes results from different cases comparable. This allows for comparison between radically different social groups such as Polish immigrants, Muslims, Pakistani immigrants, elderly, feminists and drug addicts.

The pilot study aimed to place immigrants from Pakistan, Iraq, Somalia, Poland and Sweden in the grid, as these groups are among the largest ones present in Norway. To produce the following results, surveys were distributed to 63 passers-by in the city centre of Bergen (Bye et al., 2014, p. 473).

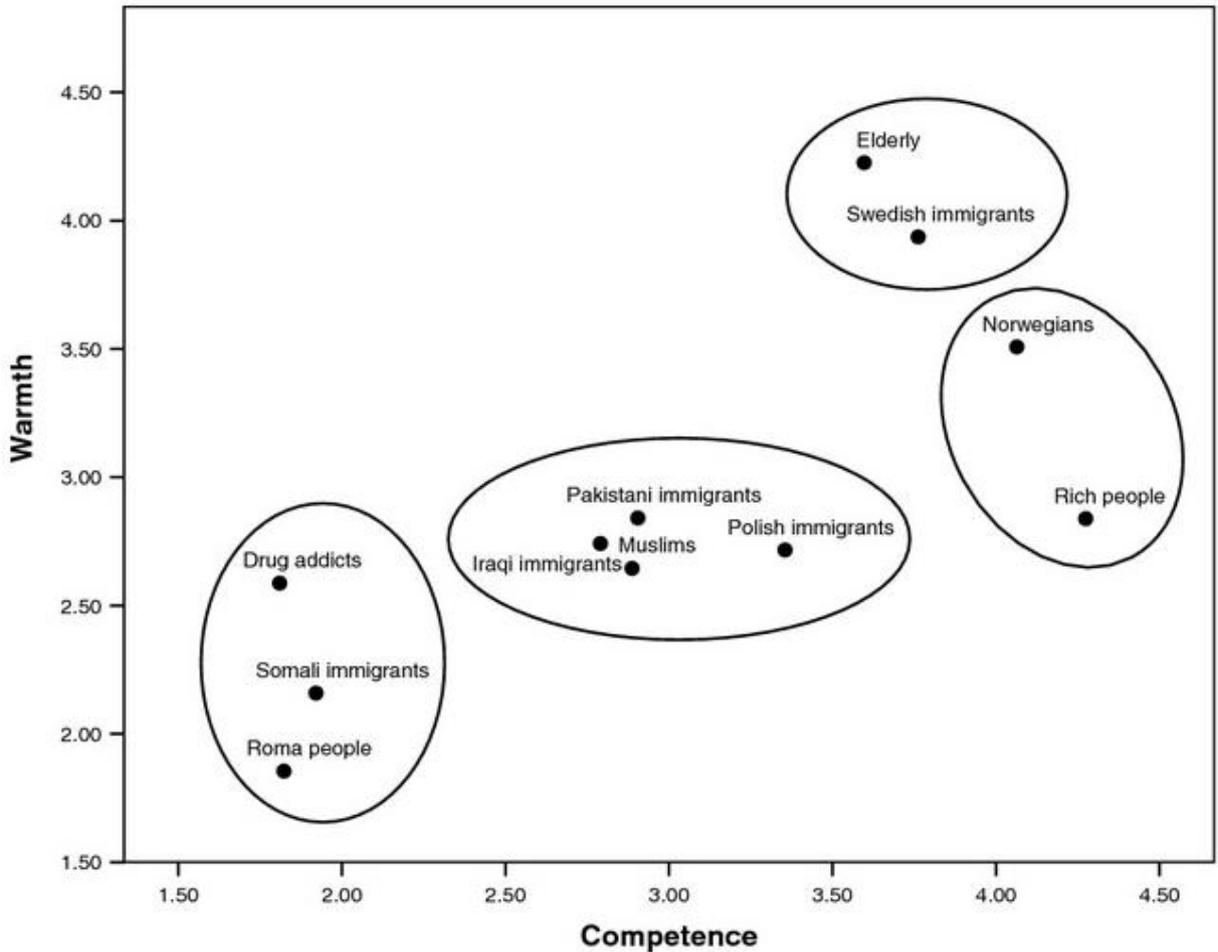


Figure 5: Bye et al.'s Study 2 clustered findings (Bye et al., 2014, p. 474).

The main findings of the survey showed that Poles were generally considered more competent than warm (Bye et al., 2014, p. 474). Poles were perceived as more competent than Pakistani immigrants, Iraqi immigrants and Muslims, but they were approximately equal in warmth. Much in line with the stereotype of the hard-working construction worker. Compared to Swedes however, which were close to Norwegians, Poles were perceived as both less competent and less warm. Through analysing of the results, the study concludes that the “[...] results suggest an ethnic hierarchy in Norwegian society, with Norwegians and Swedes at the top, followed by Poles, and then Pakistani and Iraqi (Muslim) immigrants, with Somali immigrants and Roma people at the bottom.”. Interestingly the hierarchy match the group’s positions in statistics on employment, crime and welfare benefits, which adds to the credibility of the study, and shows how the stereotypes to some extent seemingly reflect reality (Bye et al., 2014, p. 474). The finding that Poles are generally being stereotyped more positively than many other groups can be supported by reports from The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet (IMDi)), which show that Norwegians are generally positive (80%) to job offer-based immigration and the assertion that “Labour immigrants from Eastern Europe makes a useful effort in Norwegian working life” (IMDi, 2014b, pp. 20-21).

2.2.3. Summary and relevance for research question

The existing stereotypes of Poles in Norway can be divided into three major categories: “The hard-working construction worker”, “The oppressed Pole” and “The lazy and criminal self-neglecting Pole”. In general Poles are considered among the most competent immigrant groups in Norway, and excel at routine work and following orders. As the archivist or the subjective researcher might have these stereotypes more or less consciously on their mind during coding and analysis of material, the results may be shaped by expectations on what to find or not to find. In the discussion chapter, the presence of these stereotypes in my material will be discussed.

2.3. Nationality and social mobility

To see media coverage in the context of real situations, the researcher requires a knowledge of Polish labour migrants’ conditions on a global level. This provides a perspective which the researcher can compare the results to. This section will present Marianne Gullestad’s (2002) explanation on how the Norwegian well-established values of egalitarian individualism and sameness, can function as an excluding factor for immigrants. A governmental measure taken to prevent this will also be presented. The second half of the section will present a study performed among Poles on construction sites in London, where the results demonstrate Poles’ own measures taken to stand out from the group label of “Polish labour migrants”.

2.3.1. Egalitarian individualism and ad hoc universalism

Egalitarian individualism has by Marianne Gullestad (2002) been deemed one of the primary dividing factors in modern welfare states. Gullestad argues that the initially inclusive strategy and normalised use of the Norwegian ‘innvandrere’-term strengthens an ‘us’- and ‘them’-mentality, and as such polarises our understanding of immigrants. Jon Horgen Friberg reporting cases of ad hoc universalism at Norwegian construction sites, seem to support this notion as it is utilised as a means of bridging differences.

2.3.1.1. Terminology, egalitarianism and invisible fences

In her article “Invisible Fences: Egalitarianism, Nationalism and Racism” (2002), Marianne Gullestad examines egalitarian individualism as a characteristic feature of the Western world, particularly emphasised in Norway and other Nordic countries. Gullestad understands this characteristic as “[...] a culturally specific way of resolving tensions between the individual and the community.”, arguing that the principle of *likhet* (similar to equality, but also likeness, similarity, identity or sameness) is a central value concept. In order to feel equality, social actors must consider themselves approximately similar (Gullestad, 2002, p. 46). To confirm their individual value, individuals must have a shared starting point, which is achieved through the norm of *imagined sameness*. This understanding can be seen as one of the cornerstones of the welfare state, where the wealthy pay higher taxes than the poor, yet share the same basic rights. Relating this principle to the immigration issue, a central paradox is present; in an interaction style that primarily focuses on commonalities and attempts to ignore differences, the differences between Norwegians and immigrants as social groups become discursively prevalent, despite the norm of confirming every citizen’s individual value (including immigrants). Sameness which to a large extent has been achieved between Norwegian social classes, has at the same time made an inevitable division between Norwegians and immigrants (Gullestad, 2002, p. 47).

Gullestad examines the way we talk about immigrants and immigration in general (Gullestad, 2002, p. 46). She argues that even moderate utterances in the Norwegian public sphere are based on the same common belief of imagined sameness as the uncompromising ones. This shows that regardless of the form of material analysed, they share interpretative frameworks that clearly separates *us* and *them* (Gullestad, 2002, p. 49). By defining something as similar, one inevitably defines something as different.

Following this, Gullestad presents some examples where this phenomenon become apparent. One of them is the leader of the Norwegian Progressive Party using the *innvandrere*-term. According to Gullestad, the term connotes implicit restricted and racialised meanings that is never explicitly uttered (2002, p. 50). However, in its wider lexical meaning it is used somewhat neutrally, which the leader uses to defend his use of the term if accused of having xenophobic tendencies.

Gullestad claims that the term “innvandrere” denotes every person who is not Norwegian and places them in the same group. The totalising term overrides other statuses and identities (2002, p. 50). Another example is an Indian-born woman “feeling Norwegian”, who is denied the label as *Norwegian* by an emeritus professor in Nordic languages, indicating that sameness is unachievable as an immigrant (Gullestad, 2002, pp. 49-50). Egalitarian interpretative frameworks inevitably creates invisible fences with little room for the recognition of immigrants as unique citizens (Gullestad, 2002, p. 56). The specific frames of interpretation that is applied through speaking about the relationship between immigrants and Norwegians constructs, “[...] a difference, which then has to be bridged.” (Gullestad, 2002, p. 51).

Gullestad claims that Norway in cherished narratives is a victim of previous colonisation by Denmark. Despite this past, Norway has become an important arena for peace negotiations. The country is a large contributor to development aid to the Third World and is commissioned to reward the Nobel Peace Prize. Norway thus has a reputation to live up to, which makes immigrants not downplaying their differences seen as provoking hostility. These immigrants

are seen as a threat to the narratives about Norway as a highly tolerant, homogenous, anti-racist and peace-loving country (Gullestad, 2002, p. 59).

2.3.1.2. *Ad hoc universalism and little drips of sameness*

In the article “Nordic labour market institutions and new migrant workers: Polish migrants in Oslo, Copenhagen and Reykjavik” (Friberg et al., 2014), the authors examine how labour market institutions in different Nordic countries has received labour migrants. In the case of Norway, the authors reference concrete measures that has been done to better the conditions among Poles in Norway. The state has shown care for the Polish labour migrants through a case of *ad hoc universalism* (purpose-oriented means of creating sameness). The labour market regulation policies has, during the years leading up to 2014, moved from voluntary collective agreements, towards increased state involvement in wage regulation (Friberg et al., 2014, p. 43). According to Gullestad, such examples of concrete attempts to make imagined sameness, implies that the imagined sameness does not yet exist between Norwegians and immigrants.

2.3.2. Transnational construction of class in the age of globalisation

John Eade, Stephen Drinkwater and Michał P. Garapich’s research report “Class and Ethnicity – Polish Migrants in London” presents findings from a project examining the relationship between ethnicity and social class through the case of migratory movements between Poland and Britain (Eade et al., 2007, p. 2).

2.3.2.1. *Social Mobility and Rite of Passage*

Their findings suggest that capital-raising temporary migrants in Britain relate their social class position to their economic and social position in Poland rather than Britain. The London earnings is thus converted directly into Polish earnings. A strategy to maximise earnings and minimising time spent, explains the British public’s view of Poles as having a strong work ethic. As labour migration by many Poles is seen as a rite of passage, working below qualifications and de-skilling is sometimes seen as a necessary evil, as long as one is acquiring other forms of capital (such as becoming more mature, learning a language, learning self-sustaining skills, living in a global city and learning how to make a life in a capitalist labour market) (Eade et al., 2007, p. 12).

2.3.2.2. *Polish ethnic identity*

One of the most striking findings in the study, according to the authors, was the widespread criticism of Poles by other Poles (Eade et al., 2007, p. 15). Ethnic categorisation performed by the British, can place individualist migrants in the same groups as people they feel different from. Much like in the case of Gullestad’s comments on the *innvandrerterm* being denotive and totalising, the terms *Poles*, *Eastern Europeans* or *labour migrants* carries connotations that some of the migrants find unfavourable. The direct competition between labour migrants also seem to result in deep suspicion, something that can lead to exploitation and inequality (Eade et al., 2007, p. 15). Because of this, many Polish migrants in Great Britain find it important to separate themselves from the Polish group identity:

“We find that by discursive hostility towards co-ethnics, individuals communicate ‘warnings’ against treating ethnicity as the sole basis of trust and cooperation – another aspect of importance of individualistic attitudes of these migrants.” (Eade et al., 2007, p. 16)

In the case of Polish individualists, another important approach to standing out from larger groups is to separate oneself from immigrants in general, to avoid prejudices towards them as part of the immigrant group. This is done through young Poles often emphasising their colour, white, rather than their ethnicity and race, in an attempt to bridge gaps between them and the host country. They focus on sameness rather than differences. (Eade et al., 2007, pp. 17-18)

Albeit it is in no way widespread, similar notions can be found in Norway. An example of the phenomenon of Poles warning natives about Poles can be found at Kvinneguiden.no, a renowned online forum. In a thread called “Fordommer mot polakker” (“Prejudices towards Poles”), an anonymous user asks “Why do so many Norwegians have prejudices towards Poles?”, whereas another user answers “Because Poles warn me about Poles” (Kvinneguiden, 2018).

2.3.3. Summary and relevance for research question

Marianne Gullestad argues that the Scandinavian emphasis on the principle of sameness, in its nature brings challenges to how we speak about and perceive the topic of immigration. Gullestad argues that a concept which aims to bring the Norwegian people through equality, unavoidably creates a division between the Norwegian ‘we’ and immigrants, who are labelled with the totalising “innvandrere”-term. In the discussion chapter, the principle of sameness will be discussed in relation to the distribution and development of sympathetic and unsympathetic portrayals present in the NRK’s coverage. The research of Eade et al. on the Poles own attempts to achieve sameness, through separating themselves from the immigrant label, will also be discussed in the context of the results.

2.4. Polish Labour Migration in migration film

To understand the development of portrayals of Poles, it is valuable to have a wide understanding of possible portrayals found in previous research with different approaches. The following project has clear parallels with my thesis, except for two major factors; the focus is on fictional migration film in contrary to broadcasting, and the study looks at European film at large in contrast to my project which examines a single nations coverage. The relevance for my project may not seem immediately clear, but in comparing the study with the other research presented, clear similarities became apparent. More on this in the summary on the next page.

2.4.1. Phases in Polish labour migration in migration film

In “Londoners and Outlanders: Polish Labour Migration through the European Lens” (Van Heuckelom, 2013), Kris Van Heuckelom conducts a diachronic survey of Polish labour migrants in European cinema, attempting to make a description of trends in how Poles are depicted. In using concrete movies as examples, he shows how this has developed over time.

2.4.1.1. Depolarisation of Poles

Following the enactment of martial law in 1981, particularly film-makers in France and the United Kingdom, started featuring “[...] Polish intellectuals, artists and political activists who – while living in exile – try to come to terms with the dramatic situation in their home country.” (Van Heuckelom, 2013, p. 213). This is visible in Jerzy Skolimowski’s movie *Moonlighting* from 1982. The movie focuses on employment-driven migration from Poland, marking the beginning of a new paradigm in contrast to the previous tradition of polarised Eastern Bloc characters either being characters the West European audience should fear or sympathise with. (Van Heuckelom, 2013, pp. 214-215).

2.4.1.2. Turning Troublemakers into Problem Solvers

The fall of the Iron Curtain marks another shift in the depiction of Poles. Whereas pre-1989 films often focused on the fatality of the migration project, the fall of Communism seems to have had implications for the portrayal of Polish migrant characters. The change is primarily manifested through inter-ethnic romances being introduced, and the foreign jobseekers triggering “[...] emotional healing and change within the host community.” (Van Heuckelom, 2013, p. 219).

2.4.1.3. From ‘Outlander’ to ‘Inlander’

Van Heuckelom’s findings further indicate that also the EU-expansion of 2004 had clear implications for the portrayal of Poles, filtering out a new set of *outlanders*, excluding the Poles from this group. The new outlander-group consists of nationalities like Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians – all the migrants who are excluded from the established European integration, and who cannot migrate legally (Van Heuckelom, 2013, p. 227). He claims that following 2004 “Poles are now identified as equal partners within Europe’s new political and economic space, at least in strictly legal terms.”. This inclusion thus changes Poles from being depicted as outlanders to being depicted as *inlanders*.

2.4.2. Summary and relevance for research question

Seen in relation to Gullestad’s division between ‘we’ and ‘them’ and Friberg & Golden’s three phases in Polish-Norwegian immigration history, central connections become apparent. The changing of phases in migration film has clear parallels with the phases in Polish-Norwegian immigration history, where events such as the declaration of martial law in 1981, the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 and the EU-expansion in 2004 has immediate consequences for the portrayal of Poles. Such changes in portrayals can include the concept of the Poles’ transition from ‘outlander’ to ‘inlander’, terms reflecting the ‘we’ inside, and the ‘them’ outside Marianne Gullestad’s invisible fences (cf. above). The question thus becomes to what extent these phases and changes in portrayal can be identified in the results of my research.

2.5. Explicit mentioning of nationality

In searching for, and coding portrayals in a data material, one must be aware of the tendency to emphasize nationality in cases related to crime, as well as downplaying nationality in cases *not* related to crime. It should also be stressed that not mentioning nationality can be interpreted as an indication of integration, and that these factors combined has implications on the general picture of immigrants. I will here give a short description of quantitative research related to these challenges, published by the Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity.

2.5.1. Media’s coverage of immigration and nationality

The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi) regularly publishes reports on issues related to integration and immigration. In these reports there are several mentions of media’s tendency to downplay nationality in some cases, and emphasise it in other cases.

In a survey asking Norwegian respondents about their opinion on the medias’ portrayal of immigrants, 17% answers that the image is too positive, 31% says it is too negative, 29% says it is balanced and 24% has not answered (IMDi, 2014b, p. 38). None of the groups stand out remarkably, but “too positive” is the lowest one. Seen in relation to another report from the same directorate this seems a reasonable estimate, reflecting reality. National background is rarely explicitly mentioned or emphasised when the immigrant speaks as “citizens in society”

or experts. It may seem like nationality is not important except if the article itself examines immigration or integration as its primary theme (IMDi, 2009, p. 43). Another report explicitly examining immigration and integration in Norwegian media concludes that the media most often inform about immigrants' backgrounds in cases of criminal action. It is also often mentioned when the theme is labour market, begging and sexual assault. (IMDi, 2014a, p. 27). In a list of cases where ethnicity or nationality usually is mentioned, Poland is mentioned as a homeland for smugglers (IMDi, 2014a, p. 28). The innvandrers-term is most frequently used in newspaper articles that has negative themes. The individual's background is of less importance when there are news of a positive nature or when the individual is portrayed as resourceful (IMDi, 2014a, p. 32).

2.5.2. Summary and relevance for research question

The numbers presented by IMDi show that Norwegian media tend to be focusing mostly on negative issues related to immigrants. If one assumes that these trends also applies to the NRK, this can be expected to have implications for the results, as one can expect that unsympathetic portrayals are more prevalent while sympathetic portrayals are downplayed. It will therefore be appropriate to see the results in relation to these findings.

2.6. Comparing Norwegian and Polish values

Large amounts of data are fit for indicating large, general trends. It should be examined to what extent the results of this study can be reflected by quantitative material on differences in national values. I will therefore in the following describe the relation between Polish and Norwegian culture and values, based on research tools that has been made with international comparability in mind. I will investigate the Hofstede insights' country comparison tool for national culture (Hofstede Insights, 2018) and a series of Inglehart-Welzel Cultural Maps based on the World Value Survey (2018). Both can be used as explanatory models for my findings.

2.6.1. Hofstede Insights

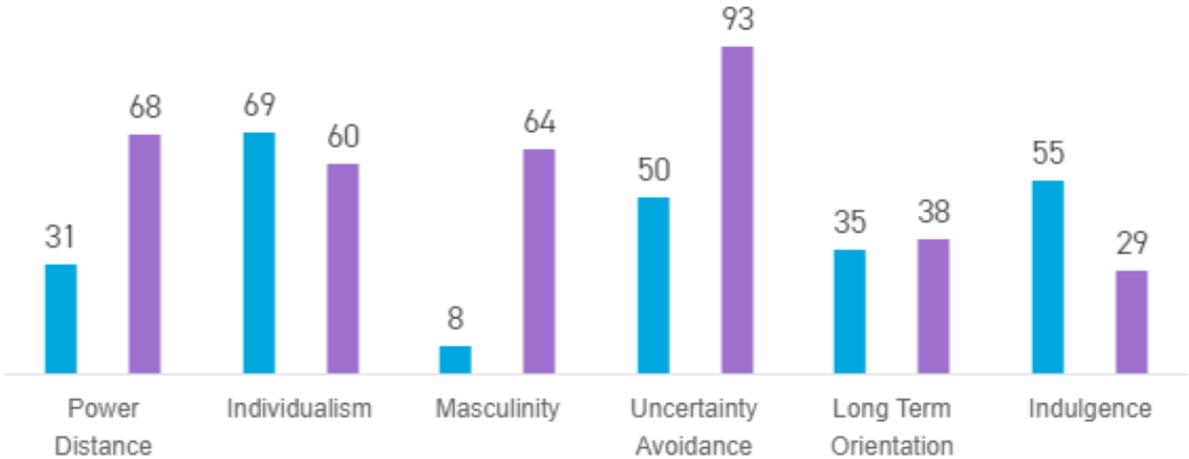


Figure 6: Comparing Norway and Poland using Hofstede Insights' country comparison tool. Norway (Blue) and Poland (Purple). 100 is maximum.

Hofstede Insights' country comparison tool aim to create comparable results between countries for 6 dimensions (the 6-D Model), to in the case of Norway “[...] get a good overview of the deep drivers of Norwegian culture relative to other world cultures.” (Hofstede Insights, 2018). The dimensions are as follows (Hofstede Insights, 2018):

- Power Distance: “the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organisations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally”
- Individualism: “the degree of interdependence a society maintains among its members.”
- Masculinity: “the fundamental issue here is what motivates people, wanting to be the best (Masculine) or liking what you do (Feminine)”
- Uncertainty Avoidance: “the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations and have created beliefs and institutions that try to avoid these”
- Long Term Orientation: “how every society has to maintain some links with its own past while dealing with the challenges of the present and future”
- Indulgence: “the extent to which people try to control their desires and impulses”

In comparing every dimension between Norway and Poland in the country comparison tool, one can see several prevalent similarities and differences:

- The difference in the Power Distance-dimension can be read as showing one of the characteristic features of the welfare state, with the citizens not hesitating to question authorities (often in public), it is important to emphasise however that the value in Norway is not exceptionally low.
- A somewhat high and equal value in the Individualism-dimension shows how both societies maintain a somewhat high extent of interdependence among its members, both being modern developed countries.
- Poland is higher in the Masculinity-dimension (63) than Norway (8), which is very low, indicating Poland's culture being based more on the value of “wanting to be the best”. Norway's culture is more focused on “liking what you do”.
- Poland, through the Uncertainty Avoidance-dimension, seem more concerned about threatening situations than Norway, being the only exceptionally high score in figure 6.
- Both countries have somewhat similar (medium-low) values in the Long Term Orientation-dimension, showing a certain link to the past but not a large extent of concern.
- Norway has a higher level in the Indulgence-dimension than Poland.

2.6.2. World Value Survey

Political scientists Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, commissioned by the World Value Survey (2018), has made a series of cultural maps based on the survey's data. There are two major dimensions in these grids, with the horizontal dimension spanning from Survival Values to Self-Expression Values and the vertical dimension spanning from Traditional Values to Secular-rational Values. The four dimensions is defined as the following (World Value Survey, 2018):

- *Survival values* place emphasis on economic and physical security. It is linked with a relatively ethnocentric outlook and low levels of trust and tolerance.

- *Self-expression values* give high priority to environmental protection, growing tolerance of foreigners, gays and lesbians and gender equality, and rising demands for participation in decision-making in economic and political life.
- *Traditional values* emphasise the importance of religion, parent-child ties, deference to authority and traditional family values. People who embrace these values also reject divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide. These societies have high levels of national pride and a nationalistic outlook.
- *Secular-rational values* have the opposite preferences to the traditional values. These societies place less emphasis on religion, traditional family values and authority. Divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide are seen as relatively acceptable. (Suicide is not necessarily more common.)

The model reflects improved living conditions combined with the transit from development country to post-industrial knowledge society through industrialization, by moving countries from the lower-left corner to the upper-right corner (World Value Survey, 2018). Here follow the maps from 1996, 2008 and 2014.

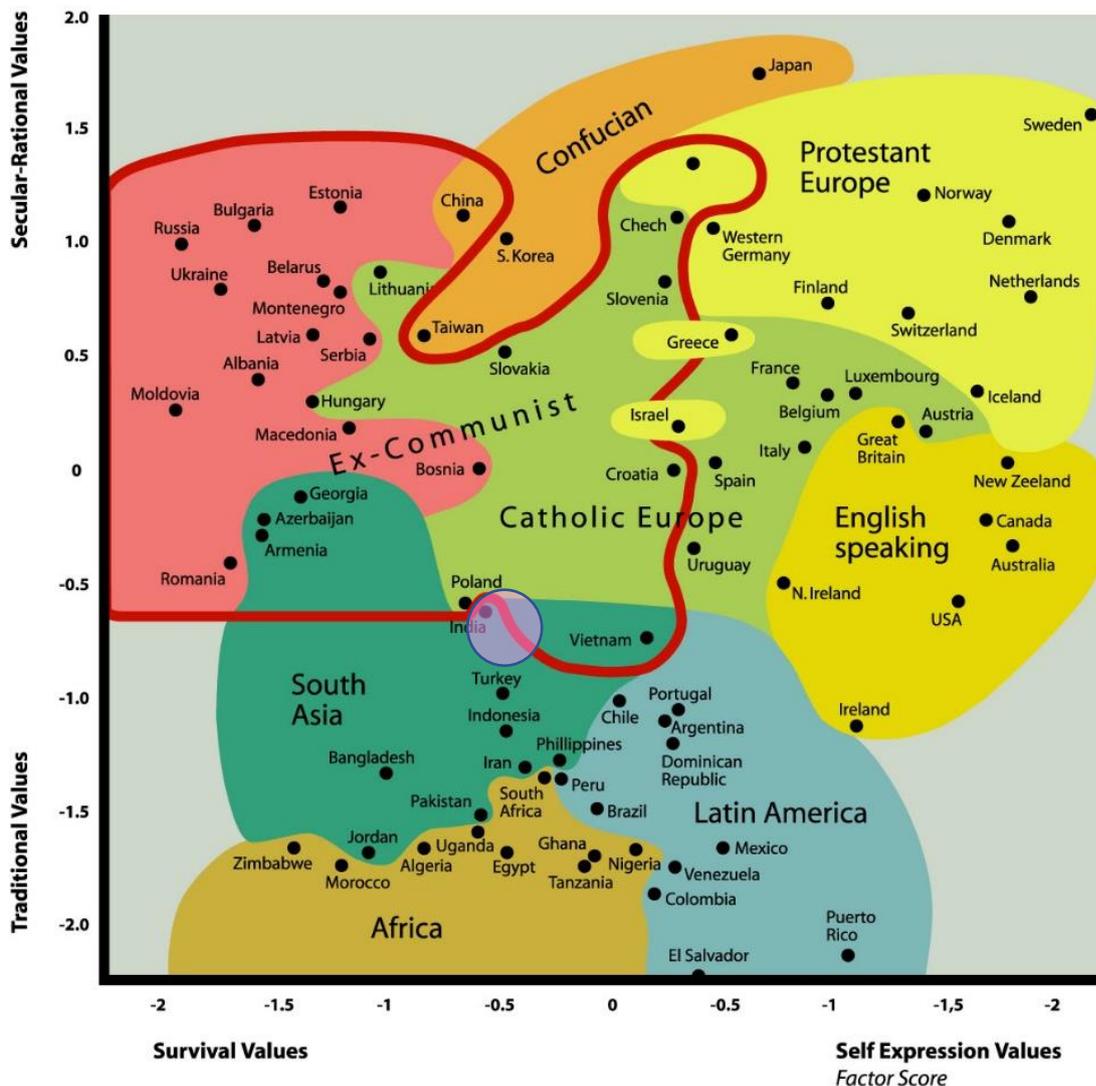


Figure 7: Cultural Map of the World (1996) (World Value Survey, 2018). Poland (marked in pink) can be seen at the middle-bottom of Ex-Communist countries.

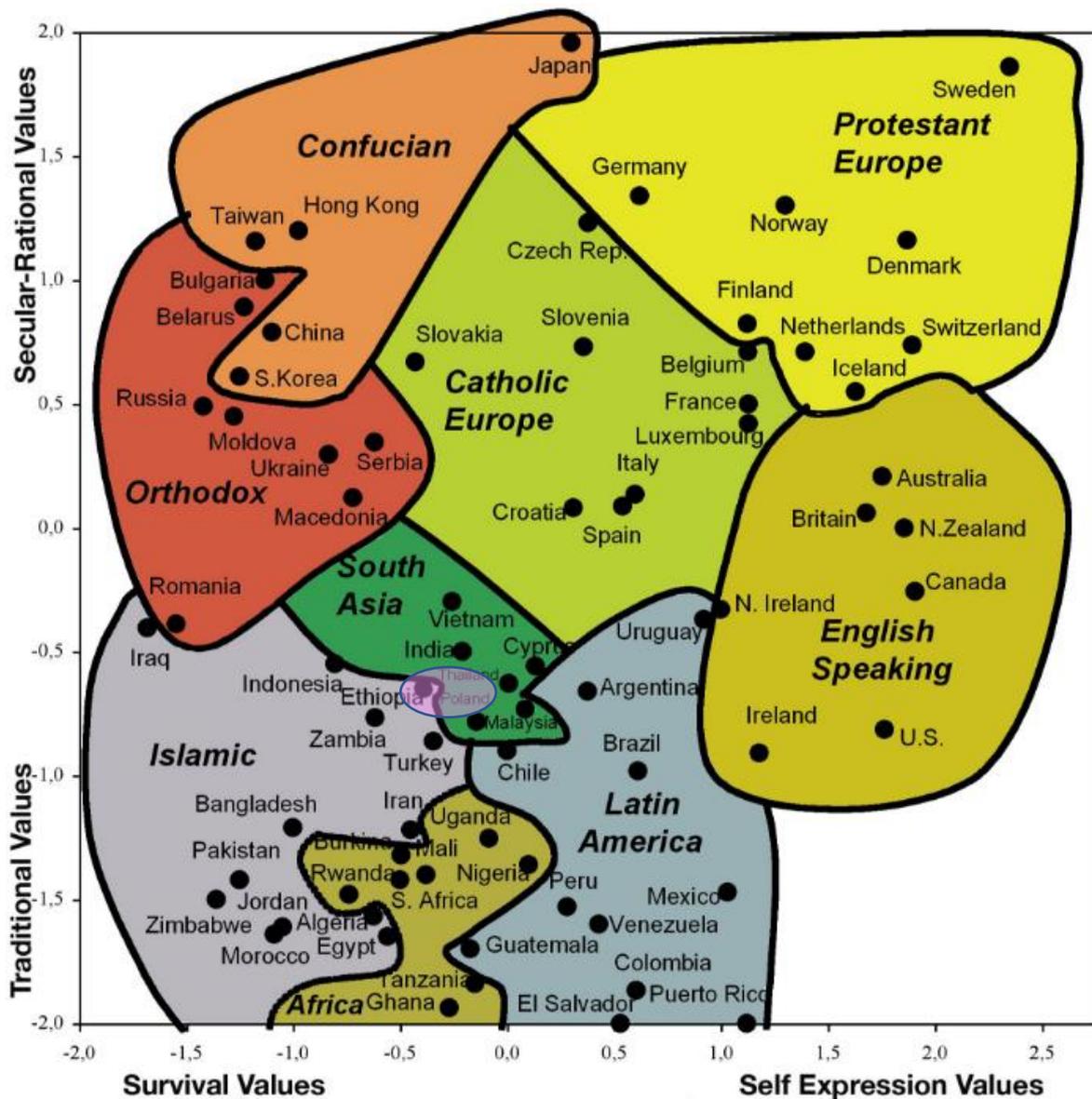


Figure 8: Cultural Map of the World (2008) (World Value Survey, 2018). Poland (marked in pink) can be seen at the top-right of Islamic countries, bordering to South Asia. This does not imply that Poland is Islamic, rather that the values of the dimensions are more similar to those found in Islamic countries.

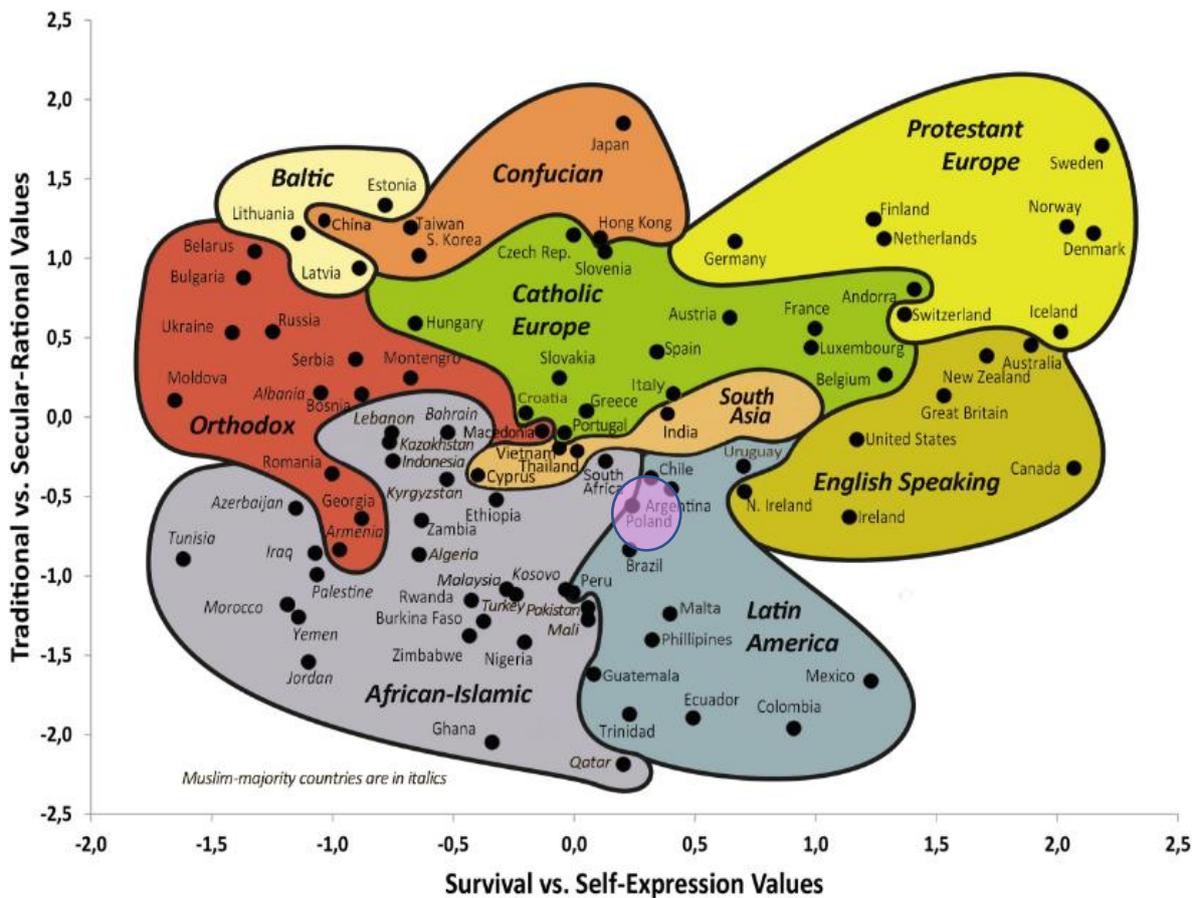


Figure 9: Cultural Map of the World (2014) (World Value Survey, 2018). Poland (marked in pink) can be seen towards the top of the border between African-Islamic and Latin America.

Studying Poland in these cultural maps reveal a country often in a culturally lonely position among countries which has no immediate geographical proximity. In the cultural map from 1996 (figure 7) Poland is located in the Catholic Europe group, but as Poland's development from Traditional Values to Secular-Rational Values stands still and Latin American and African countries develop, Poland gets surrounded by neighbours from other continents. This is seen in the map from 2014 (figure 9). Over time Poland moves rightwards (especially fast from 2008 (-0,4) to 2014(0,3)), indicating a development towards Self Expression Values. Despite being a European developed country, Poland remains in a position at the map where traditionally developing countries are catching up. It is important however to underline that a steady transition is taking place.

Much like Poland, Norway has stood mostly still on the vertical axis, but moved towards more Self-Expression values on the horizontal one. The main difference between the two is that Norway has a stable position in the upper-right corner among other modern European democracies while Poland has a stable position among countries located in South East Asia, Africa and South America. Countries geographically far from Poland.

2.6.3. Summary and relevance for research question

Seen in connection with the focus on sameness and differences prevalent in the rest of the theories presented, substantiating differences through concrete quantitative results as done by Hofstede Insights and the World Value Survey is appropriate. Results on primary subjects and

especially portrayals should be seen context of existing differences in values, which in turn can be suggested as possible explanatory factors for the findings presented. The findings produced and survey performed by Hofstede Insights and the World Value Survey presents several dimensions which can be used as context for my results.

2.7. Summary

In this chapter, a wide range of theories expected to have relevance for my results has been presented. The relative breadth of the question for discussion, *“How can factors such as political situation, social situation, national values and self-understanding, both in Poland and Norway, contribute to shaping the trends in the NRK’s portrayals of Polish immigrants?”*, calls for in-depth examination of a wide selection of theories to be able to spot, trends, similarities and dissimilarities in my results.

3. Methodology

Initially, this chapter gives a presentation of the selected method as well as arguments for selection. This is followed by an introduction and reasoning for the material selected. Following this description of my material, a step-by-step description on how the material was processed is presented. In conclusion there is a discussion on potential methodological sources of error, and the means that has been taken to prevent major errors.

3.1. Introduction

In answering the research question, a combined approach with quantitative and qualitative elements is used. This method maps out historical development through the means of a quantitative study across TV-programmes and TV-reports, and enlighten the decades further through qualitative in-depth analysis of four of the items. This decision is based on an aim to draw the distinct qualities from the two methods which best fit what the research question asks.

The study specifically examines the portrayal of Polish immigrants in the NRK as a case of Polish immigrants in Norwegian television. The empirical material consists of a wide arrange of programmes and TV-reports (N=331), ranging from longer immigrant-themed art programmes to short news items, the latter constituting most of the material. These 331 units, hereinafter referred to as *units*, can be divided into two groups: text-based and audio-visual material. The text-based material are internal programme descriptions produced by NRK archivists, containing key information about the individual units (see attachment 4. for examples). These are the units that are coded to produce the quantitative data material. Of these quantitatively analysed units, four are selected for case study since they especially well illustrate major trends in their corresponding decades. These are watched and analysed in-depth as cases of portrayals of Polish immigrants in the NRK. They make up the basis for my qualitative material.

In an intended objective description of the trade-offs and advantages of case studies versus cross-unit studies, John Gerring defines a case study as “[...] an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units.” (2004, p. 342). He shows how the two methods both have their distinct qualities (2004, p. 346). For simplicity, in relating Gerring’s explanation to the material researched, his *case study* concept will be used to explain the strengths and weaknesses of the qualitative in-depth analysis, and his *cross-unit study* concept to explain the strengths and weaknesses of the quantitative study. Every difference is not mentioned, but instead a selection has been made of those deemed most relevant for the research question asked. While the case study, due to its nature, is fit for descriptive inferences, the cross-unit study is best used for providing causal inferences. Where the case study shines in providing knowledge of a text’s latent levels, the cross-unit study provides width on a manifest level, albeit clearly limited to the values of variables. Case studies are well-suited for comparing with other cases within the same sample. The number-based cross-unit studies, however, are a good fit for producing external representativeness. Case studies, in its nature, are exploratory, in that they generate theory, which then can be tested in cross-unit studies which have their strength in the *confirmatory*.

Using the quantitative study is thus well-suited for generating causal inferences, providing wide spanning knowledge over larger amounts of units, generating external representativeness and testing generated theory. In this study, the advantages of quantitative study are then supplied with the qualitative study’s main strengths, namely being suitable for description, in-depth

reading of smaller amounts of units, internal comparison among cases and lastly theory generation.

Combined, the two methods open for discovery, testing and construction of theory based on qualitative sampling. In combining two methods with distinct strengths, different dimensions within the units can be analysed. As such this study both examines the latent levels of units selected for case study as well as the manifest levels of all units. The study examines both width and sampled depth in the material to open for generating theory for future research – theory which might otherwise be overlooked with choosing only one of the two.

A quantitative study provides great width, but often with a certain lack of depth. A coded analysis will only answer very concrete questions asked in advance, and are rarely open for radical changes over the course of the analysis. If a new variable were to be introduced during the analysis of a material, the analysis would have to start from the beginning. Quantitative studies are otherwise well suited to show development over time in simplified, yet easily readable figures. This grants quantitative studies a unique ability to present a complex reality in simplified models.

Where quantitative approaches require thorough preparations, qualitative research has a more improvisational nature and can change over the course of the study. As dimension in a text is observed and deemed important, the analyst might discover new interesting findings which in turn might be examined further. This gives qualitative examinations a unique ability to investigate the depths of a material.

Conclusively the quantitative study provides a large sampling with shallow analytical depth and the qualitative study consists of a narrow sampling with deeper analytical depth. The quantitative study is well suited for examining the manifest (objectively observable surface) level of the text and the qualitative is well suited for supplying with knowledge of the latent level (the hidden layers of meaning) (Østbye et al., 2013, p. 63). In tandem the two methods provide new possibilities which is not available otherwise. The quantitative and qualitative data works to reinforce or oppose each other. The quantitative findings, as in the case of this project, can also work as cornerstones in the construction of a qualitative analysis.

3.2. Selection of material and preparation for data collection

The empirical material used are internal descriptions of broadcasts retrieved from the NRK's television archive, as well as four selected units for qualitative content analysis. The material was acquired from the 1st to 7th of September 2017 in Oslo, at the organisational headquarters and research centre at Marienlyst. Due to limited time with the databases during my research, eight searches in total were conducted, ranging from wide search terms with tens of thousands of hits to more specified searches containing a couple thousand. These searches were conducted in the NRK's internal programme database SIFT "Fjernsynsarkivet" (Television archive) (see attachment 2.).

Through trial and error and consultation with the archivists at the research centre, I ended up with the following search phrase for the 1970s:

flukt eller flykt* eller arbeid* eller immigra* eller innvand* eller fremmed* eller asyl* eller utlend* eller utland* eller norge* og polen* eller polsk* eller polakk* og 197 i sen*

A rough translation of the search term would be:

flight or refug* or work* or immigra* or foreign* or asyl* or abroad* or norway* and poland* or pol* and 197* i sen*

In this search term, all the words before the first “and” can appear in any volume, but the results will only appear if the terms are seen together with “Poland” or “pol*” and “197* i sen”. The *-truncation opens for every possible ending. The “i sen”-code specifies initial broadcast time. For every decade I thus changed the number to match the corresponding decade; “198* i sen” (1980s), “199* I sen” (1990s) and “200* I sen” (2000s).

This retrieved 1886 search results. They were copied to Microsoft Word documents and systematized into decades. This was done to make manageable overviews for the continued organisation. The units were once more reviewed and divided into relevant and irrelevant units. The irrelevant units were discarded. The criteria for relevant units were as follows:

1. The unit must feature Pole(s) explicitly located in Norway.
2. The unit must deal with current affairs when at the time of broadcast, excluding e.g. historical documentaries covering the past.
3. Units clearly considering official state visits are excluded.
4. Units considering large audience masses at concrete events, such as sports events, Eurovision Song Contest and Nobel Peace Prize ceremonies are excluded. Exceptions are made if a report concerns a Pole explicitly living in Norway being in focus, such as in cases of concrete sports reports concerning a Pole playing football for a Norwegian team.

This process yielded 331 text-based units relevant for data collection (N=331). 31 of these were available for streaming in the NRK’s online broadcasting service (NRK, 2018). These 331 units as such constitute my empirical material for quantitative analysis and basis for qualitative analysis. They were organised in a chronological overview in Microsoft Excel (attachment 5.). The overview contains the following key information variables on every unit:

1. Title
2. Series
3. Episode
4. Category
5. Date

The coded values of the five variables are directly acquired from the SIFT descriptions.

3.3. Execution of data collection

The data collection was parted in two. Conducting the quantitative analysis first, the results of this made the basis for the qualitative content analysis. In the following pages, an explanation of the decisions and processes that took place in the quantitative and qualitative content analysis will be given.

3.3.1. The quantitative content analysis

The quantitative content analysis was conducted through coding the individual units with three variables; the *primary subject* of the unit, *primary portrayal* and *sub-portrayal* of the Pole(s) in the unit. Through uncovering the values of these variable, the coding produced quantitative results which can give a description of the development over time. A presentation of the choice of variables and values, as well as the final codebook is presented on the coming pages.

3.3.1.1. *Selecting variables and values*

In examining the large quantitative material's use of portrayal and subject, using proper and well-thought-out variable values is essential. The selected variables use the same values as used in two of the variables present in the codebook for SCANPUB's major quantitative content analysis of newspapers: "Subjects present in the text (in relation to immigration)" and "Immigration frame" (attachment 1.). A lot of resources have been put into refining and adjusting these variables and values to in the best way possible cover the wide span of subjects in immigration-related items. An in-depth explanation on the individual value's criteria can be found in the SCANPUB quantitative content analysis codebook (attachment 1.). Due to the limited scope of the project and the establishment of pragmatic boundaries, my units were coded by the single *most* prevalent subject and portrayal. Not by every single one present.

While the variable for primary subject, with its associated values, stayed the same as in the SCANPUB codebook, I do not utilise the SCANPUB's "Immigration frame" variable. I speak of "Primary portrayal of Pole(s) in the unit" instead. This decision was made as framing emphasises the broadcaster's point of view conducted through conscious or less conscious decisions in the production of a programme or news item. Frames are hardly readable in a text-based reproduction of a broadcast. In the decision to use the term *portrayal*, the focus is on what role the Pole(s) in the unit has in relation to the primary *subject* of the unit. Through using the portrayal variable, I examined the manifest level of the text-based descriptions in opposition to frames, which would have examined the more latent meanings. In doing this, the results are not able to say anything about the explicit framing done in the NRK's production of a programme or news item. They will, however, be able to show what stories, containing immigrant Poles, the NRK decide to broadcast, and whether the Poles are the *cause*, *victim* or *hero* of the story.

3.3.1.2. *Codebook*

Primary subject of the unit

1. Social/Health care/Welfare state
2. Education
3. Work
4. Integration policy
5. Family and social customs
6. Majority population's attitudes towards immigrants/immigration
7. Racism/discrimination
8. Religion
9. National security
10. Crime
11. Accidents
12. National and social economy
13. Immigration as a partisan-political issue
14. Arrival and return of legal immigrants
15. Illegal migration and human trafficking
16. Civil society organisations
17. Multiculturalism
18. Norwegian/Swedish/Danish national identity
19. Culture, arts and entertainment

20. Sports
21. Immigration debate
22. The role of media
23. Suppression of women
24. Immigrants' political and civil rights
25. Parallel societies
26. Adoption
27. NONE OF THESE SUBJECTS ARE IDENTIFIABLE

Primary portrayal of Pole(s) in the unit

- Victim
- Hero
- Threat
- NONE OF THESE PORTRAYALS ARE IDENTIFIABLE

Sub-portrayal of Pole(s) in the unit

- Victim/Global economy
- Victim/Humanitarian
- Victim/War
- Victim/Racism-Discrimination
- Victim/Other
- Hero/Cultural Diversity
- Hero/Integration
- Hero/Good worker
- Hero/Other
- Threat/Jobs
- Threat/Public order
- Threat/Fiscal
- Threat/Social
- NONE OF THESE PORTRAYALS ARE IDENTIFIABLE/NONE

3.3.2. The qualitative content analysis

As will be explained, the qualitative content analysis in large is based on the results from the quantitative analysis. This is therefore done secondly. Here follows a short presentation of the units selected for the qualitative content analysis, as well as the steps conducted in the qualitative content analysis.

3.3.2.1. *Selecting units for case study*

With background in the results on subjects and portrayals, as well as having seen all 31 broadcasts available for streaming online, one unit from every decade, representing the trends in the decade, was selected. Each case represents a distinct format or genre. The shows in the 1970s and 1980s has Pole(s) in studio as segments and parts of a greater whole, while the two documentaries in the following decades focus on the Poles from start to finish, covering them in the field. The segments will therefore be the main objects for analysis in the case of the two first units, although they will be seen in the context of the entirety of the programme. In the latter two programmes, the entirety of both units is analysed. The selected units are as follows:

“Saturday Night with Erik Bye”, December 8th (Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye, 1973): a Saturday entertainment series with individually thematised programmes. This episode is presented as “unusually international” in the programme description. In this show, the host Erik Bye interviews a whole range of immigrants living in Norway live in studio. Segments are separated with interruptions of cultural performances from the representatives of different nationalities.

“The Saturday Editorial”, December 12th (Lørdagsredaksjonen, 1981): eight years after the above programme, Erik Bye hosts a current affairs report programme in a more serious tone, albeit still with a minor element of entertainment. The programme is aired in a time of great unrest in Poland, with socially engaged factory workers under the leadership of Lech Wałęsa, chairperson of the labour union Solidarność, making demands on the state. Bye has Polish guests commenting on the situation in Poland and requests the Norwegian people’s solidarity and donations.

“This is our Mallorca”, August 15th (Dette er vårt Mallorca, 1991): an investigative documentary focusing on the groups of Poles coming to Norway *prior* to the EU-expansion in 2004 to work in the black market economy during the summers. This documentary follows two Poles in a group living in their cars at a rest stop near Drammen in eastern Norway. The reporter follows the Poles’ daily life and examines how they are received by the local community, interviewing Norwegians on foreign workers and the hiring of illegal labour.

“Focal point: Proud, Polish and poor”, February 28th (Brennpunkt: Stolt. polsk og fattig, 2006): as a contrast to “This is our Mallorca” showing Polish labourers conditions prior to 2004, this final documentary investigates the Polish labourers’ conditions in Norway *following* the EU-expansion of 2004. As a part of the investigative “Brennpunkt”-series this documentary covers a large case covering unworthy living conditions, fake contracts and underpaid and uninsured Polish workers on Norwegian construction sites.

3.3.2.2. Basis for analysis

The selection and analysis took place through a series of steps, aiming to formulate specific questions to be answered in the individual analysis. This is based on the notion of textual analysis as a method asking a text concrete questions (Østbye et al., 2013, pp. 66). This is the step-by-step process used to produce the results:

1. Every selected unit is watched, while doing observations and taking notes of production-related measures and decisions that is deemed particularly interesting for the research question.
2. A series of questions is formulated based on the observations from these initial viewings:
 - a. How are the Polish immigrant(s) (in the unit) apparently received by the Norwegian(s) (in the unit)?
 - b. What is the role and viewpoint of the reporter?
 - c. Whose voices are we hearing and what are they talking about?
 - d. What language is used and what are the implications of this?

At this point I start focusing on a single unit at a time:

3. The programme is viewed once more with the observations done across the units and the questions in mind.
4. A first draft is written.

5. The selected programme is seen one last time to compare with the final findings and formulations of these, before revising.

3.4. Methodological challenges

A project of this scope presents several potential methodological challenges. These include insecurities such as my understanding as an individual, and e.g. the design of search terms, the narrowing down of search results, and unavoidably subjective coding of subject and portrayal variables. In the following sections, methodological challenges and sources of error will be discussed. The attempted solutions to these challenges, to improve the legitimacy of the final results, will also be presented.

3.4.1. Subjective considerations

3.4.1.1. *The subjective researcher*

In identifying primary portrayals and subjects, assessments of a subjective nature unavoidably take place. The production of empirical material in my quantitative analysis and qualitative in-depth analysis is at each stage a result of interpretations based on who the researcher is. Because of this it can be argued that the quantitative analysis, in addition to the qualitative, is also in fact the product of qualitative assessments. When qualitative assessments are involved there is always room for misinterpretations or readings that would not necessarily be widespread or reflect the real world. I will however argue that this also can be one of the strengths of qualitative method – that it leaves room for interpretations that cannot necessarily be done on the text’s manifest level.

3.4.1.2. *The subjective archivist*

The programme descriptions retrieved from SIFT provides a lot of information about the broadcasts, but are still the NRK archivist’s subjective interpretations on what to include. Due to its nature as a written text, an exact reproduction of a broadcasted programme is impossible. The impossibility of translating a broadcast inevitably makes the SIFT descriptions a subjective interpretation of the media. This leads to the foundation of the data material, the text-based overviews, in itself being the product of subjective viewings. An employee at the research centre informed me that the primary application of SIFT descriptions is to be *searchable* for concrete names and issues, so that the material can easily be found and reused as archive footage. Because of this, the information in the descriptions must be expected to be sufficient in describing a subject, and as such a portrayal in relation to the subject. One should also assume a certain occupational professionalism amongst archivists working in the NRK.

3.4.2. Data quality

3.4.2.1. *Origins of the “innvandrer”-term*

One of the archivists at the research centre shared her concern that the term “innvandrer”, which is part of the search phrase, might not have been used in the time when the programmes were aired. Both “innvandrer” and “immigrant” are approved Norwegian spellings of “immigrant” but colloquially the term “innvandrer” is more prevalent in Norwegian everyday speech. The term directly translates to “in-wanderer”. The earliest archive hit of the word is in the title of a news item from 24th of July 1968: “Oslo: Problemer med arbeidsløse innvandrere” or “Oslo: Problems with unemployed immigrants”.

I have since tracked the term back to the beginning of the 20th century through searching the National Library. The earliest recorded use of the term is in a Norwegian-English dictionary

from 1911 (Gleditsch, 1911, p. 359). This is therefore not a major source of error in my study, yet the archivist's concern raises an important question and potential error source – the fact that terms change over time.

3.4.2.2. *Explicit and implicit nationality*

In some units, the nationality of the affected are not of importance, yet it is mentioned explicitly, such as in “Stavanger: The Sports corner” and “Skien: Training programme for cerebral palsy”. This excludes similar cases where the archive for some reason or the other has refrained from mentioning the nationality.

The EU-expansion of 2004 arguably made Poland feel less foreign than in a long time, something which can lead to an understanding and a sense of community making the explicit mentioning of nationality in archived items less important (assuming that not mentioning nationality explicitly is a sign of the individual or group being well-integrated). A counter-argument to this uncertainty however is the research showing big cultural differences between Norwegians and Poles (cf. above). At least in the period of the research.

To get included in the search result the item is thus required to contain an explicit mention of nationality. This is a definite requirement to produce relevant hits in the NRK's SIFT database. My material therefore exclusively consists of items where the Polish aspect already has been given mentionable importance. As a lack of explicitly mentioning nationality also might be perceived as an indicator of successful integration, the number of unrecorded (but relevant) items probably grows at a steady rate (assuming that integration is increasing). One must however here, as have been previously mentioned, expect a certain professionalism and continuity in the routines of the archivists employed by the national broadcaster.

3.4.2.3. *On the use of mutually exclusive values*

Even though the goal of using a *single* portrayal and subject value per unit in the quantitative analysis is a pragmatic choice to uncover the most prevalent ones, such a decision might have repercussions for the legitimacy of the data collected. Operating with mutually exclusive values throughout the search for primary portrayals and subjects, practically weeds out some of the nuances which could strengthen the material. This was however a necessary pragmatic decision due to time-constraints and technical limitations in the Excel-spreadsheet used for mapping the phenomenon quantitatively.

3.4.2.4. *End of archive*

The general search on the number of items covering Poles show a major decrease once it reaches 2009. Items on Poles explodes in the period from 2004, which is reasonable, seeing the increase in Polish immigration to Norway following the EU-expansion. After reaching a peak year in 2008 however, the number of search hits goes down to 1 in 2009 and 0 in 2010, numbers which haven't been recorded since 1984. Seeing as we now live in a time where this presumably should increase, or at the very least stabilise, this probably signifies an end of archive.

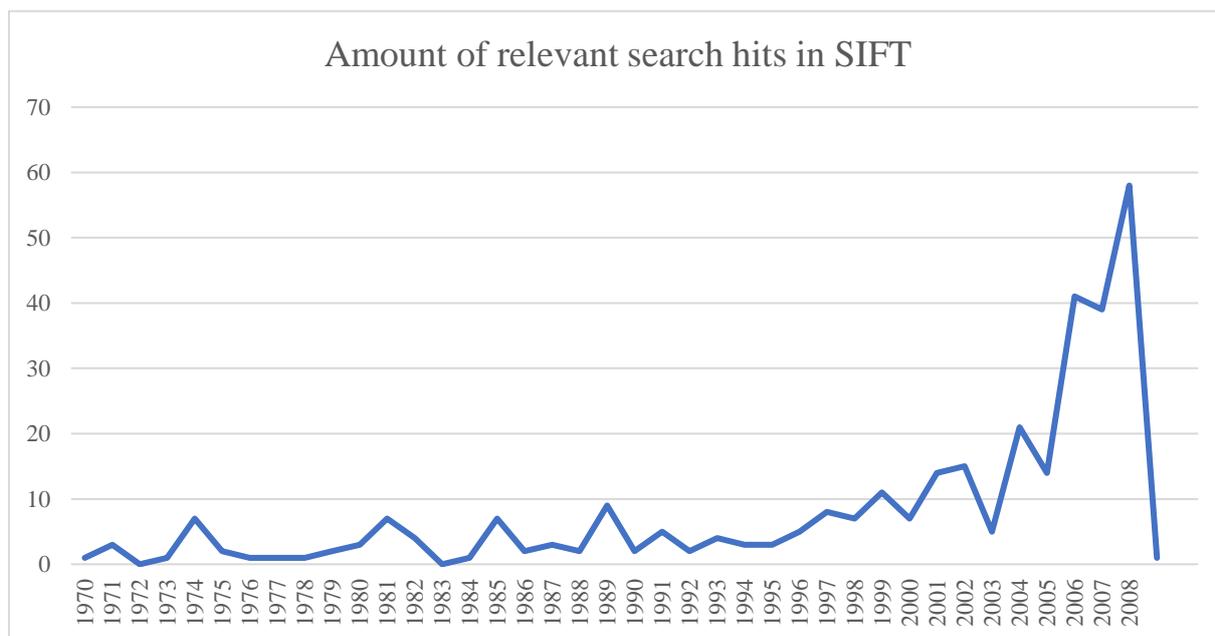


Figure 10: Amount of relevant search hits in SIFT per year. Notice the stagnation in 2009.

The expansion of the NRK archive is a constantly ongoing process which at the time of my research had a major impact on the search hits after 2009. This resulted in a short list of *only* 68 hits in the decade following 2010, compared to the previous decade's 1001. The initial research question of the study aimed to examine the period from 1970 to 2015 but the lack of a complete archive the last 6 years would have a misleading impact on the general results of the research. For this reason, I made the pragmatic choice to end the project's material for analysis in 2008. I have since acquired an internal information sheet from the NRK called "Informasjon om arkivene og databasene" ("Information about the archives and databases"), where the NRK confirms my suspicion of an incomplete archive by explicitly, in its description of the "Fjernsynsarkivet" (the television archive) writing "*Television programmes from 1985 until 2009, and news from 1982.*" (attachment 2.). It should be stressed that both 1972 and 1983 has zero hits. Especially the last one is unlikely as this was in a period of mass flight from Poland, something defining the prior and following year. This was also the year that the Nobel Peace Prize was commissioned to the Solidarność leader Lech Wałęsa. It is important to stress that even though the numbers might not be right until 1985, one can assume that this affects the statistics of all subject matters and genres somewhat equally, and therefore there is still a good chance of the numbers giving an approximately accurate picture of the subjects and portrayals shown. The sheer number of items however does not reflect reality. The material is 331 units over 38 years, making up 8,7 units per year.

3.5. Summary

In conducting a research project, the method used is of utmost importance. The quality of the results presented will always be a direct consequence of the material and method's quality. For this reason, planning well, finding the right method for the right empiric material is essential. So is an awareness of the different methods' strengths and weaknesses.

4. Results and interpretations

In the following chapter I will present the results from the analyses, and provide answers to the supplementary research questions. The chapter opens with a short introduction showing the growth of units over the period studied. This is followed by a quantitative result section structured with the supplementary research questions in mind. In addition to presenting results on the total distribution and development of primary subjects and portrayals, the quantitative results section gives a chronological overview of development of portrayals through the decades. The qualitative results section is divided into four, one subsection for every programme analysed.

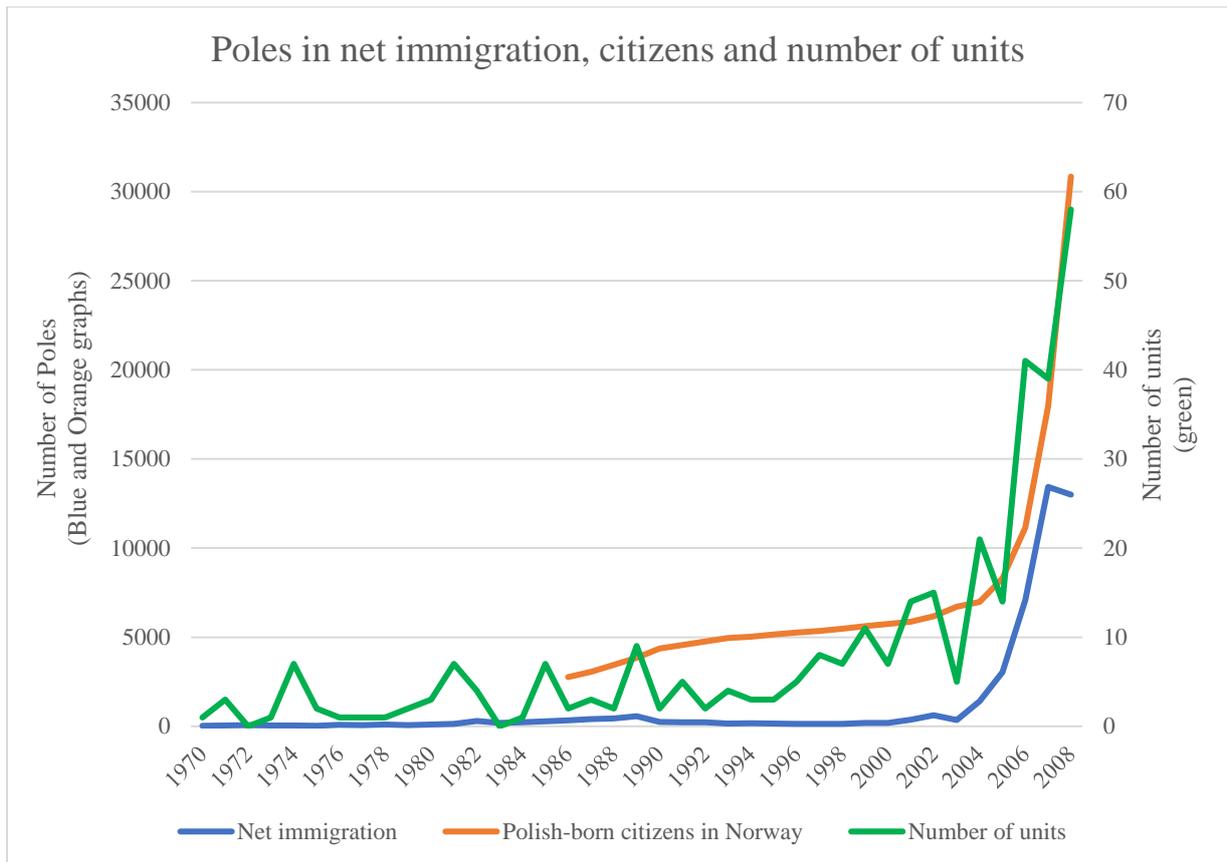


Figure 11: Number of units in my material. Net immigration retrieved from Statistics Norway (2018a). Polish-born citizens in Norway retrieved from Statistics Norway (2018c). Note that Polish-born citizens were not registered prior to 1986.

Figure 11 shows the development of Poland-related items broadcasted by the NRK in the 38-year period. In addition, graphs for net immigration and Polish-born citizen count has been added. All the graphs seemingly follow the same development. Most notably the radical increase in immigration in 2004 is reflected in a similar radical increase in number of units.

4.1. Quantitative results

The following figures and tables present the quantitative results as they are, while the according texts should be considered descriptions and discussions of the results. In reading the quantitative results, the supplementary research questions should be kept in mind:

- “What have been the primary subjects in the NRK’s broadcasts on Polish immigrants in Norway?”
- “How have the NRK’s central portrayal of Polish immigrants in Norway developed over time?”
- “To what extent are the NRK’s portrayals of Polish immigrants in Norway balanced between sympathetic and unsympathetic?”
- “What trends, in terms of the NRK’s portrayals of Polish immigrants in Norway, define the decades?”

4.1.1. Primary subjects of units

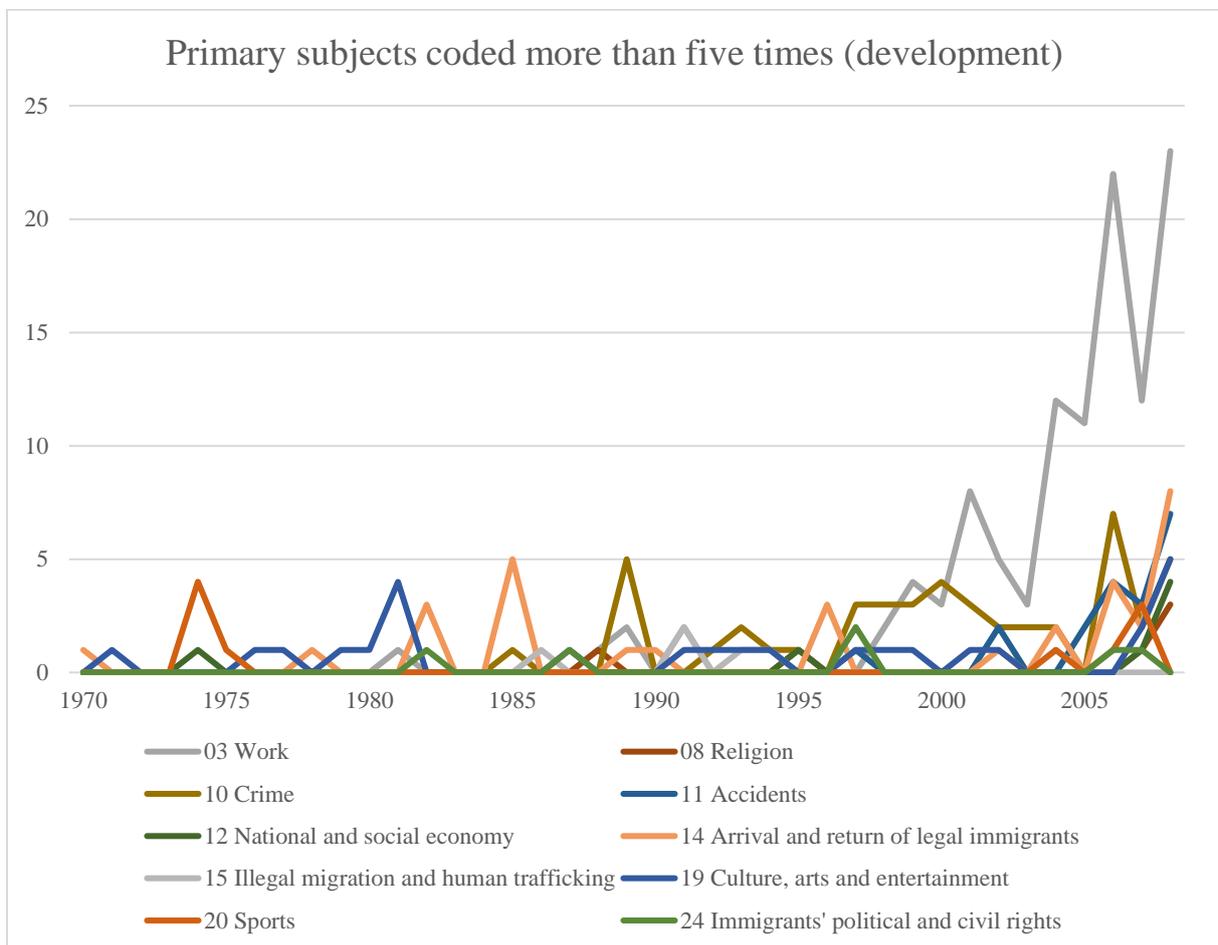


Figure 12: Development of primary subjects. The graph only shows the subjects which were coded more than five times. Mind that 1972 and 1983 were found to have no units at all (cf. above).

Due to the relatively low number of units analysed (331) compared to the long period and high number of values, this graph has a limited scope in terms of available discovery. The main find is the radical increase in work-related units following the EU-expansion of 2004, as well as the somewhat stable amount of crime subjects present in the ten years leading up to the EU-

expansion. Some of the tips shown during the 1970s and 1980s, can be tracked down to individual events that got much attention in their according years. These events are as follows:

- 1974: The climbing of the mountainside Trolltunga by a group Poles
- 1982 and 1985: Mass flight from Poland because of martial law
- 1989: The Pole Jacek Stocki killing two Pakistanis

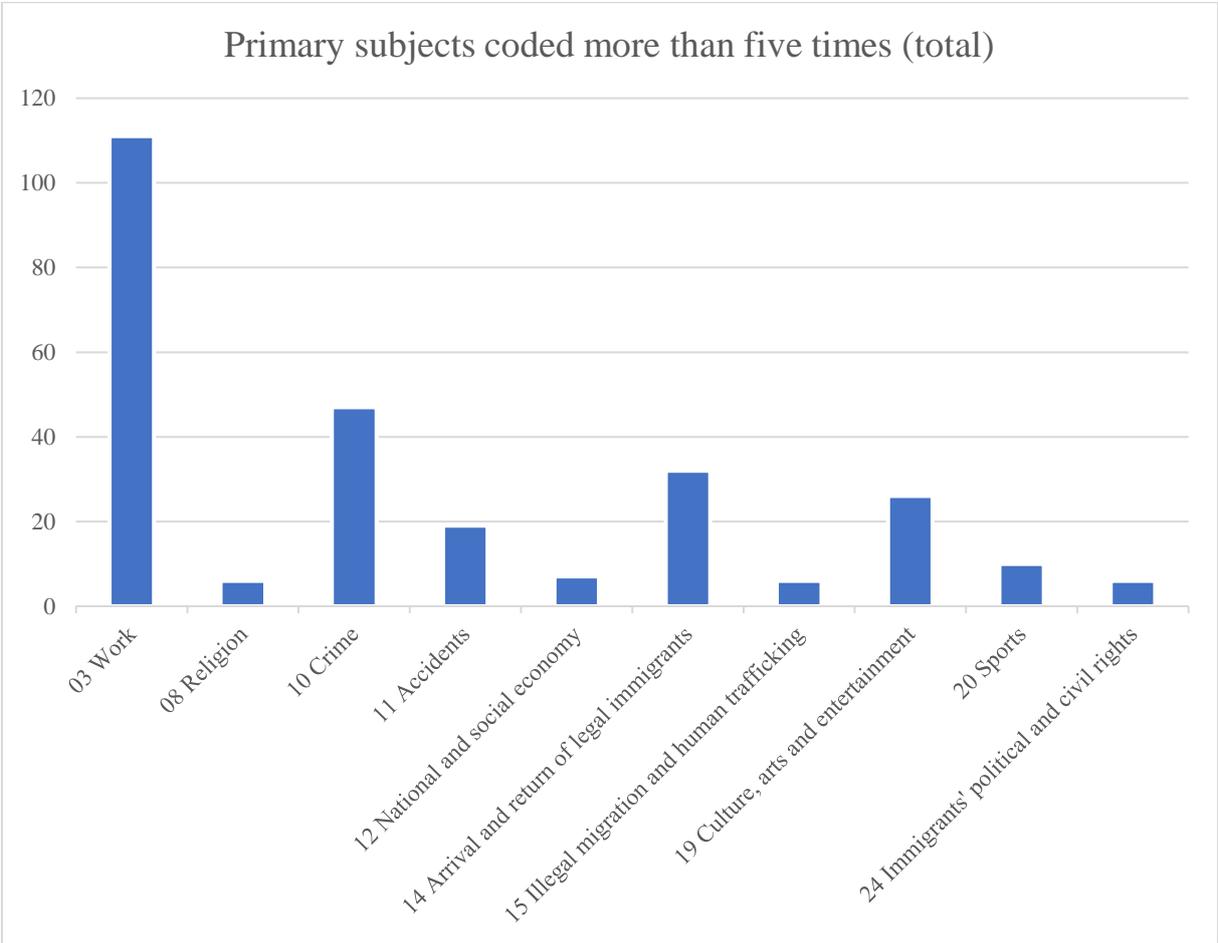


Figure 13: Subjects which were coded more than five times in total.

The four most frequent subjects each reflect their own decade in terms of trend, as I will show in the following subsection. “Work” reflects the labour migration flow emerging in the 2000s. “Crime” reflects an increased crime focus in the 1990s. “Arrival and return of legal immigrants” reflect the grave situation and following refugee outflow from Poland in the 1980s. Finally, “Culture, arts and entertainment” reflects the view of Poles as exotic artists in the 1970s. It should also be noted that the shrinking graphs reflects the general growth of units over time, Work being a trend in the 2000s having 111 units and Culture, arts and entertainment being a trend in the 1970s having “only 26 units in comparison.

4.1.2. Distribution of portrayals in the NRK

The following charts show the results of the portrayal variable coded in the material. Based on the coding of the portrayal variable, the following results have been produced.

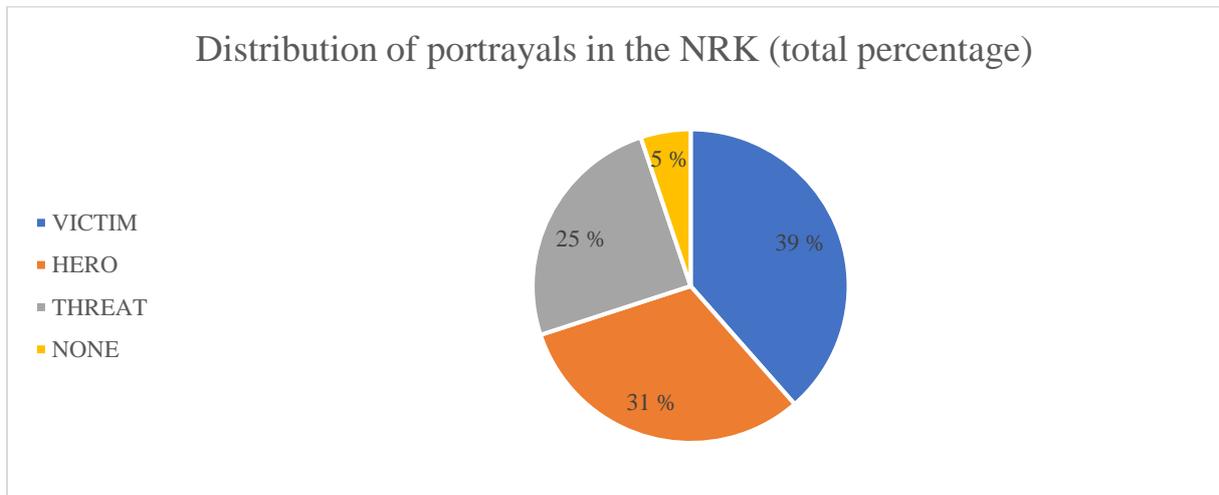


Figure 14: Total distribution of portrayals in the material.

Both victim and hero portrayals can be understood as portrayals where the viewer can sympathise with the Pole. Figure 14 show that the general distribution of portrayal over the entire period to a large extent has been sympathetic. 70% of the portrayals of Polish immigrants in the NRK has been coded with sympathetic portrayals and 25% have been coded with the unsympathetic threat-portrayal.

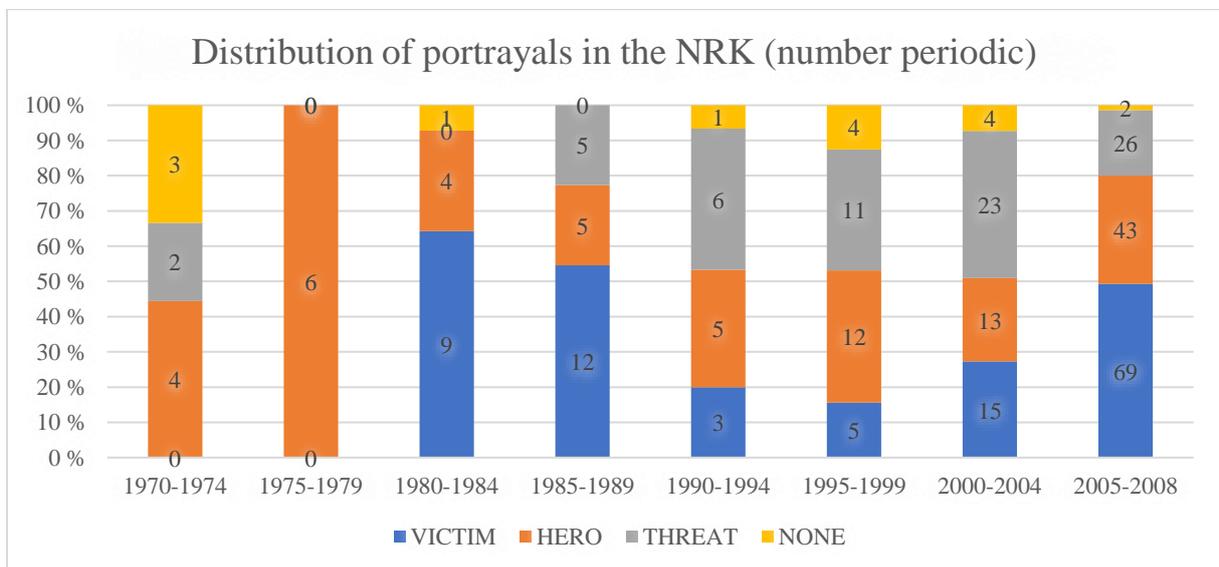


Figure 15: Distribution of coded portrayals in the material. 5-year intervals. Note that the last period is only four years due to shortage of archive. Chronological specifications of sub-portrayals follow in the next subsections.

Figure 15 shows the development of distributions in 5-year intervals. This figure creates the basis for the following subsections covering the individual decades chronologically. The tables in the following subsections excludes none-existent portrayals. E.g. The 90s only have victim portrayals of a humanitarian nature, because of this, the victim portrayals *global economy*, *racism-discrimination* and *other* will not be shown in the table. As such only present portrayals are presented and counted.

4.1.3. 1970-1979: Poles as exotic artists and adventurers

Primary portrayal	Victim		Hero		Threat		Total
Sub-portrayal			Cultural Diversity	5	Public order	2	
			Integration	1			
			Good worker	1			
			Other	3			
Total		0		10		2	12

Table 2: Distribution of present portrayals in the 1970s.

The first half of the 1970s has a focus on Poles as representatives of a rich cultural heritage, adventure and sensational achievements, except for the odd news item. Talk shows and local news items like “Høvikodden: Meet Polish Culture” (Kveldsnytt: Høvikodden: "Møt polsk kultur", 1971) and a series of four units related to Polish climbers planning to- and successfully executing a climb of the extremely steep and demanding mountain-side Trollveggen gets the main focus. There is also an emphasis on Norway and Poland’s international relations and cooperation, including political negotiation, memorial ceremonies and the exchange of knowledge, more concretely petroleum technology. Where many of the units are direct results of immigration, there are few units explicitly considering the *theme* of immigration to Norway, limited to one; “Oslo: 200 Polish Jews gets residence in Norway” (Dagsrevyen: Oslo: 200 polske jødiske flyktninger får opphold i Norge, 1970). It is interesting to note that this also represents the chronologically first relevant unit in my material, dated January 26th, 1970. It is also important to underline the lack of explicit immigration-cases these years. It might be that the sheer scale of the “200 refugees”-case makes it notable, and that single- or small groups of immigrants in large move under the media’s radar. One should also consider the fact that Norway probably was less economically attractive this early in Norway’s oil era, and that, in line with immigration statistics, there really was not that much immigration to speak of in the period.

The period from 1975-1979 follows the trends of interest constituted in the first half of the seventies. Not one item deals with the issue of immigration. Instead there are local news items of a sensational nature such as “Narvik: Polish week” (Kveldsnytt: Narvik: Polsk uke, 1975), as well as units covering other issues but including Poles, such as an interview with a Polish ice-skating coach in Stavanger, without explicitly making an issue out of the coach’s nationality in the interview, yet mentioning it in the description. 1976, 1977, 1978 and 1979 has one unit each, all culture-historical in nature, examining Polish musicians in Norway, traditional textiles and the national sentiments of Willy Brandt.

Overall, the 1970s paint a picture of Poles as a people radically different from us, but with its own valuable values and traditions. The relationship between the countries are balanced, with most televised items focusing on the exchange of knowledge, trade agreements and culture. The cultural differences between the countries are emphasised and Poles in Norway tend to be presented as an exotic people, breeding adventurers, musical child prodigies, artists and being carriers of traditions different from our own. Poles are portrayed as almost exalted in their

positivity and carelessness, as difficult issues rarely are the theme of conversation. Two of the items explicitly addresses the issue of immigration.

4.1.4. 1980-1989: Heavy times and harsh truths

Primary portrayal	Victim		Hero		Threat		Total
Sub-portrayal	Humanitarian	19	Cultural Diversity	4	Public order	4	
	Other	2	Integration	2	Other	1	
			Good worker	2			
			Other	1			
Total		21		9		5	35

Table 3: Distribution of present portrayals in the 1980s.

The portrayal of Poles as an exotic people continues, however with a more critical tone. Few portrayals of cultural, exotic and sensational nature go by without mentioning the on-going internal struggles for Poles in Poland, namely strikes, unrest and martial law following the establishment of the Solidarność movement and the government’s response to this. The overall tone is less enthusiastic and Poles to a larger extent are presented as a people with challenges and worries. Fourteen of the units explicitly addresses the issue of immigration. “Skien: Training programme for cerebral palsy” (Norge Rundt: Skien: Treningsprogram for cerebral parese, 1984) marks the point of the first home report in a show like “Norge Rundt”, where the theme is depicted as considerably more important than the nationality of those involved. There is a large increase in news items considering Poles’ conditions in Norway. The main body of Poles being discussed are refugees from the on-going oppression in Poland and this is the primary issue in the units with humanitarian victim portrayals.

The eighties represent a change in media coverage. The continuation of cultural exchange is prominent, but there is an increasing focus on the dramatic situation in Poland. This can be a consequence of the increase of immigrants, namely refugees, from the country at the start of the decade. 1981 largely consists of items of a cultural nature, such as talk shows and interviews with Polish artists, but gradually experience a change towards the end of the year when the unrest in Poland escalates. The 1982 news items focused on Poles applying for asylum in Norway following the enactment of martial law in December 1981. The subjects discussed are coming to Norway as a refugee, as well as debates on the juridical rights of foreigners in Norway. This seems to have been a short-lived topic of interest, as there are no objects of interest in 1983. The next unit, appearing in 1984, returns to the style of the Polish ice-skating coach; portraying Poles first and foremost as next of kin – people in a news story concerning a controversial training programme for cerebral palsy where the clients simply happen to be of Polish origin.

While the period from 1980 to 1984 represents a rather scarce selection of units, critical news items, the next five-year period represents a large expansion in the number of critical stories. It is reasonable to assume that the increase in Polish presence in Norway, broadened the interest of the mainstream media. The first related unit in the latter half of the 1980s is a news item “Stavanger : Solidarność leader has received working permit in Norway” (Dagsrevyen:

Stavanger: Solidaritetsleder har fått arbeidstillatelse i Norge, 1985). Cases of hunger strikes as a sign of discontent and mean of improvement among Polish immigrants in Norway gets some coverage. Sometimes this results in permits, other times in the deportation of Poles. Poles are increasingly mentioned in items concerning refugees, such as in the first episode of an educational series called “Young refugee” (Hva er en flyktning?, 1985) and a news item called “Oslo: The emergency centre in Oslo, Social Security Office for immigrant women” (Dagsrevyen: Oslo: Krisesenteret i Oslo, 1987), where Poles are being recognised as a prevalent immigrant group in Norway. Beyond this, Pole presence in the “Norge Rundt” series (“Around Norway”, magazine with reports on everyday life in Norway) increases, with three appearances over the five-year period. Poles as both criminals and victims of crime increases greatly during this period. “Oslo: bomb threat to Waldemar Knihinicki” (Dagsrevyen: Oslo: Bombetrussel mot Waldemar Knihinicki, 1985) and “Oslo: Poles are being frauded” (Dagsrevyen: Oslo: Polakker svindles, 1989) are examples of cases presenting Poles as victims of crime. The case where the Pole Jacek Stocki, charged for murdering two Pakistanis, fled to Poland received much attention with four news items total, and raised a debate concerning the Oslo police department’s handling of the case.

It is also notable that “East Norway: Turks picking strawberries” (Dagsrevyen: Østlandet: Tyrkere plukker jordbær, 1989) is the first item in my material showing Poles as fruit and berry pickers, albeit as part of a larger group of different nationalities. This became a popular occupation for seasonal workers in the 90s.

4.1.5. 1990-1999: Less victims, more threat

Primary portrayal	Victim		Hero		Threat		Total
Sub-portrayal	Humanitarian	8	Cultural Diversity	8	Public order	15	
			Integration	1	Fiscal	1	
			Good worker	6	Social	1	
			Other	2			
Total		8		17		17	42

Table 4: Distribution of present portrayals in the 1990s.

The 1990s starts off with a big focus on Poles as workers in Norway and its socio-economic consequences. Following the fall of the Iron Curtain the 1990s marked a new phase in immigration from Poland to Norway. Seasonal workers from the Eastern Bloc became a common sight. There is a steady increase in unsympathetic portrayals with news items concerning illegal labour, smuggling and scamming. There is an increased focus on Poles as actors in Norwegian society – their function, their role and their short- and long-term effects. The satirical comedy show, “Trotto Libre”, namely the “Heisann Montebello”-segment (Trotto libre, 1996) is among the first units in the material that presents Norwegian satire concerning Poles. Towards the end of the decade several hero portrayals emerge with Poles “saving” strawberries and carrots for farmers.

Although there is a higher percentage of threat portrayals in the first half of the 1990s (figure 15) than in the latter, the general trend through the 1990s and the following decade is a higher

frequency of threat portrayals compared to the prior decades. The largest sub-portrayal in the decade is that of the public order threat. In these units, the primary portrayal of Poles in Norway are criminals. An examples of such a unit is “Rogaland: amphetamine seizures in Sandnes” (Dagsrevyen: Rogaland: Amfetaminbeslag i Sandnes, 1994).

4.1.6. 2000-2008: Open borders and radical sympathetic increase

Primary portrayal	Victim		Hero		Threat		Total
Sub-portrayal	Global economy	6	Cultural Diversity	11	Jobs	6	
	Humanitarian	61	Integration	6	Public order	32	
	Other	17	Good worker	39	Fiscal	7	
					Social	2	
					Other	2	
Total		84		56		49	189

Table 5: Distribution of present portrayals in the 2000s.

Through the 2000s, the percentage of hero portrayals has a slight increase (figure 15). The latter half of the 2000s shows a development in the distribution of the victim portrayals percentage, as it come close to doubling from the first half, and reaches levels not seen since the 1980s. The increases on hero and victim portrayals are taken from the threat portrayals. This shift follows the EU-expansion of 2004. The internal distribution of victim portrayals to a large extent stays the same. The increased pressure on the welfare state following the surge of labour migrants and the abuse of benefits is subject in several units, such as “Oslo: LO [Norwegian Trade Union Congress] fears labour migration will lead to a weakened welfare state” (Dagsrevyen: Oslo: LO frykter arbeidsinnvandringen vil føre til en svekket velferdsstat, 2004). This explains the existence of fiscal threat portrayals.

Seen the context of the high number of work-related items in the 2000s (figure 12) the strikingly high number of humanitarian victim portrayals reflects the social dumping of Poles in Norway. These portrayals to a large extent cover Poles being treated poorly by employers in a series of ways. One such example is “Social dumping in Norwegian construction industry” (Dagsrevyen: Sosial dumping i norsk byggebransje, 2005).

4.2. Qualitative results

The qualitative analysis is in its nature a solely subjective effort. For this reason, the main body of every analysis is divided into two parts; description and analysis. The description is an attempted objective description of the structure and events of the programme, while the analysis consists of the subjective observations done in the reading of the programme. Remember that the analyses use a series of concrete questions as basis.

Every individual unit represents a distinct period in the portrayal of Poles in the NRK. The 1970s' programme explore the exoticism of Poles and curiosity of the Norwegian people, the 1980s' programme explores the growing unrest and realisation of difficult circumstances, the 1990s' programme investigates the relatively newfound phenomenon of imported black market labour in Norway, and the 2000s' programme examines the now legal labour in Norway. These trends and focuses are based on the findings in the quantitative analysis.

4.2.1. 1970s: "Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye"

4.2.1.1. *Introduction*

In selecting a single item covering the width of the optimistic 1970s, it is of great importance to consider the importance of the different categories of programmes at the time, especially since the NRK had the only available TV channel. Halse and Østbye emphasises Saturday entertainment, as one of the four pillars of public service broadcasting in the 1960s and 1970s, alongside "Dagsrevyen" (the daily main news broadcast), "Detektimen" (Friday night crime shows) and "children's and youth programmes" (Halse and Østbye, 2003, pp. 140-150). These categories combined with the availability of programmes in the NRK's online streaming services reveals "Saturday Night with Erik Bye" (Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye, 1973) as the most relevant programme to analyse. The programme has the entire family as its intended audience, being categorised as "light entertainment" in the internal programme descriptions (attachment 4.1.) and "entertainment series" in the online streaming service (Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye, 1973).

The specific episode I will be looking at aired December 8th, 1973 and lasted for 1 hour and 31 minutes. Due to large parts of the programme not being relevant for my research question I selected a segment lasting from 01:00:00 to 01:21:00 for the analysis. This segment has the host interviewing a series of immigrants from different countries about their meeting with- and reason for coming to Norway. I will, however, attempt to shed some light on the segment as part of a greater whole in the analysis.

4.2.1.2. *Description*

01:00:00 A call to the stage

Erik Bye holds a short speech, reflecting on what is bringing people to Norway. Following this he calls out to all the Ugandan, Czechoslovakian and Polish guests he is expecting on stage. A solid minute of organising seating for the guests follows, seemingly using every piece of furniture available. There are sofas, chairs and sitting puffs seated by nine men along with Bye, surrounded by the only two women. The stage is set for the grand finale of the international melting pot that the programme is aiming to be.

01:02:00 Introducing names

After organising the large group on stage Bye continues presenting the guests, and letting every one of them, through a short conversation, give a short introduction of themselves. The Pole, Andrzej Dziubek quickly gets attention in this segment due to his untraditional looks, carrying six distinct braids.

01:05:00 Introducing backgrounds

The introduction of names is followed rapidly by a short interview with the seven Ugandans. Their occupation, their previous occupation and transition to- and previous knowledge of Norway are the main themes of conversation. Two of the Ugandans agree that it is difficult to find and perform their work here, even though they are highly competent, with pasts in import/export and engine assembly. Two 16-year olds show high interest in learning as much Norwegian as they can during their single year at Norwegian Folk High Schools. Tore Schjøth from The Norwegian Refugee Council is interviewed about the huge change coming from Uganda to Norway entails, and states it is bigger than most can imagine, specifically stressing the climate, customs, food and snow.

Bye continues asking Schjøth about Norway's role as a "host-nation in an international situation", and to what extent this role is fulfilled. Schjøth replies with an explanation of the understanding of Norwegians abroad, as a people of good will, trying to the best of our abilities to be open for the arriving immigrants, even though it is difficult to imagine their hardships. Schjøth underlines that the immigrants get the same rights as other Norwegians. He expresses an optimism that meetings with foreigners and foreign impulses contributes to the maturing of Norwegians, preparing us to receive people of different backgrounds.

This is followed by the Czechoslovakians answering questions about their occupations. The woman just finished her teacher education, and the man owns a TV repair shop.

01:16:00 Returning focus to the Pole

Bye returns the focus to Dziubek, trying to figure out what his occupation is. Dziubek tries to explain that he is studying metalworks at the arts and crafts school. Bye struggles to comprehend this as he prior to the show has been told Dziubek is creating an elephant of clay. The series of misunderstandings ends as Bye notices Dziubek has brought an axe to the studio. Dziubek explains that he uses the axe if he likes someone else's unmarried girl, but is quick to emphasise that the fighting is not more severe than simple cuts and scratches. After jokingly commenting the axe's similarities to the axe in the Norwegian coat of arms, Bye notices another axe hanging at Dziubek's side. Clearly agitated, Bye takes the axe, followed by the bewildered Dziubek offering to play a song. Dziubek proceeds to sing a song about his home-region Orava which is marrying a neighbouring region called Liptof.

4.2.1.3. Analysis

Context of the segment

The segment analysed lasts approximately 21 minutes (including Dziubek's song). As the programme lasts for 1 hour 34 minutes it is worth discussing the segment as part of a greater whole. After discussing the opening songs with a composer, 00:15:20 marks the moment where Bye first announces the international nature of the programme:

“And we have some guests from Canada. I think we will announce now that this programme will be characterised by our society here in Norway gradually getting internationalised in so many ways. People come here to settle for shorter or longer periods, and are beginning to make their mark on our society. And our first guests tonight come from Vancouver, British Columbia, it is the Rustang family. Ken and Beverly Rustang with their children, will you please come forth, a warm welcome to Norway and to us.”

Much like the Polish guest concretely discussed in this analysis, the rest of the programme is also filled with migrant guests from countries such as Canada and Sweden. The programme is permeated by cultural performances from the different guests, mostly of a musical nature. This can be seen in connection with the series being internally described as a “Entertainment series hosted by Erik Bye” (*Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye*, 1973). Compared to other programmes in the series, this one has a much clearer overarching theme, namely immigration, and the benefits and challenges associated with the phenomenon. Words such as “disadvantage” or “inconvenience” is never used and the challenges discussed are primarily the challenges of being a fresh immigrant in Norway, and how the Norwegians can be open in meetings with immigrants, with whom we do not share past experiences. This paints an optimistic and sympathetic picture of opening our arms to immigration as the natural next step for Norway. No questions or concerns regarding integration are shared, in stark contrast to our contemporary immigration debate. The primary framework of understanding are the prospects of the immigrants in Norway, stressed through the questions asked being mostly related to education and ambition. The optimism for the future is finally set in stone when the end of the programme stars Erik Bye singing a song called “The climbers of tomorrow’s mountains” with a choir of children of different ethnicities.

Spontaneity in the coverage of immigrants

With the segment being part of a live broadcast, it is necessary to discuss how the improvisatory nature of the show can shape coverage. The spontaneity which is an inevitable part of live broadcasting is seen through a series of examples, such as the lack of seating when calling the guests on stage, sitting puffs being sent in from the side line and Erik Bye clearly being distracted by Dziubek’s axes and braids. Several times during the programme Bye takes part in the guests’ cultural performances, seemingly unplanned. Surprised faces are common both among the guests and on the host. This can be expected to also affect the dialogue, making the conversations more down to earth, heartfelt or “real”. Spontaneous nature creates leeway for capricious utterances, and one might argue, utterances more in line with the person’s viewpoint than if the lines are carefully planned. A benefit of this is the more “natural” depiction of the guests and the host, as the portrayals in a live show cannot get much edit in post-production. The spontaneity leads to questions and conversations almost resembling the first day at school, with few things to talk about except background. On behalf of the viewers – primarily Norwegian families, Bye is getting to know the guests live, demonstrating a great curiosity in meeting our new citizens.

An individual representative of a people

Being a single Pole in a studio filled with couples, siblings and individuals of the same foreign nationality (Uganda) puts a huge weight on your shoulders, at least in terms of representation. Bye’s apparent goal in the programme is to get a taste of the different nationalities’ peculiarities,

e. g. through having a Pakistani guest's child sitting on his lap while smoking the guest's waterpipe and watching him play music. This inevitably applies some degree of pressure on the individual guest's ability to represent his nationality. Dziubek gets attention for his braided hair, which he explains indicates that he is a Goral, an ethnic minority in Poland. Erik Bye's reply to this is somewhat wondering, inquisitive of the background of the braids. In the segment Dziubek is also one of the less established in the group, being a student with a vague plan to become a sculptor. At this point Bye gets distracted by the axes Dziubek has brought to the studio. The absurd nature of the conversation that follows leave the audience laughing, not necessarily at Dziubek or Bye, but at the situation. Bye at this point seems very uncertain on how to handle the situation.

It seems like Bye, with his expectation of an "ordinary" Polish guest, is taken by surprise. One can imagine watching this in 1973, never having met a Pole, having a major impact on the expectation and impression of Poles, as Dziubek comes through as hard man with strange, and somewhat dangerous traditions, yet with a certain degree of humour and a culture worth exploring. Dziubek however primarily identifies as a Goral and it is safe to assume that he is among the more exotic and different Poles that could get invited, and as such do not represent Poles as very similar to Norwegians.

Bye's role and the privilege of a beloved TV-personality

Erik Bye's role is worth discussing. Defined as "One of Norwegian popular culture's foremost renaissance men; TV-star, reporter, singer and lyricist." and "[...] a moral compass in an unfinished period filled with impressions following the war." (Bakke et al., 2012, p. 135), Bye played a large role in helping Norwegians making sense of the world around them in prime-time television. Bye grew up in Brooklyn, was educated at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, worked for the BBC for a while and was a "[...] vagabond on our behalf bringing the world to the TV-screen." (Bakke et al., 2012, p. 85). Being the son of an opera singer, he also performed as a singer in his programme, including songs with lyrics written by himself. This combined with being a sparkling, skilful host makes him a pioneer among Norwegian TV-personalities (Bakke et al., 2012, p. 60). Through extension of this he was an important and defining voice in the Norwegian public sphere. His position can further be seen in the fact that his programme was aired on Saturday's, in television prime time.

Bye's ownership of the stage and programme is quickly established. This is done even before the programme starts through having his name in the title, and through his confidence demonstrated in the introduction of the show as he sits alone on a bench mid-stage. This is further reinforced through the show through actions seemingly improvised by Bye himself. One such action is him physically placing the two women on stage next to himself, before jokingly looking at the other men and in a flirtatious tone, saying "I place myself strategically between these two ladies."

Over the course of the show Bye asks a series of big questions, such as in the introduction to the segment of study:

"Why and how do people come from remote corners of the world to Norway and settle here? There can be many reasons. Often coincidences. I want us to now meet another group. I would like some of our guests from Uganda to step forth and our guests from Czechoslovakia, from Poland and also Tore Schjøth, and that we attempt to make a little, international group here in the corner. You are welcome, gentlemen."

He also attempts to answer this question, through the interviews conducted. In particular he interviews Tore Schjøth from The Norwegian Refugee Council, asking:

“How are we as nation, as guest... As what shall I call it; host nation in an international situation that makes more and more people from foreign environments come here? “

Schjøth has some difficulties adequately answering the question, presumably due to its width. He utters concern that the lack of common experiences is challenging to Norwegians, but emphasises that “We are known for having a very good will, and outward trying to the best of our abilities, every single one, to be open to the ones who come ...”.

Bye had a major defining voice and acts a “compass” in how to perceive immigrants. Through having guests who work with the rights of refugees and utters expert opinions, he substantiates an optimistic, cosmopolitan view of the world.

Dziubek is at first treated as a harmless artistic individual, while speaking of his people and his interest in iron as sculpture material. However, a change takes place when Bye first discovers one of the axes Dziubek has brought. Bye appears distracted and for the first time in the programme somewhat insecure. The immigrants have up until now been portrayed as exotic but safe thanks to Bye’s bravery and great charisma. Now he struggles to move the interview past the axes and Dziubek’s explanation of using them back home to fight over women. Where the notion used to be “It is safe to explore foreign cultures with Erik Bye.”, Bye now seems to have lost some of the control over the situation. He manages to regain some of it once past the initial shock, and seems back on his charismatic track as the interview with Dziubek comes to a close. At this point Dziubek offers to play a song, something Bye gladly accepts. The song is very optimistic, is well-received and the good mood returns. Dziubek is not interviewed further after this. One should however not underestimate Bye’s power in establishing a standard of how to receive immigrants. The NRK was the only television broadcaster and a highly trusted institution in the 70s and the picture of Poles presented, would be expected to be correct and well thought out. Erik Bye stumbling into an unexpected situation thus can affect the viewers perception of the Poles as a people with the ability to trick even great TV-personalities, and through this, portraying Poles as different, foreign and maybe even a threat.

4.2.1.4. Summary

In “Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye”, one finds the first thorough interview with a Polish immigrant in the material. Andrzej Dziubek, of the Goral minority, is portrayed as a culturally exotic individual. The host, Erik Bye, is distracted and clearly interested in Dziubek’s distinct looks. This is followed by an interview filled with cultural and linguistic misunderstandings. At this point Bye moves the focus to axes that Dziubek has brought to the studio, and attempts to stay calm. At the same time, he is clearly bewildered by the situation that follows. Through his reception, Bye’s perception of Dziubek is primarily curious but also somewhat insecure, especially with the conversation taking several unexpected twists and turns. The Pole is thus portrayed as fascinating but capricious.

In letting Erik Bye host a Saturday night programme, the NRK clearly has high confidence in his ability to guide the audience in our new multicultural society. Bye, being an open representative of the people, to the best of his abilities attempt to see the value in foreign and unfamiliar customs. Bye repeatedly, both implicitly and explicitly, encourages the Norwegian people to receive immigrants openly, taking an immigration-friendly stance.

The primary issue being discussed in the segment, is how to best receive immigrants through the bridging of inevitably existing differences. A lack of common experiences and how immigrants differ from us are stressed, and the guests are interviewed about their ambitions as well as challenges in coming to Norway. Norms of how Norwegian's should receive immigrants are discussed, primarily with Tore Schjøth, a representative from Flyktninghjelpen (Norwegian Refugee Council), while the conversations with the immigrants themselves are less moralising.

Albeit it is not very clear in the selected segment, it becomes apparent in the context of the rest of the programme that Bye primarily wants his guests to speak Norwegian. Bye also functions as an interpreter in some of the segments. This was of course a result of the lack of possibilities for subtitling live broadcasts at the time. It can also be an attempt to make the foreigners less foreign.

4.2.2. 1980s: “Lørdagsredaksjonen”

4.2.2.1. Introduction

Erik Bye was not only an entertainer. His presence was a staple ingredient in much of the NRK's Saturday programmes for years. Due to his diverse background, he over time hosted programmes of radically different nature, spanning from “innocent” immigration coverage to more serious foreign affairs reports. “The Saturday Editorial” (Lørdagsredaksjonen, 1981) is an example of the latter.

The strikes and protests under Solidarność's banner against the communist leadership can be seen as the main cause of the radical increase of portrayal of Poles as victims in the 1980s. Refugees as cause of strikes developing into martial law characterised the decade. The events in Poland were carefully followed from Norway, being thematised in programmes of different kinds. In seemingly unrelated cultural and entertainment programmes, such as *Musikknytt* (Musikknytt, 1981), there are cases of Polish interviewees not being able to address the subject of the programme without being asked about the unrest in their home country. Due to this change in portrayals, from the overly optimistic exotic coverage of Poles in the 1970s to the more serious tone of the 1980s, a dramatic programme covering the situation in Poland, with Polish guests, is a prime unit for analysis.

Lørdagsredaksjonen is a current affairs programme which describes itself as a “Live broadcast with entertainment and reports – taking an alternative look at current events.” (Lørdagsredaksjonen, 1981). The series aired sporadically on Saturdays during the first half of the 1980s. The show consists of serious discussions of severe incidents and provides a glance at cultural life inspired by the recent events.

The particular programme for this analysis aired December 12th, 1981, during one of the more intense periods in modern Polish history, as a great optimism now ruled among activists. This optimism was soon to fall, however, when the martial law was declared by General Wojciech Jaruzelski the following day.

4.2.2.2. Description

The situation in Poland is the prominent theme from 00:05:18 to 00:18:43 and the segment is structured in the following way:

00:05:19 Introductory song

Olav Rusten and Elisabeth Mølbach sings “No skin det sol i Polen” (“Now the sun shines in Poland”). A song composed by Anna Jastrzębska, who plays the piano. The theme of the song is the growing optimism in Poland following decades of suppression.

00:06:20: Interview with two well-educated Polish-born women

Erik Bye introduces two Polish-born women, Anna Jastrzębska who just graduated from the Norwegian Academy of Music, and Natasja Piekniejska Sandbu, a Norwegian-married journalism student. Jastrzębska says that the atmosphere and optimism in Poland has not been this strong for several centuries. She is just back from a fantastic stay in Warsaw, visiting Solidarność. The optimism in Poland is according to Sandbu overshadowed concern for the economic situation. She has restlessly followed the situation since August 1980. The situation is grave, as the Poles lack basic commodities like soap, toothpaste and food, but there is hope that the movement has come to stay.

Bye inquires on what we can do with the situation. Bye refers to the social engagement and generosity among Norwegian citizens and wonders what Norwegians can donate. Poland is in a deeply serious situation in desperate need of basic commodities and information. Sandbu reminds the viewer that Solidarność has no access to broadcast media, and that printing equipment and material is required for the trade union’s growth and mobilisation.

00:13:19: Natasja Piekniejska Sandbu reads a poem

Sandbu, deeply emotionally engaged, reads a poem inspired by August 1980, the birth of Solidarność, packed with the same worried optimism as the interview.

00:13:56: Excerpt from a ballet

An excerpt from a modern ballet choreographed by Jastrzębska is shown.

00:17:49: Encouraging help and solidarity

Bye encourages the Norwegian people to help Poland, primarily through the donation of office equipment.

4.2.2.3. Analysis

Context of the segment

Lørdagsredaksjonen takes place in an informal setting in a room resembling an old-fashioned office. Surrounded by books and decorations Bye interviews his guests. He is also speaking to reporters live via a telephone placed on his desk. This provides an impression of Bye as an informational bureaucrat with an open door, interesting opinions and a wide spanning social and professional network. The show to a large extent takes the form of Erik Bye seeking his and the NRK’s wide spanning network for expert opinion on different issues. It is a show where Bye is investigating live with the audience, following situations closely. Clear examples of this can be seen in the show the next week, as Bye is visited by a British colleague, and a radio-amateur is monitoring the radio signals from Poland closely, ready to call Bye if there are any incoming transmissions. Much like in “Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye”, the artistic performances is a cornerstone in the production, connecting the different segments. In combination with Bye’s charisma and presence this makes Lørdagsredaksjonen a mirror to the world, much like the

function “Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye” had the decade before, although in a more serious, refined tone.

Poles as representatives

The Poles interviewed in Lørdagsredaksjonen are not guests simply because of their nationality; the focus of the programme is rather on the situation in Poland than on the guests commenting the situation. In contrast to “Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye”, the guests’ background is not the main theme for discussion, as Bye provides their background within seconds. They are in studio as representatives of the situation in their homeland, and not as Polish immigrants. Bye’s invitation to Lørdagsredaksjonen can already be regarded as a high seal of approval. Sandbu and Jastrzębska appears well-informed and integrated, both speaking Norwegian and both educated in Norwegian institutions. This makes them relatable, even for Norwegians. They provide incomparable perspectives as Poles living abroad following a situation through the media, yet knowing the people on the other side. Highly emotional testaments are delivered and the conversation goes smoothly. The guests present their own case, and as such are the main reporters of the situation. Sandbu’s and Jastrzębska’s main message can be summarised in a single sentence; *The fight is not over but we are getting there.*

The cosmopolitan TV-personality’s plea for help

Three arguments are used by Bye to engage the Norwegian people to help the Poles in need.

Historical ties

Through the entire segment, Bye’s behaviour expresses a call to the Norwegian people to help the Poles in these hard times. One should assume that the NRK’s primary TV-personalities primarily reflect the institution’s established values. The behaviour of the NRK’s TV-hosts can thus be assumed to be indicative of the network’s values.

The segment studied begins with the following short reflection by Erik Bye:

“They had champagne, but did not touch it... Let us try to remember what we learned in school once, and then we will know that Poland’s destiny is something that has concerned Norwegians through many, many years, not the least last century when the poets Wergeland and Welhaven and many, many others were strongly committed to the events in Poland. And that is also what we all are these days. And the last poet, who wrote the lyrics for the song we have just heard, is named Geir Lystrup.”

The first line is the iconic last line of the famous poem “Republikanerne” by Johan Sebastian Welhaven, a major poet in Norwegian history. Bye draws the lines from today’s Norwegians back to the great Norwegians of the 1800s, creating a feeling of a common heritage of interest in Poland, implying that if you do not feel the connection, you have not searched thoroughly enough. Historical ties are presented as an argument for a connection between Norway and Poland.

Sameness

This introduction is followed by a very brief introduction to the two Polish guests. Both speak Norwegian, one of them just finished her degree at a Norwegian educational institution, the other is studying. One of them is married and thus has the Norwegian last name Sandbu. The other plays the piano with Norwegian colleagues. They are through this suggested as well-integrated immigrants, reasonably similar to us.

Bye is however quick to turn the guests' connection to Poland into an emotional statement of needed help. At 00:08:25 Bye asks how the events taking place affect them, if they are nervous, anxious or if they have family in Poland. This triggers emotional responses that the situation, which they have followed restlessly for one and a half years, is exhausting but also incredibly motivating.

Abundance

The direct line of approach, not lingering with asking the guests about their backgrounds, allows Bye to quickly come to the core of the segment's message; *Poland is in grave need for help, which we can provide:*

“We will occupy ourselves especially in the minutes we have with what we now can do for Poland. There have been several campaigns at schools and among unions and individuals for sending things the people need to Poland. And let us now find out what we can do to help. These campaigns continue further and it is getting closer to Christmas. What shall we do? Shall we send marzipan and Christmas pigs and the like? What is it that we in the best way can do to help, Anna?”

Bye's reference to marzipan and Christmas pigs (a Scandinavian Christmas confectionary), can be interpreted as a way of saying that the Norwegian people have an abundance of commodities but no clue what is needed, and that they are in dire need for concrete requests. Jastrzębska replies that “There is a shortage of absolutely all goods.”, and continues speaking about horrifying scenes at hospitals where children are born without medicaments for the mother and child.

Sandbu poetically states that “Poland is fighting for both bread and freedom.” and that the most important freedom among Poles is the freedom of speech, which is now being suppressed by the communist censorship. The only way to reach out to Solidarność's supporters is through the printed press; magazines, newspapers, flyers and pamphlets. 35 million people are waiting for their newspapers, and Solidarność lack paper, printing equipment and stationary.

After consecutive cultural performances, Bye at 00:17:49 comes with a plea for help, aimed at the Norwegian people.

“And maybe we should focus especially on the prayer from Solidarność for printing help, that includes copiers, duplication machines, stationary, everything related to printing, and paper, paper, paper. It is about reaching out to people. This is something they have specifically requested, so to you in organisations, businesses, firms and others that may have things in the attic which you do not even use; these are things one can really help Poland with, and if one addresses to one's local newspaper, I am sure one will receive the necessary addresses to bring these goods to Poland when it is needed.”

This serves as Bye's ending speech for the segment, summarising the interview with the two Polish women in a concrete call to help. Bye is seemingly aware of his power as a beloved public figure and is explicitly using the rhetoric of Norwegian abundance to motivate, or apply to the guilt of Norwegians, suggesting that we have lots to give, but no idea what exactly. Now that Bye has come with concrete suggestions however, there is no reason for us not to share the wealth. Bye as a representative of Norwegians implies a responsibility to help people in need.

These three arguments; *historical ties*, *sameness* and *abundance*, the first two implicit, the last explicit, are Bye's arguments for Norwegian's responsibility to help. Although they are to a large extent latently hidden, the *notion* of the message is observable by the audience. Bye makes up his mind on what he thinks shall be Norwegians' position in the conflict.

It can be argued that the programme takes the Polish people's party, something which can be seen in relation to a long period of labour party government, understanding the importance for worker rights and trade unions.

The role of culture in Saturday night programmes

At 00:13:00 Erik Bye states that an almost inevitable consequence of critical situations are artistic expressions. This is the case for the three artistic performances during the segment; the song "No skin det sol i Polen" (composed by Jastrzębska), the poem (written by Sandbu) and the ballet (choreographed by Jastrzębska). Despite a critical situation these cultural cornerstones remain, reminiscing the exotic, artistic portrayal of Poles during the 70s. In only a minute the song explores a long series of musical chord progression which rarely repeats themselves, lyrically expressing optimism and hope for positive change coming to Poland. Sandbu's poem presents all the things she wishes Poland to be in her life. The ballet is modern, seemingly depicting sorrow and hope. The different cultural performances exist at a continuum ranging from optimism to despair, illustrating the width of the situation it depicts, seemingly attempting to convey the complicated situation through a diversity in art.

Optimism meeting martial law

It is important to see the situation presented in context, as Christmas times in 1981 most probably will be remembered as a chaotic period in Poland. This is due to the martial law which was implemented *the day after* the initial airing of this programme. Seeing the optimistic tone in the programme implies a situation slowly drawing to a close. In retrospect, however, it might be easy to see the programme as overly optimistic, especially considering the years that followed.

4.2.2.4. Summary

Lørdagsredaksjonen treats its Polish guests not primarily as Poles or immigrants, but as informed intellectuals with cultural links to the ongoing situation in Poland. They are treated as highly competent experts by Erik Bye who hosts the show. Both guests speak good Norwegian and have education from Norwegian institutions, being portrayed as well-integrated and in many ways similar to us. Polish culture is shown through a song, a poem and a choreography, demonstrating a wide cultural diversity.

Erik Bye's central role in the programme is encouraging Norwegian generosity in a time of great need. He searches for specific ways to make it easier for Norwegians to assist. Three arguments are used in this encouragement; historical ties between Poland and Norway, sameness between Poles and Norwegians, and lastly the explicit responsibility to share Norwegian abundance.

The actors in the conversation are Erik Bye, Natasja Piekniejska Sandbu and Anna Jastrzębska. They discuss the dramatic situation in Poland and speak of their own experience following the situation from abroad. The two guests come with concrete pleas on what can be done for Poland. They are deeply emotionally engaged, something clearly heightening the gravitas of

the situation, arguably showing the Polish immigrants as less exotic and more down to earth than in the 1970s.

4.2.3. 1990s: “Dette er vårt Mallorca”

4.2.3.1. Introduction

1989 marks the fall of the Iron Curtain. This had major consequences for Poland, gaining increased access to Europe and thus marking a new era for freedom. Due to the lack of economic sustainability in the East, many Poles sought westwards for work and a future. The Norwegian labour migration laws however did not open much for labour migration from Poland, except for shorter seasonal permits. Poland’s newfound “freedom” after the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war led to a radical decrease in victim portrayals. Illegal immigration, which became an issue during the decade, led to an increase in threat portrayals. The conditions of Poles working illegally in Norway is thoroughly examined in a documentary called “This is our Mallorca” (Dette er vårt Mallorca, 1991), which is a direct quote from a Pole in the documentary referring to the stereotypical Norwegian’s yearning for heat and beaches during the summer holidays. Like Norwegians travel to Mallorca, Poles travel to Norway.

“Dette er vårt Mallorca” was first aired in 1991. The documentary is an internal NRK production, produced by Rune Larsen. Counting in on 25 minutes long, the documentary follows two Poles in a group living in their cars at Herstrøm rest stop during the summer months. Herstrøm rest stop lies between the neighbouring towns of Drammen and Mjøndalen in Buskerud county, a one-hour drive from Oslo.

4.2.3.2. Description

For this analysis I divided the film into six distinct parts.

00:00:00 Chapter 1 – Introduction

The viewer gets thrown right into action as a group of Polish labour migrants at the rest stop gets inquired about their permits and identities by the police. Following this we get to know the central characters of the film; Jan Kubica, an engineer born in 1934 and Marius Gierlowski, an auto restoration service employee born in 1964. Both men are interviewed about their lives in Poland, why they are in Norway and what they wish to achieve during their stay. After hearing from friends that Norway is the best place to work, they have both come seeking to support their families back home. Despite the rumours, they have problems getting jobs. Following this the viewer gets a short presentation of life at the rest stop, showing Polish migrant workers fishing, washing clothes, waiting and enduring harsh weather. Finally, the viewer gets introduced to the locals, represented by a fast food-wagon owner.

00:09:00 Chapter 2 – Jan gets a job

Jan is very happy that after a long time off, he finally has received a work offer, being paid 11 000 Norwegian kroners for painting and changing wallpaper for a local. After the job is done however, Jan only gets paid 6 000 kroners. This leaves him powerless and desperate since he is working illegally.

00:13:00 Chapter 3 – Disagreements with the locals

The previously introduced fast food-wagon owner, which I hereafter will speak of as “the sausage seller”, gets interviewed about the situation with the Poles living next door whom she claims uses her tables and toilet facilities. It quickly becomes apparent that the sausage seller is

not happy about the situation as the Poles in her opinion scare away customers by occupying tables and dirtying toilets beyond recognition. Marius gets interviewed about the situation and disagrees, underlining that there are a lot of customers there, and that the Poles are clean. He also claims that he has been approached by the sausage seller with an offer to clean the toilets for twenty-five kroners, but that he refused as the payment was way too low for him.

00:15:00 Chapter 4 – Another day at work

The viewer once more follows Jan to work. He is doing maintenance on a roof, while an anonymous Norwegian woman, his employer, is making him slices of bread and butter. She is being interviewed about hiring illegal labour, and defends it with the pay of forty-five kroners being the same as her own after paying taxes, and as such sufficient. It is also revealed that Jan used to be the owner of a small Turkish towel factory in Poland, and that this counts for nothing in Norway, as he is just seen as another Polish construction worker.

00:17:00 Chapter 5 – Back at the parking lot

Back at the rest stop the Poles listen to disco music while cooking pasta, play cards and sleeping. Soon however, the challenges of uncertain and irregular wages become apparent. Marius speaks Polish with a light-voiced woman on a payphone, time is running, out and he is spending his last pennies to keep the signal which faints soon after. This segment is followed by a short montage of the Polish men unsuccessfully seeking out poorly painted houses and locals to find work.

00:19:00 Chapter 6 – Expulsion of ever-returning Poles

When returning to the rest stop it is apparent that the sausage seller has had enough. She shares her wish for the police to expel the Poles during daytime. She once more brings up the dirty toilets and complains about the struggle the Poles are bringing her. The Poles go to sleep. On the following morning the sausage seller and the Poles gets into a quarrel as she sweeps the ground while the Poles are watching. The sausage seller is provoked by this and aggressively accuses the Poles of being lazy, pointing out Marius as the laziest of them all. Marius reluctantly joins in but the quarrelling does not stop. She speaks Norwegian to him. He responds that he does not understand, but she refuses to believe him. Attempting to lure the group of Poles with promises of bread, butter and jam if they were to go away during the day does not work and the sausage seller calls the police. The police quickly expel the Poles, knowing that they are not just stopping for a short rest. When entering his car Marius tells the producer that they will be back in a few hours.

4.2.3.3. Analysis

The film covers several themes relevant for the research question. On the film's manifest level, it tells the story of two Poles in Norway. On the grander, latent level the film explores themes of stereotypes, the transience of life and social mobility.

Cinematic tools in the depiction of the employees and the employers

Use of telephoto lens

The producer utilises a telephoto lens several times during the movie, most notably during a painting and sweeping-montage in chapter 2. In this example, several of the shots is done through and halfway over metal fences. This connotes a camera man in hiding, refused access, and stresses the Poles difficult situation, arguably giving the impression that they are trapped,

as some of the shots almost seem jail-like. The use of this cinematic tool implies that the Norwegian employers of illegal labour would rather not be confronted with their questionable operations. This is never explicitly mentioned but still creates a notion that the one anonymous employer that agrees to an interview in chapter 4 is an exception. It is hard to say whether the Poles or their employers is aware of the surveillance taking place. One can speculate that this decision was made for one of the following reasons; the reporter's fear of confronting the employers, the reporters wish to portray the Norwegians in a concrete way or just because of lack of consent. It is however a good example of a cinematic tool that regardless of its intention portrays the Poles as victims of mischievous Norwegian employers. This understanding is strengthened further as an interview with Jan following the job reveals that he did not get paid what he was promised.

Circle dramaturgy – never-ending loops on a micro and macro level

Another important cinematic tool utilised is the circle dramaturgy applied to the narrative elements of the text. The endless loop of Poles coming to Norway, working for a while and then returning to their families is emphasised symbolically in the structuring of the film. Cinematic elements such as the noisy cars always passing by on the nearby road, and montages with sleeping and horrible weather, creates a picture of long time passing by with no dramatic changes. The Poles are stuck in the situation. It is not only the surroundings that stand still, but also the Poles' role in the Norwegian social hierarchy. This loop is further underlined through the circle dramaturgy which is an important element in the structuring of the film. In the beginning of chapter 1, as we get introduced to Jan and Marius, they are being questioned by the police. This is also where the movie ends – in questioning followed by expulsion. Although this might very well be the same single event caught on tape and just a case of cutting the film *in medias res*, it still functions as a narrative element implying that this is an event that has- and will happen again numerous times, in a seemingly never-ending loop. These loops are also represented in the work inquiry-montage at the end of chapter 5, where the Poles' difficulty getting work is the recurring theme. The Poles are expelled time and time again but the promise of work always leads them back. This both functions on a micro level with the single Polish group coming back, but also at a much grander scale with seasonal labour migrants returning to Norway to supplement their wages.

Viewpoint of the reporter

Monologues

One-minute into chapter 1 the reporter Rune Larsen first starts talking. The following monologue sets the tone and frame of understanding for the rest of the documentary:

“Marius and Jan, I first met them here in June. Here – in the roadside between Drammen and Mjøndalen. At the rest stop Herstrøm, a place where Norwegians eat their packed lunch, the Poles make a home a long Norwegian summer.”

Wrapped in a poetic language, Larsen gives a sympathetic introduction to the main characters, speaking in a friendly tone and using their first names. The comparison explaining how Norwegians and Poles use the rest stop differently, carries a deeper latent meaning as it illustrates the ignorance to Polish lives in the lives of Norwegians - One's life, the other's lunch break. This can also be interpreted as suggesting that what is small to Norwegians is huge to Poles, something which can also be associated with Norwegians' and Poles' differences in

living conditions and wages on a macro scale. The Polish-Norwegian differences is further stressed in the next short monologue, a follow-up of the first one, coming five minutes later:

“Herstrøm... Cars with the trunks filled with Polish canned foods and instant soups. Herstrøm, an unofficial employment office where the price of Polish labour in the start of June creep under forty kroners an hour. Herstrøm, a backwater by E76 where some say there are pikes.”

The poetic language continues with the almost mantra-like repetition of “Herstrøm” at the start of every sentence. Through his explicit speaking of low wages and long-lasting food, supplied with footage of fishing, Larsen implies desperation and poor living conditions. Again, in stark contrast to Norwegians.

Larsen continues commenting the happenings through the movie, but does not return to the longer monologue format until the epilogue at the end, following the expulsion of the Poles:

“After a couple of hours, the Poles returned. They have been at Herstrøm since. Marius had a son in the end of July, and travelled back to Poland with 10 000 kroners in his wallet. Jan is still in Norway.”

This epilogue, and the return of the Poles underlines the narrative element of the never-ending loop. Some Poles travel home, others stay.

Investigation of claims

Even though Larsen to a certain extent seek different voices and opinions, claims are being made from both sides that does not get a thorough follow-up by the reporter. This might stem from an ideal goal not to frame any of the parts involved, but ends up doing a great disservice to the portrayal of both groups. Covering radically opposing opinions primarily lead to the impression that one of the groups is lying. The most prominent claims are the claims of the sausage seller that the Poles dirty the toilet facilities during the night. The Poles disagree and argue that they are not alone in using the toilets, and furthermore they are clean. This claim is brought up by the sausage seller several times during the documentary, yet the reporter never investigates the toilet himself. He is not seeking who is right, he rather lets it be with the sausage seller’s words against the Poles’.

Voicing opinions and stereotypes

Stereotypes is a recurring theme being explored in the film. So is Norwegian’s attitudes to Poles as hired workers. The voiced individuals in the film can be divided into four individual groups;

- Media (reporter)
- Immigrants (Poles)
- Locals (sausage seller and employees)
- Authorities (police)

In every meeting and conversation, the group of Poles are the main theme of discussion, and prevailing stereotypes become most apparent in the meeting between the Poles and the locals.

The sausage seller represents a view mainly negative to the Poles’ presence at the rest stop, as in addition to the dirty toilet facilities, she claims the Poles scare the customers away. Here follow two quotes from the complaining about the toilet facilities;

“The worst is the toilet facilities. There is no running water there, and you know, when it is dark at the toilet at night, then you can ask yourself, I do not know if they have this kind of toilets in Poland but... It does not look good in the morning when I arrive, and it does not look good several times, four to five times I clean the toilets every day.”

“And if you came from the toilet just now, you probably saw how it looked, and that is several times a day. I almost do not think they know what a seat is. And it is a shame that I am to struggle so that they can be on holiday in Norway, to put it like that.”

Despite a sharp manner of language, I would not go as far as to label the sausage seller discriminatory or xenophobic, as she is obviously at her wit's end, seeing a situation with no possible solution. These utterances are not as much utterances of xenophobia than utterances of rage-filled ignorance. She is fed up. In the fury of rage the sausage seller promises bread with butter and jam. Her outbursts increase over the course of the film.

The lines uttered in her desperation show a prevalent understanding of the Poles as a threat to public order. She is however willing to make compromises with the Poles;

“I hope that the police will be as kind as to ask them to at least remove themselves during the day.”

The anonymous employer interviewed in chapter 4 is mainly positive to the Poles' presence. They work good and she is quick to angle the interview towards herself, speaking of her own ideals, taking a defensive position stating that as long as the pay is good enough nothing is wrong with hiring Poles. She is also filmed making food, seemingly for the Poles. The locals are thus represented equally, with both positive and negative impressions. A compassionate attitude towards the Poles is also the case in the work inquiry-montage towards the end of chapter 5, showing Norwegians refusing the Poles' work offers, albeit in sympathetic manners. The Poles are through the Norwegian's responses portrayed as victims of unemployment, as in these two examples;

“I'm sorry I cannot help you... I'm sorry.”

“Maybe next summer if you ask...”

There is one case of a dishonourable employer (the hirer refusing to pay the agreed wage in chapter 2) and one case of an honourable employer (chapter 4). Only the last one is interviewed.

The police are neutrally portrayed, as just doing their job. They are never in direct contact with the reporter as the reporter functions as a fly on the wall during the Poles' meetings with the police.

In chapter 4 Jan is briefly interviewed about his past in Poland:

“In Poland I was an owner of my workshop, I make Turkish towels for bathroom. My machines was outdated and must be changed, but no money now to buy new, and I must go here not as a boss like in Poland, but as a worker. Maybe it must be this way.”

The change in perceived social class that takes place when Jan comes to Norway has consequences for his work life and wage level. An expectation of him as a worker leads to him constituting this stereotype to achieve what he wants; work, which even at a low level is significantly better paid than in Poland. Through the Norwegian's expectations of Jan as a low-

wage worker, and his acceptance of this expectation the stereotype gets reinforced. He thus fulfils the self-fulfilling prophecy. This is yet another example of the never-ending loop mentioned in the chapter about narrative tools. Being treated as a construction worker makes you a construction worker. The Poles are constituted through the Norwegian's lack of recognition of skills along with expectations of what kinds of labour Poles do. It is however here important to remember that in the 90s it was fairly normal working seasons with manual labour, especially in agriculture, even among highly educated Poles.

4.2.3.4. Summary

“Dette er vårt Mallorca” shows a series of different views on the Poles coming to Norway to work during the summer. Although major views of Poles both as a nuisance and a valuable resource are present, the reporter does not go far beyond what is said in interviews. Few facts are presented, and claims are rarely investigated. One can however argue that this is not the intention of the film. Attempting to see the documentary through the eyes of the creator, the film takes on the nature of being a purely descriptive portrait, rather than having a goal to take parties or uncover controversial conditions. Through its utilisation of cinematic elements, the film underlines the established perception of Poles as socially immobile actors in a transnational loop, as well as Norwegian's lack of will in changing their expectations or defying their stereotypes. It describes a difficult situation for most of the actors involved, emphasising the differences between the Poles and the Norwegians presented, both in opinion and in culture.

The reporter can be interpreted as having an implicit argument that change is needed. It does not however provide viewpoints on the explicit changes that need to take place. He is hesitant to select sides, solely descriptively follows the Poles' situation. His monologues, however, use a sympathetic and friendly tone in its description of the situation; possibly attempting to bridge gaps.

In the documentary, there are 4 primary voices being heard; the media, immigrants, locals and the authorities. The Polish labour migrants are the main theme of discussion in every conversation, and widely different opinions are expressed. They range from sympathetic views of Poles as good workers, to negative views of Poles as a threat to public order.

The primary language used in the film is English, except for a few very short Norwegian and Polish sequences. While the Norwegian segments mainly cover voiceovers and interviews with Norwegians, the Polish segments are brief interludes where they, for example, have a meal together. This demonstrates a cooperativeness combined with an own national integrity, and thus reflects the phase of temporary labour migration in the 90s.

4.2.4. 2000s: “Brennpunkt: Stolt, polsk og fattig”

4.2.4.1. Introduction

Following the expansion of the European Union in 2004, immigration from Poland to Norway sky-rocketed. This year marks a modern shift in Norwegians' attitude to Poles. Whereas previous years were characterised by Polish immigration being portrayed as a threat to Norwegian public order (figure 15), the period from 2005 to 2008 showed an immediate shift in the portrayal of Poles from threats to victims. There have not been a higher percentage of victim portrayals since the 1980s, the majority in which is clearly victim portrayals of a humanitarian nature. These units to a large extent covers social dumping.

The documentary series “Brennpunkt” has made several investigative documentaries on social dumping of labour migrants over the years, the newest one being “Focal point: The price for a clean car” (Brennpunkt: Prisen for en ren bil, 2017). The documentary selected for this analysis is “Focal point: Proud, Polish and poor” (Brennpunkt: Stolt. polsk og fattig, 2006). It is a prime example for qualitative analysis of the immediate portrayal of Poles in the period following 2004.

“Focal point: Proud, Polish and poor” was first aired Tuesday February 28th, 2006. The “Brennpunkt”-series is a long running investigative series, which is closely linked to § 27 in the NRK’s approved bylaws:

“The NRK is tasked with uncovering blameworthy conditions and contribute to protect individuals and groups from abuse or misconduct from public authorities and institutions, private enterprises or others.” (NRK Kommunikasjon, 2009)

In the spirit of Brennpunkt, the documentary investigates Polish labour migrants’ work and living conditions as well as fraudulent abuse by sub-contractors localised in Poland. The period studied in the documentary is the entirety of 2005.

4.2.4.2. Description

00:00:00 Chapter 1 – Introduction

The viewer is right off the bat presented with descriptive facts on the role of Polish labour migrants in Norwegian society. Dreaming of higher wages and a better life, Poles working abroad are prime targets for fraudulent abuse. Cases of unpaid illegal overtime work and wages under the established minimum is not uncommon. Eastern Europeans constitutes a fourth of the total workforce on Norwegian construction sites. A historical perspective is pulled in, as the viewer gets told Norway always has exploited cheap and imported labour, pointing at the Pakistani situation in 1972. The parallels between 2006 and 1972 are introduced as striking, and the point is made that Poles’ work and living conditions are unworthy, especially because of the industry’s dependence on the migrant workers. A Golden Age in the Norwegian construction sector, with a revenue of 160 000 000 000 kroner, has made Norway dependent on importing 25% of the total workforce. Norwegian wage levels would not permit this.

00:03:00 Chapter 2 – Examining Poles’ working conditions

Polish labour migrants who arrived at the start of 2005 gives a tour of the house provided by the Norwegian contractor. The house, which is in a very poor condition, is shared by 25 Poles. The entrance door has no lock, there are rats in the walls, rust, mould and flaking paint. There are only two showers. While this tour is the main visual focus of the scene, the reporter performs a voiceover describing most of the Poles as being well educated construction workers with years of practice. This situation, along with the organised fraudulent abuse of Polish labour migrants is described as unworthy. Expressing deep concern of their own situation, the Poles speak of the paradox of being a necessary resource, yet socially neglected.

00:05:00 Chapter 3 – Visiting Espol in Warsaw

Before visiting the Polish sub-contractor firm Espol in Warsaw, the reporter informs the viewer about an illegal contract copy being distributed to the Norwegian contractors and trade unions. Polish construction workers signed up to a wage of approximately 50 kroner per hour lasting until 2009. This is about five times the wage level in Poland. However, the contract sent from

the Polish sub-contractor to the Norwegian contractor, PEAB, is a copy of the contract with 125 kroner per hour. A Polish worker speaks of the pressure put on them to work unpaid overtime, completing certain goals such as tiling one large bathroom every day. It is uncovered that PEAB pays 200 kroner to Espol per hour, which then pays a third of this further down the chain to the workers themselves. This situation was uncovered when workers were told by the contractor to tell the Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority (Arbeidstilsynet) that they earned more than what they did.

Tomasz Paciorek of Espol reveals in an interview that the workers were sent back to Poland after half a year to avoid having to pay tax. An unemployment rate of 20% in Poland pushes the Poles westwards.

00:10:00 Chapter 4 – Confronting PEAB

The Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority is followed during an unannounced inspection at the Oslo University Hospital construction site. One third of thirty examined foreign contractors break the minimum wage demand of 126 kroner per hour. The Poles interviewed says that a wage between 126 and 130 kroner is challenging when diet and lodging must be covered. PEAB, which has the responsibility for all its workers, including those hired by sub-contractors, was informed about the social dumping by their own trade union representatives. Børje Petterson, representing PEAB, refute the allegations and trusts a guarantee from Espol claiming they pay tariffs, lodging and trips to Poland. He also refers to thorough background checks conducted by PEAB's own Warsaw office.

00:15:00 Chapter 5 – Revisiting Espol-workers

The grave situation of Poles in Norway is underlined with showing how the Poles are dependent on fishing to live. Following this short segment, a group of newly arrived Espol-workers at the end of 2005 is visited. Nothing has changed in the terms of wage. Despite strict requirements of registration in public registers, several contractors hire employers from the black market. Nobody knows how many foreign workers are in Norway.

00:18:00 Chapter 6 – Illegal Norwegian supplier

The mention of unregistered and untaxed illegal labour is followed up with an interview with an anonymous Norwegian, supplying Eastern European labour to exclusive construction projects in wealthy districts. He speaks of an industry permeated by contractors looking the other way when contracts and insurance are non-existent. Over the past two years he has had a revenue of 30 million kroner, made possible by the entrepreneurs not checking whether his employees are registered. A wilful ignorance among contractors is implied, as the man underlines that the contractors do not ask where the workers come from, only if they are able to do the job.

00:20:00 Chapter 7 – Revealing illegal labour

This segment starts with PEAB once more guaranteeing there is no illegal labour at their construction sites. Returning to the labour inspection authority's inspection at Oslo University Hospital, this guarantee is proven wrong. Due to time constraints in finishing the construction, a plethora of different companies and sub-contractors is involved. The inspection authority reveals that several of the workers are illegally employed. PEAB's response is that they receive the verifications and guarantees from their sub-contractors and not links further down the line.

Børje Petterson once more emphasise the importance of trust in contract partners. He does not distrust the workers but has not spoken to them either.

4.2.4.3. *Analysis*

Cinematic elements

Monologues

Already from the start a heavy tone is set as grey skies and hard facts are presented. Like “This is our Mallorca”, “Focal point: Proud, Polish and Poor” opens with a monologue from the reporter;

“Every year thousands of workers travel from Eastern Europe to Norway. They dream of a better life and are willing to work hard. They represent close to a fourth of the workforce at our construction sites. They work more hours than legal. They work far below the minimum wage. And they are cheated with fake contracts.”

The goal and framework for understanding is established from the start. It is clearly established that Eastern Europeans are the victims of the film even though it is not explicitly mentioned who is the threat. This is problematic as it is later revealed that several of the criminals involved are Poles. This is followed by a short historical introduction to Norway’s questionable tradition of receiving labour migrants and losing them to cases of social dumping and illegal labour. Through this historical perspective it is implied that this is far more than an individual case and more of a symptom of something deeper, more latent which is faulty in the way we receive immigrants.

Towards the end, the following epilogue can be heard from the reporter:

“The industry thinks there are 15 000-20 000 Eastern European workers in the country, but in reality they have no control. Unofficial numbers indicate the double, namely 40 000.”

This indicates an arguable wilful ignorance within the industry but it might also be perceived to portray the Eastern Europeans workers as a looming threat. There are close to double the number of Poles than first assumed. Using the term “no control” further implies danger.

The utilisation of music

A recurring dramatic musical theme is a cinematic element that should be examined. The melody is composed in a minor scale, and therefore sounds sad. Even though it is sparsely utilised, it contributes to a more dramatic depiction of the situation. The theme first appears before visiting the Polish workers to check on their conditions at the start of chapter 2, immediately linking the music to the image of a house which has not seen maintenance in years. This connotes a feeling of Eastern European workers as forgotten. From this moment it is more concretely used when some kind of institutional promise is revealed to be broken. There are concrete examples in chapter 2 (a promise of good wages and living conditions), chapter 3 (when a sub-contractor does not pay the agreed salary) and chapter 5 (when apparent five year-contracts are revealed to be six-month contracts). It is also used during the epilogue at the end of chapter 7, when the reporter speaks of the numbers of unregistered Polish workers. The musical theme is in style with the Brennpunkt series’ main theme and is thus probably a part of the series grander branding strategy. It does however seem carefully placed to emphasise the

cases of social dumping, connecting social dumping to sadness, and as such conveying a message that the only right thing to do is to conquer social dumping.

Lack of Polish voices

There is an evident lack of Polish labour migrant voices in the film. The primary focus and almost antagonistically portrayed objects of investigation, are Norwegian contractors and Polish sub-contractors. Norwegian labour unions and ministries play the role as a voice of reason. The conditions of Poles is the main theme, yet the subjects, the victimised Poles themselves, are not the main individuals followed; the antagonists are.

In chapter 2 there is a Polish voice sharing its concern:

“It is hard for us Poles to work here. Everyone knows we earn little. They treat us as if we take the job from someone. All we want is honourable work and an honourable wage and to live like everybody else.”

Contrary to the establishment of Poles as victims in the opening monologue, the individual Pole given the most attention is the representative for the Warsaw-based sub-contractor Espol; Tomasz Paciorek. He does not want to give an interview on camera, and the reporters utilise hidden camera techniques. This portrays him as a rich criminal who is difficult to reach.

In contrast to the other units of the qualitative analysis there also seems to be a lot more talking *about* Poles by Norwegians than interviews *with* Poles. This can be a consequence of trying to conquer widespread social dumping in 27 minutes, and that exposing those who cause the situation is given more importance.

Language

The labour migrants portrayed in the film mostly speak Polish. Especially in the interviews clearly directed by the producers in a face to face-setting. During the inspection by The Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority however, the film team works as a fly on the wall, and in these segments, it seems like the labour migrants themselves decide which language they are most comfortable speaking, as several speak English despite a Polish-Norwegian translator being present.

Viewpoint of the reporter

The reporter is to a lesser extent partial than in “Dette er vårt Mallorca” (1991), and has more of a role as the viewers enlightened friend and ally. This enlightened ally is not afraid to ask critical questions and make critical observations, as can be seen in the following excerpt from chapter 4, in an interview with a Norwegian contractor:

“Børje Petterson trusts the information he has received from Espol. He neither believes the workers nor the labour union. He calls it rumours and only work with his own people in Poland.”

This is not what the interviewee says explicitly, but the enlightened helper is not afraid to use her own critical observations in interpreting the object of the critique.

Brennpunkt’s often attempts to uncover problematic conditions internally in Norway, and together with the Norwegian people investigates, makes demands and ultimately better the state of the country. To do this, however, the NRK needs a notion of what a good state is. This is

thoroughly presented in the documentary's latent levels. The consistent sub-text through the film is that *labour migrants has the same rights and deserve the same conditions as us*. There are several cases in the film of breaking Norwegian law, which is an easily identifiable offense and objective benchmark for being a good citizen. Following Norwegian law is the bare minimum, not only for immigrants but also among their employees. *Everyone* should follow Norwegian law when in Norway. The reporter manifests no other opinion or intention than making sure everybody fulfils Norwegian law and the minimum respect for fellow human beings – the honour mentioned by the Pole being interviewed in chapter 2.

The documentary concludes with the investigation into illegal construction work leading to further self-investigation by the firm – the NRK has made a change for the better in the world.

Primary portrayal

Classifying the portrayals and roles in the film proves harder than in the previous units of study, as the film is a complex composition of narratives. The roles the Polish labour migrants play can be interpreted both as victims (of social dumping), heroes (of the Norwegian labour demand) and threat (to the Norwegian contractor's integrity). This further complicates when introducing Espol, the Polish sub-contractor in Warsaw. PEAB AS (the Norwegian contractor) can be interpreted as a victim of Espol' shady business, even though one can argue that PEAB is the threat here not conducting its background checks thoroughly enough. In this understanding the Poles in the film represents the ultimate victims and the ultimate threat *at the same time* through different individuals – the victims located in Norway and the threats being in Poland. This is however important to note, as my research question mainly focuses on the immigrants themselves. Because of this, the main portrayal of Polish immigrants in Norway is here coded as victims.

One should however not underestimate the documentary's ability and possible interpreted message that *none* of these problems would exist if the Poles were not here in the first place, which can in fact be read as an anti-immigration statement.

4.2.4.4. Summary

“Brennpunkt: Stolt, polsk og fattig” portrays Polish labour migrants primarily as victims of poor living conditions and social dumping, as this social dumping is the main issue of investigation in the documentary. The different Norwegian actors interviewed, except the criminal Norwegian supplier of Polish work force, all apparently have the Polish workers best interests in mind. There is however among the contractors a general mistrust to the claims of the Polish migrants and trade union representatives. Poles are preached as good workers fulfilling a necessity for labour but they are not treated as such.

The reporter implicitly argues that Polish labour migrants, similarly to Norwegians, have rights, should be treated with respect and that no one is above the law. Iniquity is iniquity for everyone. The reporter's mission, as part of the Brennpunkt-team, is to uncover existing unacceptable conditions in Norway. Rather than primarily defending the Polish labour migrants, the reporter explores and aims to address the institutions responsible.

The labour migrants in the documentary could be any oppressed labour migrant group as their voice is so weakly represented. They are presented as little more than inevitable victims of social differences. Yet, the fact that the extent of “Polishness” presented is low, I will argue that

it contributes to a general verdict of labour migrants' conditions in Norway as bad. The lack of voices creates a certain distance between the viewer and the labour migrant victims.

English is the language primarily used in interviews with the Poles in the documentary. Due to the small amount of Polish voices present, however, the main language used in the film is Norwegian. The Poles speak English during an inspection by the labour inspection authority, despite being offered an interpreter. One explanation of this behaviour can be that it is to appear cooperative and integrated, bridging cultural differences.

5. Discussion

In this chapter, the results and interpretations presented above will be discussed in relation to the existing research presented in the theory chapter. Refer to the theory chapter of in-depth explanations of the theory utilised in the discussions. The basis for the discussion is the following question:

“How can factors such as political situation, social situation, national values and self-understanding, both in Poland and Norway, contribute to shaping the trends in the NRK’s portrayals of Polish immigrants?”

5.1. Which factors shape portrayals?

In studying the results and seeing them in relation to existing research on the field, three central factors contributing to shaping the portrayal of the Polish immigrants become apparent.

5.1.1. The political situation in Poland and reception of this

Although it is difficult to prove a direct causal link between the political situation in Poland at any given time and the portrayal of Poles in the NRK, my results seem to reflect the different phases in Polish-Norwegian immigration history, as stated by Jon Horgen Friberg and Anne Golden (2014, p. 12-15). The shifts between these phases are clearly divided by major political changes, both on a national (martial law) and international (fall of the Iron Curtain, expansion of the EU) level. As the portrayals follows the phases, which in turn follows Poland’s domestic and foreign political situation, I see the portrayals as an indirect result of Poland’s political situation. By extension I also see the official response to the political situations in Norway as a shaping factor. One such response can be the widespread solidarity and support shown to the oppressed Poles caused by the unrest during the first phase (1980-1989) in modern Polish-Norwegian immigration history.

5.1.2. The Norwegian national narrative

It seems that the portrayal and subject focus of broadcast on Poles to a large extent mirrors the political situation in Poland, and are interpreted in a framework of Norwegian values as established by the NRK, such as curiosity, solidarity and social engagement. Who we, as Norwegians, are in relation to the Poles, is as such an important factor for the understanding. In examining how Polish immigrants are portrayed in the NRK, it is, due to public service broadcaster’s position in the nation state, important to examine the established narratives about who Norwegians are and shall be.

In the 70s we see Poles through the eyes of open, curious Norwegians interested in cultures different from our own. In the 80s we see Poles through the eyes of a rich country with the responsibility to help, especially those near. In the 90s, the debate on Poles coming to Norway to work for shorter periods is a polarising topic, and can be tracked down to the exact uncertainty on whether we have a responsibility for bad living conditions among Polish seasonal workers in Norway or not. In the 2000s the main notion is the same as in the 80s; we have a responsibility to help those less fortunate. This time however, we are helping Poles in Norway, not abroad, through demanding certain minimum standards for their wages and living conditions. This can be seen as a probable consequence of the EU-expansion making Polish labour migrants legal, and thus part of the grander European community. All these interpretations are reflected in the distribution of portrayal presented in the quantitative findings.

Gullestad speaks of Norway as having an established position and cherished narrative as peace-loving victim of colonisation from Denmark. It is also seen as highly tolerant, homogenous and anti-racist (Gullestad, 2002, p. 59). This peace-loving and tolerant attitude is demonstrated in Erik Bye's reception of immigrants (Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye, 1973), and in Bye's pleas for support (Lørdagsredaksjonen, 1981). Gullestad argues that the existing egalitarianism, combined with the totalising "innvandrere"-term creates invisible fences, making those outside the victim-nation Norway inherently different, and thus threatening to the sameness. Norway, because of its narratives, has a reputation to live up to, which makes immigrants who differ from the narratives, but refuse to downplay their differences, appear as provoking hostility. In this way egalitarianism, according to Gullestad, breeds a notion critical to immigrants appearing different in Norway (Gullestad, 2002, p. 59). Through the ideal of imagined sameness, we notice those different. This makes imagined sameness an excluding factor. A respect for the similar individuals in the in-group excludes dissimilar individuals in the out-group.

The cherished peace-loving narrative is upheld by several national heroes, such as Fridtjof Nansen, and institutions, the most prevalent being the Nobel Committee and the mission to award the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1983 the awarding of Peace Prize to the Solidarność leader Lech Wałęsa, declared a support to Solidarność' efforts for Polish workers. Other contributors to this narrative, is Norway as arena for peace negotiations and as a large contributor of development aid to the Third World. I will argue that the NRK is another such institution. Yes – Norway is not exclusively positive to everyone and everything, but peaceful coexistence is an apparent ideal. The items on crime in my material usually concern Polish individuals breaking Norwegian law. They get coverage, just like Norwegians themselves breaking laws. This is the NRK practicing sameness. As long as immigrants are legal and willing to take part in the Norwegian narrative, they should be treated with respect.

In addition to describing, all the items in my in-depth analysis, to varying degrees encourages support, aid, change (often implicitly and unspecified) and acceptance in receiving immigrants. The NRK aimed to educate and enlighten the people of Norway. This can be seen through using beloved TV-personalities to present the positive viewpoints on immigration and integration. The aforementioned Erik Bye had this function, and another such example is Trond-Viggo Torgersen (Halvsju, 1979) who is still active today. Both made studio shows in the 1970s focusing on peaceful coexistence, inviting immigrants as a group of widely different national origin. Both participated actively in the immigrants' cultural performances in their shows. Both shows were first broadcasted on a Saturday. Such narratives and justifications also exist among individual citizens. One example of this is the anonymous employer in "Dette er vårt Mallorca" (1991). She protects her decision to hire illegal labour with the argument that she is doing it ethically and fair. She apparently pays Polish workers the same salary as she gets herself.

5.1.3. The NRK's bylaws – independence and focus on diversity

In performing selections on programmes and portrayals to broadcast, the NRK inevitably paints a picture of what the institution is. It has a defining voice in Norwegian values through what is broadcasted and how it is portrayed. It should however be kept in mind that the government's demands and expectations to the institution, which are formulated in the NRK's bylaws, involves a focus on independence. In § 28 it is emphasised that the NRK shall protect its integrity and independence from individuals or groups wishing to influence the content published. In § 21 and § 31, a diversity, both in subjects and coverage is stressed (NRK

Kommunikasjon, 2009). The NRK's bylaws is as such a major factor shaping the portrayal of Polish immigrants in the NRK.

5.2. Institutional strive for sameness

Marianne Gullestad (2002, p. 46) stresses the importance of common ground and experiences to reach sameness and equality. She does however also provide critical remarks, such as that the values and ideals that create sameness (bring us together) are also the ones creating differences (separate us) (Gullestad, 2002, p. 49). Through focusing on bridging differences, we confirm the differences in the first place, thus doing ourselves a great disservice. Tore Schjøth's appearance in "Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye" (1973) is an example of laying out differences that then must be bridged. There are also parallels with left-wing politicians of the 1970s, claiming that peaceful coexistence only can be achieved through tolerance and mutual understanding of differences (Rossavik, 2011, pp. 256-257).

A constant pursuit for sameness is present in three of my qualitatively analysed units. In the 1970s, Erik Bye, through the inclusion of immigrants in his studio and expert opinion on how to receive immigrants, represents an immigration-positive attitude. Even though the emphasis is on differences, the focus is on how to bridge these. In the 1980s, using Polish guests with Norwegian educations and good Norwegian language, blurs dividing lines. In "Brennpunkt: Stolt, polsk og fattig" (2006) there is an existing implicit argument that labour migrants have the same rights and deserve the same conditions as us.

As I have shown, 70% of the broadcasts have a sympathetic portrayal of Poles. For this discussion I will see this in relation to the pursuit of sameness, as positive portrayals can be seen as implying a positive attitude to integration. This indicates that the pursuit for integration through sameness and bridging of differences, e.g. a considerable degree of *assimilation*, seems to be an ideal for the NRK.

5.2.1. Inclusion of Poles in the European 'we'

In the following section, Marianne Gullestad's (2002), Kris Van Heuckelom's (2013), Jon Horgen Friberg's and Anne Golden's (2014), as well as IMDi's (2014a) research is utilised. Summaries of central points are presented in sections 2.3.2. (Gullestad), 2.4. (Van Heuckelom) and 1.3.2. (Friberg and Golden).

Gullestad shows that the Norwegian term for immigrant, "innvandrere", is problematic, as calling someone an innvandrere places them in a category different from the Norwegian 'we'. A social category which they cannot possibly escape (Gullestad, 2002, p. 50). I will here present an argument on how the positive portrayal of Polish labour migrants following the EU-expansion can be seen as a consequence of Poles no longer being perceived as alien immigrants, but rather sliding closer and closer to becoming part of the common European 'we'.

The radical increase of sympathetic portrayals in the years following the EU-expansion can be seen as signifying a prevailing optimism for the future. Looking at Kris Van Heuckelom's description of the different phases in portrayal of Polish labour migrants in European migration film (2013, pp. 214-227), there are clear parallels to the development of the different phases of Polish-Norwegian immigration history as presented by Friberg and Golden (2014, pp. 12-15), both explaining central events in Polish history, such as the fall of the Iron Curtain and the EU-expansion as catalysts for changes in depiction of Poles in migration cinema and immigration trends to Norway respectively. It should be stressed that migration film is inherently different

to public service broadcasting, but the similarities in portrayal are striking. Two of Heuckelom's chapters are called "Turning Troublemakers into Problem Solvers" and "From 'Outlander' to 'Inlander'" respectively. They describe how migration film over time has changed its portrayal of Polish characters, from unsympathetic to sympathetic and from foreigners to part of the 'we'. The titles can be seen in relation to my quantitative findings of portrayals and changes after 2004. In my material the Poles went from being troublemakers in the ten-year period leading up to 2004 to immediately becoming victims of social dumping in the years following. The lack of threat- and fear-based portrayals following 2004 can be interpreted as an indication of Poles being integrated in the European 'we'. Also, the fact that permanent work-based residence is now *legal*, arguably makes the labour migrants more welcome, as they are no longer associated with illegal labour. The *lack* of this inclusion is also visible in the ten years leading up to 2004, having more units coded with threat portrayals and crime subjects. Polish labour migrants are still not *legal* permanent residents in the 1990s. They are seasonal workers and the phenomenon is new.

Van Heuckelom argues that the new 'outlanders' are individuals of nationalities outside the EU, and that Poles has become part of the European 'inland' (Van Heuckelom, 2013, p. 227). We are all part of the greater European community, and perceive the groups outside as the primary foreigners. This is also in line with Unni Wikan's argument as presented by Gullestad (2002, p. 52), that the "innvandrere" term has become synonymous with Muslims. It can be argued that the feeling of unity (sameness) in the common European project, gets stronger when opposed by an external foreign-national 'outlander', regardless of ethnicity or religion. Only those outside EU are perceived as immigrants, as the borders inside the EU primarily have been open. We are legal labour migrants in each other's countries. There are no obvious divisions between us, thus making us all part of the same whole. Legally coming to Norway makes the immigrant a legal citizen. Through doing this, the immigrant is obeying Norwegian law and through this, societal norms. One of the most striking effects of the EU expansion is thus how a previously implicitly "illegal people" or "outlanders" arguably became legal or "inlanders". This is clearly visible in the distribution of portrayals. It is important to stress that this does not say anything about the situation today. Rather, it describes the immediate situation following the EU-expansion, indicating that inclusion in the EU is inclusion in the European community.

According to my results, Poles in total have been sympathetically portrayed in the NRK historically. IMDi's (2014a, p. 27) report indicate that the general trend is that unsympathetic portrayals, often with crime as subject, are emphasised by the media. As my results seem to be in opposition to this notion, this can be yet another indication of Poles becoming a well-integrated part of the 'we', and as Czmur (2014) claims, that "[...] the distance between Poland and Norway is getting smaller". It is hard to say whether this is a consequence of the broadcaster's policy or of the Poles inclusion, and thereby geo-political proximity in the EU. A general perception of individuals as integrated can however be assumed to lessen threat portrayals. As such, the historically small amount of threat portrayals can be read as Poles primarily being well-integrated. Central solidary ideals in the Socialist Left Party and Labour Party in the 70s and 80s (Rossavik, 2011, p. 251), such as peaceful coexistence and reconciliation, can also be seen as contributory explanatory factors for the sympathetic portrayals.

5.2.2. Bridging or utilising established differences as a Polish labour migrant

The research used as basis for this section is John Eade, Stephen Drinkwater and Michał P. Garapich's analysis of social conditions among Polish workers at construction sites in London (2007), as presented in chapter 2.3.3. The results from various IMDi (The Directorate of Integration and Diversity) reports are explained in chapter 2.5.2.

One should also examine the Poles' own responses to the NRK's pursuit of sameness. As Eade et al. has shown, labour migrants emphasise similarities rather than differences when arriving in competition-driven ethnically divided labour markets. In London this is done through focusing on common skin colour and similarities in culture. There are also examples of Poles warning locals about other Poles to separate themselves from the group label of Poles, and through this hopefully escaping the sometimes-unfavourable group identity applied (Eade et al., 2007, pp. 15-18). According to IMDi, nationality gets more attention once crime is involved (IMDi, 2014a, p. 27). IMDi shares its concern that "[...] using an inclusive language, that does not restrict 'the Norwegian we', is a challenge for everyone who convey information about integration and immigrants: both the media, research and integration authorities." And that "Awareness of language and term use also is about conveying precisely, to reach out with the desired message." (IMDi, 2009, p. 20). These excerpts show an institutionally established awareness of the challenges in speaking about immigrants. With the media's tendency to emphasise nationality when the issue covered is crime, it may seem like deeming other Poles criminal, maximise the importance of the allegedly criminal Poles' nationality and minimise the importance of the whistle blower's nationality. The individual "good Pole" becomes part of the in-group through revealing bad rumours about the collectively "bad Poles" (out-group). As shown by the Kvinneguiden forum post, there might be a similar tendency in Norway, although this is by no means proven. What is an established truth in Norway, however, is Poles' work culture and the stereotype of this as a means for the Poles themselves to get work. A positive stereotype of Poles as good workers helps Poles getting manual routine labour, but halts their social mobility as there is a widespread notion among employers that the only thing they are good at is following orders (Ladegård, 2012).

The strategies to achieve sameness, and thus social mobility, among Polish labour migrants in London, is a contrast to the widespread use of the good worker stereotype in Norway. In Norway there are short-term goals among Polish labour migrants to be favoured applicants on the next temporary construction project, thereby suppressing the actual desire for social mobility and more stable work.

5.2.3. The present and future of the ideal of sameness in relation to Poles

Despite widely differing strategies to increase sameness and include Poles in Norway, such as the NRK's sympathetic portrayals and cases of ad hoc universalism in defending Poles rights on construction sites (Friberg et al., 2014, p. 43), most Poles, even today, are still deemed relatively socially immobile. Ethnic divisions still existed at construction sites in 2012 (Friberg, 2012, pp. 1926-1927) and Poles were still victims of social dumping in 2017 (Brennpunkt: Prisen for en ren bil, 2017). Research from late 2015 also shows that many Poles live Polish lives in Norway and are sceptical to Norwegian institutions (Nuse, 2015). One explanatory factor of the apparent lack of integration can be the different values present in Norway and Poland. In Hofstede Insights' graph (figure 6) Poles have scored very high on the Uncertainty Avoidance-dimension, indicating a general fear of ambiguous and unknown situations. There

is also a significant difference in the Power Distance-dimension, indicating a higher ability among Poles to reconcile with undesired situations. One of the cornerstones of Norwegian society is social mobility, in contrary to a prevalent notion in Poland that a situation is set. This implies a gap that needs to be bridged if we are to become more similar. This can also explain issues such as the great mistrust to Norwegian child protection services (74%) among Poles in Norway (Cosson-Eide and Alnes, 2018).

Whether Poles as of today are part of the European ‘we’ is difficult to say. Gaps seem somewhat bridged in the immediate period following the EU-expansion as threat portrayals decrease rapidly. It is however hard to say whether this immediate bridging of gaps has lasted.

5.3. Confirmation and denial of stereotypes

It is reasonable to assume that most stereotypes come from somewhere. Whether this somewhere is rumours intending to frame a social group in overly positive or negative manners, or if the stereotypes are rooted in real situations and experiences, are often hard to say. “The hard-working construction worker”-stereotype is prevalent in my material. This is confirmed through the last two in-depth analyses and “good worker” hero portrayals especially prevalent in the 2000s. It is hard to say whether this is a result of or contributing cause for the existing stereotype. Since many Poles in Norway utilise the stereotype to get work, despite it deeming them socially immobile, one can argue that the existence of such stereotypes often works in a circular motion, as a self-fulfilling prophecy often spiralling into strengthened stereotypes. The stereotype seems to reflect reality somewhat as it, according to Friberg (Ladegård, 2012), seem to exist a situation with internal competition on Norwegian construction sites. “The toughened westerner” and “The lazy and criminal self-neglecting Pole” are harder to confirm however, as they are not evident in the material.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Summary

The research question asked is:

“How have Polish immigrants in Norway historically been portrayed by the NRK through its television broadcasts from 1970 to 2008? How can this development be explained?”

Looking at the development of the portrayal of Poles over time reveals a wavelike pattern. In the period from 1970 to 2008, the portrayal of Polish immigrants in the NRK has gone through four distinct phases, clearly separated by three events in Polish history: the declaration of martial law in Poland (1981), the fall of the Iron Curtain (1989) and Poland’s inclusion in the EU (2004). The 1970s were characterised by Poles as an exotic foreign people. The 1980s saw Poles as victims of oppression. In the 1990s Poles began arriving in Norway for shorter seasonal work stays. The 2000s, up until 2004 followed the trend of the 1990s. In 2004, however, a radical change happened in the portrayal, following the expansion of the European Union, portraying Polish immigrants far more sympathetically than before. The primary find is that Poles over time has been portrayed as an increasingly more accepted part of Norwegian society. 70% of the NRK’s total portrayals of Poles are primarily sympathetic, being almost three times more than the 25% unsympathetic portrayals (figure 14), illustrating a clear positive attitude over time. My initial hypothesis was that issues considering smuggling and social dumping would be emphasised, and that there would be an overweight of threat and victim portrayals. My hypothesis as such seem disproven, as the overall portrayal is much more sympathetic than expected. Explanatory factors for the development over time are discussed to be a combination of factors such as the situation in Poland (and the reception of this in Norway), confirmation of the Norwegian national narrative (as presented in the NRK) and the NRK’s own bylaws (which are concrete internal guidelines utilised in the NRK’s selection process).

6.2. Reflection on relevance of results

Despite my goal to examine the coverage of Polish immigrants in general in Norway, my research ended up focusing mostly on labour migrants. One of the lessons learned is how difficult it is to speak of Polish immigration to Norway without ending up focusing on labour migration. It has without question had the largest impact on media coverage of Polish immigrants, as seen in my overview of primary subjects (figure 13).

Quantitative studies of large materials on the historical development of broadcasted portrayals, opens for revealing trends which would not be visible in smaller samples or individual qualitative analyses. Such quantitative studies, however, benefit greatly from qualitative sampling, as qualitative research may provide valuable insights not explicitly sought after. While the quantitative study seeks to code certain concrete, expected and observable variables, the initially open nature of the qualitative analysis opens for observations beyond expectation. I would argue that my survey of the portrayal of Poles in the NRK over a span of time is solely dependent on the qualitative examples to uncover deeper understanding and trends otherwise unavailable.

Through my work with the thesis I have mapped the historical development of the portrayal of Poles in the NRK. My interpretation and results are inevitably the result of subjective interpretations, yet following an ideal to be objective. The results should as thus not serve as definitive answers but rather as provisional data for the further understanding of the coverage

of Polish labour migration as a phenomenon. The results should, in combination with the research presented on other aspects of the topic, be used as a contribution to the readers' own formation of understanding. A research project of such limited scope can make claims and indicate trends in the NRK's coverage of immigrants but these claims should not be used for generalisation.

6.3. Room for improvement

If I was to conduct the study over again, I would have done a few things differently. This is based on the need for more specific and clearly defined quantitative results:

I should try to map out the development of the phenomena characterising the different immigration-phases to cover for the peculiarities of my material through:

- using narrower sub-portrayals. There should be two new victim sub-portrayals, "Domestic oppression" (to cover for the grave situation in the 1980s) and "Social dumping" (to cover for the situation following the fall of the Iron Curtain and EU-expansion). An alternative to the "Domestic oppression" sub-portrayal could be to in some way include the existing situation in the 1980s in a pre-existing sub-portrayal. One seemingly relevant sub-portrayal would be "war", which in its *current* state stresses "specifically war" in its definition (attachment 1.).
- finding fitting sub-portrayals for covering seasonal workers in the 1990s.

I should once more attempt to gain access to the broadcasted programmes themselves. This would have opened for analysis of frames, probably making more nuanced pictures of the NRK and the units than the covered manifest portrayals.

I should, with the material available for streaming on the NRK's online streaming service (NRK, 2018) try to conduct a similar quantitative analysis for the period from 2008 to 2018. This is difficult however as Web-TV's search functionalities are lacking in advanced search functionalities and only returns 100 search hits at max.

I should, earlier in the process decide on including secondary subjects and secondary portrayals, as this would provide more nuance in the material.

Such hindsight will however always be part of a conducted study. It is easy, after seeing your results, to say what should have been done differently ten months ago. This is one of the primary strengths of a multifaceted two-part analysis; I do observations which can further strengthen my following quantitative analyses, and I can also in the quantitative analysis uncover trends which can be examined further in qualitative in-depth analysis.

6.4. Additional observations for future research

Through the work with the study I did a series of observations that would benefit from more thorough examination through future research projects. These could be carried out with the above changes in mind. John Gerring stresses the importance for a case study to respond to its inherent ambiguity through the report of "[...] all facts and hypotheses that might be relevant – in short, to overreport." (2004, p. 346). This should be done to lay the groundwork for future researchers. I will here present the more prominent ideas for future research that occurred over the course of working with the study.

I could conduct a similar analysis with distinct focus on, and coding of established stereotypes. A larger transnational study on differences in perceived stereotypes, through surveying the confirmation or denial of these, could provide insights into how stereotypes are utilised, both by immigrants and the host country.

Through investigating connections between value mapping (World Value Survey (2018) and Hofstede Insights (2018)) and the extent to which different nationalities are covered in the media, I could contribute to the understanding of cultural proximity as a shaping factor in media coverage.

I could conduct a quantitative analysis of seen broadcasts with a series of new variables in mind:

- Are the actors speaking with immigrants or about immigrants?
- Are the units covering immigrants in segments or full programmes?
- Are the reporters subjective or objective? Interviewers or investigative narrators?
- Are immigrants represented by individuals or through numbers and general reports?

Clearly ambitious, but not impossible, I could attempt to create a toolset inspired by the stereotype content model for mapping *coverage* of social groups in a grid. Through answering established questions and mapping the results between a horizontal axis covering competence and a vertical axis covering warmth, institutions' portraying and framing of different social groups could be standardised and comparative.

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