



# Sharing our holiday parks

*Critical discourse analysis on the coexisting of Dutch tourists and Asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks.*





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*Source Image frontpage: EenVandaag (2017, February 20). Nederlanders en vluchtelingen samen op een vakantiepark [Screenshot]. Retrieved from <https://eenvandaag.avrotros.nl/item/nederlanders-en-vluchtelingen-samen-op-een-vakantiepark/>*

## Abstract

Due to insufficient capacity in traditional asylum seekers accommodations led by the central organ for the reception of asylum seekers (COA), and the influx of refugees caused by the Syrian war, the COA started collaborating with Dutch holiday parks. On some holiday parks this led to coexisting of tourists and asylum seekers. This thesis explored how the ideology of nationalism and the process of othering relate to the perceptions of the Dutch tourists on the accommodation of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to analyze text fragment from holiday park review websites, social media posts and a documentary which highlights this coexisting: Holiday for everyone. The analysis led to three different discourses related to nationalism and the process of othering: the language of threat, national burden and profit model. The language of threat constitute the idea that asylum seekers pose a threat to the safety of the tourists and those living in close proximity. National burden is based on the way in which asylum seekers are portrayed as a burden for the countries resources and that those resources are more needed amongst the local "us" group. And finally the last discourse, the profit model is based on the public sector gaining benefits from accommodating asylum seekers.

**Key words: Asylum seekers; Tourism; Critical discourse analysis; Nationalism; Othering**

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## 1. Introduction

*“When can the hard-working Dutch people enjoy free entrance for an amusement park with an overnight stay? (Facebook user, 2019)”*, one of the reactions to a post from the Dutch broadcasting foundation (NOS) on Facebook. This post refers to an article confirming that 930 asylum seekers will be temporary placed in the holiday houses on the Duinrell estate (NOS, 2019). As a consequence of the civil war in Syria, an increased number of refugees arrived in Europa. In 2015, a total of 1.3 million people applied for asylum in European countries (Connor, 2016). This sudden influx led to social, political, and logistical challenges within the European countries. Although the Netherlands received a relatively small amount of asylum application compared to other European countries such as Sweden and Germany, the social cultural planning office: SCP (2015), stated that Dutch citizens perceived it as the most concerning political issue in that year. The concerns that are often expressed are fears of an increase in terrorism, the fear that the influx of refugees pose a threat to the Dutch cultural identity and the tension within society caused by presumably unfair distribution of governmental funds. More than two thirds of the participants even expressed that they would like the government to focus more on domestic problems like the current housing shortage and less on problems concerning foreign countries, such as giving aid to countries struggling with war or natural disasters and welcoming refugees in the Netherlands (SCP, 2015).

Even though the influx of refugees in the Netherlands resulting from the Syrian civil war, was relatively small, it still caused for logistical challenges. According to Wijkhuis & Van Duin (2017) the amount of asylum seekers in 2015 had not been as large in years. The last time a comparable number of refugees fled to the Netherlands was in 1994 and 1998, as a result of the civil wars in Bosnia and Kosovo. Because the number of available places was inadequate in the asylum seekers centra, municipalities were asked to provide temporary reception for refugees. This was not only cause by the sudden influx of asylum seekers, it had also to do with the fact that the asylum seekers' centers still housed approximately 11,000 people who already had a residence permit and should have been housed elsewhere. Municipalities are responsible for placing status holders, however, partly due to the ongoing housing shortages in the Netherlands, this has been less successful. In the course of 2015, in addition to the regular asylum centers, various types of temporary reception locations for refugees were gradually added, including (vacant) holiday parks (Wijkhuis & Van Duin, 2017). The use of holiday parks for temporary asylum has in some cases led to frustration among (Dutch) domestic tourists who spend their holidays at the same park.

### 1.1 Tourists and asylum seekers coexisting

The coexisting of tourists and asylum seekers on touristic sites is not confined to the Netherlands. The civil war in Syria also led to an increase of refugees on the Greece islands. A case study by Tsartas et al (2020) concluded that the large amount of publicity concerning the increased flow of refugees had a negative impact on the perceived safety and image of the touristic islands. The continuous influx of refugees, as well as tourists, are two of the most important features of globalization (Li, 2008). It seems however that these two groups are perceived totally different in hosting countries. On the island of Lesbos for example it was reported that to gain access to the public beach, Tsamakia, people were asked to present their passport so they could refuse entrance for refugees whilst still allowing tourists to enter the beach (Keep talking Greece, 2018). The situation in Greece, although comparable, has one big difference to that of the Netherlands which is the distinction between the inbound tourism in Greece versus the domestic tourism on the Dutch holiday parks. This specific situation can also be observed in Belgium. In 2018, the now largest political party of Flemish Belgium, Vlaams Belang, handed out pamphlets with the slogan: "strangers first, our own people last" as a protest against the accommodation of asylum seekers in Merksem. Fedasiel, the organization that is

responsible for of the reception of asylum seekers in Belgium, plead to all holiday parks in the country to help accommodate incoming asylum seekers (BELGA, 2019). Online, this request was met with a lot of negative responses. The Comments to this post include phrases such as “*Do they now also need to ruin vacations for the common people?*” and “*after lots of hours of hard work to earn your vacation, our holiday destinations are already full of asylum seekers*” (BELGA, 2019). In both Lesbos and Belgium, a clear division between the tourists and the asylum seekers is made. In the case of Greece, it was shown in the access restraint for asylum seekers to the public beach and in the case of Belgium it can be seen in the distinction between “our people” and “the strangers”. This way of framing refugees as “the other” is referred to as othering.

## 1.2 Othering

The process of othering is described as “*servicing as a mark and name those thought to be different from oneself (Weis, 1995 p18).*” Via this process refugees are set apart from the mainstream community. Refugees are therefore seen as different and not-belonging. The practice of othering’ defines and secures one’s own identity by distancing and stigmatizing the “other” and thereby reinforcing the notions of our own normality. Leaving “the other” to experience marginalization, disempowerment, and social exclusion. (Grove and Zwi, 2006). According to Van Houtum and Van Naerssen (2002) othering creates a sense of opposition and conflict, leading to an us versus them narrative. In constructing “the other” simultaneously the notion of a homogeneous “us” population is manufactured, however the idea that a state population is homogeneous is hardly ever the case.

The process of othering can be linked to the notion of the nation-state because the terms *refugee* and *asylum seekers* can not exist without the worlds division into nation-states (Herzorg, 2000). Refugees are described as fleeing their country (nation-state) due to certain circumstances that make living in the country of origin too difficult or impossible, by crossing a border and asking for asylum in another country (UNHCR, 1951). Therefore, the notion of a nation-state creates the terms refugees and asylum seekers. According to Zolberg (1983) Modern day nation-states are promoting an ideology of nationalism in an attempt to establish sovereignty. Besides the connection between othering and the nation-state, the promotion of a nationalism ideology can also be linked to othering because it creates an imaginary community amongst the people living within the borders of the nation-state. Those who are not thought to be part of this community are excluded and portrayed as the other (Anderson, 2006). “The other”, entering the country of settlement, is seen as a threat to this so-called national cohesiveness (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002). Besides being perceived as a threat to the national cohesiveness, asylum seekers are often presented as a threat to the national security (Grove and Zwi, 2006). This threat is also visually emphasized by the way asylum seekers centers are constructed; high fences, security at the entrance and the use of razor wire, which closely resemble a prison. The interaction between people living in the asylum seekers center and people outside the center is therefore very limited. However, due to the shortage of reception places in the Netherlands, more people are staying at asylum seekers centra located on holiday parks. Could this potentially break down the barriers between the domestic tourists and the asylum seekers? Or will it just reinforce the narrative of us versus them?

## 1.3 COA and Holiday parks

Anyone who applies for asylum is entitled to reception. In the Netherlands, the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA) manages these requests. The following tasks fall within the responsibility of COA: provide shelter for all asylum seekers, guide asylum seekers towards a future in the Netherlands or abroad, acquire and manage reception locations, maintain safety and quality of life in the reception centers, and providing asylum seekers with the necessary resources (COA, 2020). In recent years, COA has been experiencing difficulties with finding sufficient reception capacity in

the Netherlands. In October 2020, the State Secretary of Asylum and Migration and the Dutch Minister of Internal affairs wrote that *“Additional reception places are still needed for asylum seekers, the current COA locations are almost full and the number of asylum seekers with a residence permit waiting for a home is increasing (COA, 2020).”* COA will therefore make extra efforts to collaborate with commercial real estate, such as hotels and holiday parks (COA, 2020). This kind of collaboration, however, is not a new form of asylum reception and has been applied on multiple holiday parks. An example of this is the Duinrell estate where, since 2009, asylum seekers are regularly accommodated in holiday homes (AD, 2021). Holiday Park provider Landal has also occasionally housed asylum seekers since 2016. COA announced that in 2020 this will continue on six different Landal parks. In addition to Landal, other organization also provide accommodation in collaboration with COA. One of these organization is the Oostappen Group Holiday Parks, a chain of recreation companies in the Netherlands and Belgium. In 2017 de documentary: Vakantie voor iedereen, translated: vacation for everyone was recorded on one of the Oostappen Group holiday parks; Marina Beach in Terneuzen. This documentary painted a picture of what it looks like when tourists and asylum seekers live together on the same holiday park. It shows that Marine beach has been divided in two areas: a touristic part and a part for asylum seekers. Between these two areas a large fence with razor wire has been placed and combined with the green sheets and red tape makes it almost impossible to see through the other side (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017). Tourists explained that it gave them the impression of a *“danger zone”*. A COA employee expressed that the fences are not in place because it is unsafe but on the contrary to give people the idea that it is save and that no one can enter the property unnoticed. In the documentary different opinions were expressed by the tourists concerning the shared holiday park such as: We must pay for this holiday; they are lucky and poor Dutch families would have also liked the opportunity to stay in those holiday homes. Some people also expressed that the fences were an unnecessary barrier, and that if the asylum seeker were spread throughout the park, it would not be such a big deal. The mayor of Terneuzen and the owner of the Oostappen Group also speak of financial benefits as a possible motive for housing asylum seekers. The owner, Peter Gillis, expresses that even though it is not a lot of money, there is still some negotiation with the COA concerning financial benefits for the Oostappen Group (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017). Some of the themes that stand out in this documentary are our safety, our holiday and our financial benefit, which, I would argue can all be linked to the process of othering. Our safety expresses the idea that the us group, or certain members of the us group need to be protected from the others by for example building a wall to separate us from the other. Our holiday gives the impression that there is a certain entitlement for the us group to enjoy their holiday without having to be confronted or share the accommodation with the other. Our financial benefits suggest the idea that the other (asylum seekers) are a commodity which can be used to for profit. This process of othering, however, is not only seen in the documentary but also shows in holiday park reviews and social media posts from the Dutch tourists themselves.

#### 1.4 Problem statement and research questions

My aim in this thesis is to examine how the ideology of nationalism combined with the process of othering relate to the perceptions of the Dutch tourists on the accommodation of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks by analyzing holiday park reviews, social media posts and the documentary: Holiday for everyone by means of a discourse analysis. This aim resulted in the following research questions:

- How do Dutch people react in the documentary and on holiday review pages and social media, to the fact that asylum seekers are accommodated on Dutch holiday parks?
- How are these reactions related to the ideology of nationalism and the process of othering?

## 1.5 Structure

This thesis consists of the following elements: Chapter 2 constitutes the theoretical background of the thesis. In this chapter the notion of a nation-state, nationalism and the process of othering will be discussed. Chapter 3 provides a national background concerning nationalism and the process of othering. This chapter will address how Dutch nationalism plays out within society and politics and how refugees are being portrayed as a threat and a national burden. Furthermore, this chapter will also address the role of the media in Dutch nationalism and the process of othering concerning asylum seekers. In chapter 4, the research methodology and methods are discussed. The framework used for the critical discourse analysis is discussed and the methods for data gathering and coding are explained. Chapter 5 constitutes the main empirical chapter of this thesis. This chapter can be divided into two parts, the first part being a contextual background analysis of the platforms from which the data derived and the second part provides the analysis of the text frames based on the theoretical background and the CDA framework by Mullet (2018). Finally, chapter 6 concludes the main findings of this thesis and discusses these findings in relation to other studies. Furthermore, this chapter will also address the main limitations of this study as well as suggestions for further research. After that the list of references and appendices will follow.

## 2. Nationalism and the process of othering

The process of othering, as previously described can be linked to the notion of the nation-state and nationalism. Where the existence of nation-state logic creates the notion of refugees and asylum seekers (Herzorg, 2000), nationalism creates the sense of a homogenous population within these nation-states who share a sense of comradeship (Anderson, 2006). Nationalism both strengthens the sense of belonging to a certain nation state while simultaneously excluding all that do not belong. Everyone outside the perceived homogenous population of the nation-state is therefore perceived as the other. In this thesis, the Dutch tourists represent the us group, and the asylum seekers are being perceived through the process of othering. The following chapter presents the theoretical framework based on the theories of nationalism and othering. The first section will describe the notion of the nation state and its connection to the construction of the refugee. Thereafter I will address how the nation state is connected to the notion of nationalism and how this leads to the process of othering. Finally, I will discuss how the process of othering affects refugees and asylum seekers.

### 2.1 Nation-states and the construction of 'refugees'

*"At the heart of nationalism lies the belief that humanity is (or ought to be) divided into nations, and that nations are (or ought to be) the basis of independent sovereign states (Jackson-Preece and Norris, 2016 p1)."* Refugees are fleeing from their country of origin due to war, political instability, discrimination, and many other reasons. In that moment, the refugee no longer belongs to a country or nation. The United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) defines a refugee as *"someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion (UNHCR, 1951 p3)."* The idea of a refugee can therefore not exist without the notion of a nation or nation-state. According to Herzorg, (2009) the concept of refugees is deeply rooted in a hegemonic perception of the nation-state, for a refugee can only exist because territory is divided amongst nations. These nations are divided by imaginary borders, which creates the illusion that all people belong to a nation. The borders are imagined but are also given physical aspects such as walls and border control areas to strengthen the illusion. The nations that are created via these borders are expected to be responsible for the care and protection of their inhabitants. People who flee their nation however, are then looking for another nation for care and protection. Therefore, the creation and sustaining of the nation state underpins the concept of refugees (Herzorg, 2009). In conclusion the perception of nation states divided by and physical borders is creating the notion of refugees.

### 2.2 Nationalism

The nation state and nationalism are not the same thing. There are many definitions concerning the term nationalism. In order to get an insight in the meaning of nationalism and how this relates to the process of othering it is important to analyze and compare what has been stated about nationalism by scholars. Political scientist Heywood (1992) explains nationalism as: *"The basic belief that the nation is, or should be, the central principle of political organization (Heywood, 1992 p148).* In this explanation, nationalism is believing in the system of nation-states as the best way for the political organization of society. There are, however, other scholars who express that the notion of nationalism implies more than just believing in a nation-state system. Snyder (1964) for example (in Kecmanovic, 1996) explains nationalism as a condition of mind, feeling or sentiment of a group of people who share a common language and a defined geographical area next to sharing an attachment to common traditions. This way of viewing nationalism also includes the physical aspects of borders as well as the cultural aspects, language and traditions. This suggests that nationalism consists of multiple aspects which combine a group of people. Smith (1971) seems to agree with the idea that nationalism is a more complex ideology and recognizes nationalism as an ideology of national independence, defined by the following six aspects:

*“(1) securing fraternity and equality among co-nationals or citizens, by integrating them into a homogenous unit; (2) unification in a single nation-state of extra-territorial co-nationals; (3) stressing cultural individuality through accentuation of 'national' differentiae; (4) a drive for economic autarchy and self-sustaining growth; (5) attempts to expand the nation-state, to maintain international power and status; (6) renewing the cultural and social fabric of the nation through sweeping institutional changes, to maintain international parity (Smith, 1971. p171) (in Kecmanovic, 1996).”* Where the explanations of Heywood and Snyder are mainly focused on the way nationalism is played out in the minds of the people belonging to a nation-state, the aspects mentioned by Smith seems to be more focused on how nationalism is enforced in nation-states. Nationalism could therefore be seen as an ideology used to maintain the believe in the system of nation-states by creating a sense of belonging and attachment between those living in the nation-state. This, as expressed by Snyder (1964) can be achieved via common traditions, language and the existence of physical borders. However, this way of explaining nationalism creates the idea that the people living in a nation-state are actually a homogeneous population. According to Anderson (2006) this is however not the case, the communities that are created via nation-states are merely imagined. In 1983 he wrote *Imagined communities* in which he changed the discussion of nationalism. Anderson presented the notion of nationalism as a way of imagining and thereby creating a community. *“The nation is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship (Anderson, 2006: 9)”*. Anderson also discussed that regardless the fact that the creation of the community is an imagined one, it does not make it any less powerful due to the feeling of belonging and companionship which is created amongst those claiming to belong to that specific nation (Anderson, 2006). This way of viewing nationalism corresponds with the explanations of Zolberg (1983) who claims that modern day states promote an ideology of nationalism in an attempt to establish sovereignty. This ideology is constructed based on ethnic, religious, cultural, and political identities, and by excluding the groups that do not harmonize with these binding elements (Zolberg, 1983). This furthermore highlights the creation of companionship within the nation and the friction this causes with all people outside of this nation (Kemp, 1999) The logic of the nation state combined with the sense of nationality divides the physical world into imaginary nation states which are separated by borders. These borders do not only have a geographical function in which the border becomes visual, they also have a social significance because they highlight the separation between nations. The borders visualize the idea that our nation and therefore “us” ends at that exact location and that everyone from beyond that border represent “them”. These borders therefore create a dichotomy between social groups and thus between “us” and “them” (Kemp, 1999). Refugees who cross these borders are therefore looked at as “them”. The refugee becomes “the other”, not part of “our” nationality because they are often portrayed as a threat to the nation and are seen as a burden to the welfare system. Refugees or “the other” are therefore portrayed as a threat towards the cultural homogeneity of the nation-state (Simonsen, 2016).

In this thesis I will describe nationalism as an ideology that creates an imaginary community amongst the people living in nation-states, by means of physical borders, common traditions, ethnicity, religion, and political identities leading to a sense of companionship within this community while simultaneously excluding those who are not believed to be part of this. Those who are excluded are then portrayed as “them” or “the other”. This process is called othering, which I will address in the following section.

### 2.3 Othering

Othering consists of the objectification of another person or group and putting aside or ignore the complexity and subjectivity of the individuals that are perceived as “the other” (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2003). The term “other” can be used both as a noun and a verb, as a noun, the “other” is the person other than the self, a stranger. And as a verb, the process of othering is the process of categorizing, labeling, stereotyping, and excluding all people who do not fit into a particular culture or society; it is this process that effectively creates the “other” (Mountz, 2008). The proces of othering often takes place within the defined borders of a nation-state due to the created illusion that the state territory consists of a homogeneous population (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002). I would argue that the process of othering is therefore closely connected to the idea of a nation-state and the sense of nationality. The “other” is the person that does not fit within the ethnic, religious, cultural or political identities of those who experience the nation as a community of companionship. Othering, in the context of refugees entering a nation-state other than the one that they have fled, is a two-way process. The perceiving country might view the refugee as a threat to the national identity and immediately identify the newcomer as the “other” while the newcomer is prone to cluster together in a space which represents some form of familiarity and recognition in the “strange” society that they have just entered. Refugees are therefore prone to stay in proximity of one another in order to strengthen their sense of safety and belonging. This group forming will in turn enhance the sense of opposition and conflict, leading towards the narrative of us versus them (Van Houtum, Van Naerssen, 2002).

The process of othering has also been strengthened due to geo-political developments following the 11 September 2001 attack in the United States of America (Van Houtum, Van Naerssen, 2002). The influx of refugees has ever since, indeed increasingly been linked to terrorism and international crime (Huysmans, 2006). This could have severe consequences because it sustains a radical political strategy aimed to criminalize a specific group of people in portraying them as a danger for the nation-state (Özerim, 2013). Political leaders, supported by media have used these events and the recent refugee influx for the creation of a populist dominant discourse that became increasingly dehumanizing. (e.g., Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Taylor, 2015; Osborne, 2015 in Esses et al., 2017). These dehumanizing practices are also shown in the ways refugees and migrants are portrayed by the media and politicians (Goździak and Main, 2020). Terms such as invasion, threat, and defense of borders are often used when speaking of refugees. This way of framing the influx of refugees and or migrants is referred to as securitization of migration by a range of scholars such as Buzan, Weaver and de Wilde (1998) and Balzacq, (2005). However, these anti-immigrant sentiments and conceptualizations of migrants and refugees as criminals and terrorists did not start after the terrorist attacks, but already existed before that time (Goździak and Main, 2020). For example, Huntington (1996) writes about the creation of ‘us’ and ‘them’ by identifying the culture of the “other” and the process of labeling the others culture as a threat towards the home culture.

Refugees and migrants are often called out to be one of the main elements for weakening the nation state and it’s resources by politicians (Goździak and Main, 2020). The influx of refugees in 2015 prompted a fierce debate concerning the European culture, which as I have described is one of the pillars in the ideology of nationalism. The political debate is mainly focused on whether or not the refugees and in particular Muslim refugees would be able to adhere to the culture within the European countries, and if they would be able to integrate into a predominantly Christian society. In this debate refugees are being presented as a threat towards the national culture and the perceived homogeneity of the European nation-states. (Goździak and Main, 2020). This furthermore highlights that refugees are often constructed as the “other” and are therefore subsequently socially excluded (Grove and Zwi, 2006).

Grove and Zwi (2006) proposed four discursive mechanisms in their paper which are often used in constructing the "other": 1. The language of threat which conveys the idea that refugees pose a threat towards the nation state. When describing the influx of refugees, metaphors of natural disaster, invasion and contagion are often used. Besides the use of these metaphors, asylum seekers are also often portrayed as a threat to the national security by using the language of war and battle when describing the impact on the host country (Grove and Zwi, 2006). 2. Jumping the queue & the uninvited guest is based on the way forced migrants are portrayed as uninvited, imposing and making demands on "us". Providing shelter for refugees is obligatory under international law, however this is something that is hardly ever mentioned in media coverage. The queue-jumping debate represents the idea that there is a universal queue in place for refugees in need of shelter outside their country (Grove and Zwi, 2006). Sathanapally (2004) however argues that this is not the case and that the term heap is a more accurate description. The use of the term queue jumping is distorting the experiences of refugees by failing to acknowledge that for many it is not possible to join a queue (Sathanapally, 2004). 3. Charity & choice represents the way in which refugees are portrayed as helpless and unskilled. *"refugees and asylum seekers are rarely portrayed as individuals with agency, skills, or resilience, with capacity to contribute and be an asset to their new communities (Grove and Zwi, 2006, p1935)."* Granting asylum is therefore often seen as an act of charity which leads to the perception that the asylum seekers need to be grateful towards the receiving country and its community (Grove and Zwi, 2006). 4. Overload addresses one of the main difficulties faced by refugees which is that they are often perceived as an 'overload' by the receiving country in relation to general immigration numbers (Tazreiter, 2003). Asylum seekers are often denied the possibility to work which makes them dependent on local charity and governmental resources in order to meet their daily needs. This strengthens the perception that asylum seekers are an overload and that they drain the national resources, the narrative that they want what we have (Grove and Zwi, 2006).

Grove and Zwi, (2006) also discuss the way in which the "other" is maintained by means of texts. They argue that the otherness of the refugees and asylum seekers is maintained through the unequal voices represented by the media. The receiving country rarely hears about the stories of the refugees which adds to the notion that they are distant and strange. In general little is told about the experiences, personal circumstances and emotions of individual asylum seekers by the media. The people living in the receiving countries may have some empathy for refugees, based on generalized media fragments, however, the lack of knowledge concerning their personal circumstances and the motivations for leaving their country of origin, makes it easy to shift the focus to a less empathetic perception when the media portrays refugees in an image other than simply innocence (Grove and Zwi, 2006). Ignatieff describes this as *"empathy without understanding (1998, p295)"*.

#### 2.4 Nationalism, othering and asylum seekers

It is clear that nationalism and othering play a role in the way asylum seekers are portrayed. Nationalism, which I previously described as the creation of imaginary communities amongst the people living in nation-states, by means of physical borders, common traditions, ethnicity, religion, and political identities leading to a sense of companionship within this community while simultaneously excluding those who are not believed to be part of this. Leads to the exclusion and othering of asylum seekers. This process of othering often takes place within the defined borders of the nation-state due to the collision between the 'us' group and the perceived other when entering the country as an asylum seeker. The way in which asylum seekers are being othered can be seen in different aspects of written and spoken language. Asylum seekers can be perceived as a threat to the national identity of a country or even as threat to the national security. This way of framing influxes of refugees is often compared with dehumanizing terms such as invasion, threat, and protection of borders (Goździak and Main, 2020). The alleged culture of certain groups of asylum seekers is often used as an indication for weather or

not they are perceived as a threat towards national identity and safety (Huntington, 1996). In the European political debates this is mainly centered on Muslim refugees and whether or not they would be able to adhere to the culture and if they would be able to integrate into a predominantly Christian society (Goździak and Main, 2020). The framework of Grove and Zwi (2006) expressed that there are four ways in which asylum seekers are being othered. The language of threat which conveys the idea that refugees pose a threat towards the nation state, the idea of refugees jumping the queue in which forced migrants are portrayed as uninvited, imposing and making demands towards the receiving country, the notion that asylum seekers are rarely portrayed as individuals with agency, skills, or resilience leading to the perception that asylum seekers need to be (forever) grateful towards the receiving country and its community. And lastly they address one of the main difficulties faced by refugees which is that they are often perceived as an 'overload' by the receiving country which strengthens the perception that asylum seekers are a drain on national resources (Grove and Zwi, 2006). Asylum seekers are also unequally represented in the media which causes the receiving country to rarely hear about the individual stories of the refugees which makes it easier to portray asylum seekers by means of generalizations and stereotypes. These are all indicators that can be used to identify the role of nationalism and the process of othering in the perception of asylum seekers. It is however important to consider the national context when analyzing these indicators. The following chapter will therefore go more into depth on the nationalism and the process of othering in the Netherlands.

### 3. Dutch Nationalism

In the previous chapter I described the theoretical framework used for my thesis. This framework concerns the theories of nationalism and othering. Nationalism and the way this plays out can be different in every nation-state. Social uncertainties, issues and the political climate play a big role in the way nationalism plays out. This chapter will therefore address Dutch nationalism and the social political climate of the country. The Netherlands is also entailed in the history and culture of Europe as a continent and is also politically influenced by the European Union, therefore this is also included. The first part of this chapter will discuss nationalism in the Netherlands and how refugees are perceived to be a threat to the Dutch identity and national security. Thereafter I will discuss how refugees in the Netherlands are being perceived as a national burden and finally I will discuss the role of the media and more specifically social media in relation to asylum seekers being accommodated on Dutch holiday parks.

#### 3.1 Dutch identity at risk

*“Do we want to live in a country that will soon be for a third, 50 percent, or even the majority inhabited by Muslims? Most people would say: no, then it is no longer my Netherlands (Geert Wilders Founder and Leader of the Party For Freedom (PVV)).”* Until the First World War, nationalism was an ideology mainly driven by a political goal. In order to achieve that goal and to promote a nation-state consciousness, various means were used. One of which was the national culture (Bank, 1990). Religion and the royal family were no longer seen as the standard means to which cohesion within a nation was created. Instead, national history, literature, traditions and art were tools to create the illusion of a homogeneous nation-state (Bank, 1990). The notion of nationalism is therefore not new to the Netherlands, however, Sunier and van Ginkel (2006) argue that since 2000 the discourse on nationalism has changed due to the national discussion concerning “the multicultural drama”. This change in nationalism is mainly focused on the internal migrant “other”, specifically Muslims (Hardt and Negri, 2000). Populist radical right parties have expressed concerns about the influx of refugees that were caused by the war in Syria. Thierry Baudet, leader of the Forum for Democracy (FvD) expressed to a journalist from the Dutch newspaper AD that he believes that that the political left parties in the Netherlands have caused the borders to be wide open, letting Europa become flooded by Islamic immigrants and radical thoughts. This would, according to him, cause the Netherlands to disappear within 50 years and become a second Egypt (Oomen, 2018). The linkage between nationalism and the influx of refugees was not only expressed by Dutch politicians.

In most European countries, the refugee influx of 2015 marks a crucial moment in the history. One that has fueled multiple political debates concerning borders, immigration, and national belonging (Van der Brug and Harteveld, 2021). These debates have mostly been led by the populist radical right parties who oppose the influx of newcomers. Nationalism and the process in which the “other” is portrayed as a national threat is reinforced by such spolitical expressions. This narrative is widely used by right-wing parties across Europe. Herbert Kickl, the Minister of Internal Affairs in Austria for example, created the slogan: ‘More courage for our Viennese blood, too much strange blood does no good to anyone’ in referring to the refugee influx in Austria (Abels, 2018). The prime minister of Hungary, Victor Orban even expressed that migration is a threat to national security, the Hungarian way of life and their Cristian culture (Ziarczyk, 2018). All throughout Europe the idea that “the nations culture must be protected” has become common speech when speaking of refugee influx (Tonkens and Duyvendak, 2016) Populist right political programs promote a nation which should focus mainly on those people belonging to the “original” ethnicity, culture, religion, and history of the country (Stockemer, 2016). The discourse of the radical right portrays multiculturalism as an

ontological threat to our society, claiming that the non-western “other” is the opposite of “us” (Askanius and Mylonas, 2015).

In the Netherlands, the rise of right-wing politician Pim Fortuyn, who was killed in 2002 fueled the popularity of radical right-wing parties. This was, however also strengthened by the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the London and Madrid bombings and the killing of the Dutch film maker Theo van Gogh by Islamist radicals after he made a film criticizing the Islam. This eventually led to the restriction of low-skilled labor migration and family reunification and the ongoing debate concerning the limits of multiculturalism (Nederlandse Overheid, 2017). The topics of national pride and the threat of multiculturalism are often used by the two Dutch radical populist parties: PVV (Party for freedom) and FvD (Forum for Democracy). The PVV, expressed that there is a need for a Law for the Protection of Dutch Values (PVV, 2021). Geert Wilders, leader of the PVV expressed that he wants to preserve “our” identity and therefore stop immigration (Geert Wilders, founder, and leader of the PVV, speaking in Parliament, 1 April 2008). The FvD states that the loss of our unique culture and national strength should be the main concern of Dutch citizens (FvD, 2021). And to add to that, the PVV claims that the biggest threat to the Dutch society is the influx of refugees with ties to the Islamic faith (PVV, 2021). According to Witteveen (2017) not only the PVV and FvD are prominent in this nationalistic and xenophobic narrative but the VVD and CDA also contribute due to their campaigns. Both these parties ran a campaign based on fear of losing our Dutch identity and insisted on the supposed threat coming from radical Muslims, even among those born in the Netherlands. This way of portraying Muslims as a threat is a profound mechanism of othering (Witteveen, 2017). The idea that the influx of refugees may threaten the ‘Dutch identity’ is extremely appealing for Dutch citizens (Van der Waal, 2010, in Entzinger, 2014). In a national study performed by the SCP (Social Cultural Planning Office) (2015) participants expressed their concerns that the arrival of people with a different cultural background might threaten the identity of the Netherlands (SCP, 2015). More specifically, some participants fear that with this unprecedented influx of refugees, especially Muslims, will become too influential (SCP, 2015). Although the majority of people do not feel as if refugees are a threat towards the values, standards and general safety in the Netherlands, still a significant group of 25-30% of the population does see it this way (Kloosterman, 2018).

### 3.2 Language of threat

The narrative of right-wing political parties in European countries is one in which, refugees are represented as economic and social threats, blamed as the main reason for crime, and demonized as the ‘enemy Other’ (Hogan and Haltinner, 2015). This way of framing refugees and asylum seekers can also be seen in the political environment of the Netherlands. Several politicians in the Netherlands have linked national safety to criminal activity, including terrorism. In a study concerning safety as a topic in political programs, Kaal et al. (2009) conclude that safety is mostly linked to crime, fraud, and terrorism in political programs. The PVV even scores very high on this combination. The study also looks at what the parties believe needs to be done, in order to improve safety. Some parties such as GroenLinks and PvdA describe that the focus should be primarily on improving socio-economic conditions, whereas the PVV and VVD mainly focus on tackling the criminals as the perpetrators. The PVV believes that the criminals themselves should be dealt with harder and that this will lead to a safer country (Kaal et al., 2009). In order to improve safety in the Netherlands, the PVV expresses in their party program for the elections of 2021 that street criminals, often described by the party as: *Islamic scum, with a fur collar and a dual nationality*, are getting away with robberies, burglaries, violence, and intimidation too easy. They even express that where necessary the army should be deployed in order to reconquer the streets of the Netherlands (PVV, 2021).

The electoral results of the past 20 years indicate that this strategy of fear and othering of refugees has been successful for the populist radical right parties such as the PVV. The percentages of votes for these parties have nearly doubled, which makes the populist radical right parties the most successful political movement in Europe based on vote gains over the last two decades (Stockemer, 2016). The year of 2015 was the most visible 'breakthrough' of the right-wing populist parties' success (Boros, 2015 in Cappiali, 2016). The political speech of right-wing party leaders such as Marine Le Pen, Geert Wilders and Viktor Orbán seems to be effective concerning the instilled security threat of refugee asylum. In fact, the Pew Research Center (2016) held a survey, including ten European countries, concerning feelings towards refugees in which was concluded that 59% of the respondents believed that the influx of refugees in their nation-state would increase the likelihood of terrorism. From the Dutch participants this was even more with 61%. This is, however, a complete imaginary threat since there is no evidence supporting the rise of terrorism in European countries and the influx of forced migrants (Choi & Salehyan, 2013). It can therefore be said that the language of threat is indeed part of the process of othering concerning refugees and asylum seekers in the Netherlands.

### 3.3 Refugees as a national burden

Besides the fear for loss of values, standards, general safety and an increase in terrorism, 41 percent of the Dutch respondents believes that refugees are a burden on the nation because they take advantage of our jobs and social services (Pew Research Center, 2016). More than two thirds of the Dutch population would like the government to focus more on domestic problems such as housing shortage an job guarantees, and less on problems concerning foreign countries (SCP, 2015). During a focus group discussion by the SCP (2015) participants express the following: *"More and more asylum seekers are getting a residence permit. There is no work for these people, not even for many Dutch people, especially if you are 45+. Everyone receives a furnished house and benefits. Who will pay for that? The Dutch taxpayer! How long can this be maintained? (SCP, 2015 p25)." "You take it from one person in need, you give it to the other (SCP, 2015 p24)." Participants communicate that it is unfair that this new influx of refugees receive money, housing, and other facilities, while some Dutch people live in poverty and have to wait several years in order to find a permanent home (SCP, 2015). This way of perceiving refugees and asylum seekers is similar to the situation in the United States of America, where the predominantly white working-class feels left behind in the rural parts of the country (Witteveen, 2017). The refugee centers that have been opened in the more rural areas of the Netherlands were met with local protests from PVV-sympathizers. During these protests, citizens claimed that immigrants and refugees received privileges such as food, education, housing and employment services which were either not available or were met with long waiting lists for the protesters themselves (Witteveen, 2017). In the 2021 electoral program of the PVV it is stated that the housing shortage in the Netherlands has become a crisis, partly due to the "open borders policy" Asylum seekers are, according to the PVV not affected by the housing crisis due to their priority status. This statement is however conflicting with the information from Wijkhuis & Duin (2017) who expressed that 11,000 refugees who already have a residence permit, had not been housed, due to the same ongoing housing shortages. Regardless the PVV states that our homes should only be for our people *"No homes for status holders: our homes for our people! (PVV,2021)." However, not only the PVV expresses this, the VVD has a similar view on the shortage of houses; "It is not fair for asylum status holders to occupy all social rental housing, leaving no change for the Dutch themselves (VVD, 2021)" The national government explains that the municipalities do indeed have an obligation to provide status holders with a home, but that they can do this at their own discretion and that since 2017 this group no longer belongs to the priority category (Rijksoverheid, 2021). The idea that asylum seekers are a national burden, specifically concerning houses, thus seems to be included in**

the process of framing refugees and asylum seekers as the other in the Netherlands. The othering process is primarily shown in politics and media. As discussed before certain political parties play a large role in this narrative concerning refugees and asylum seekers. Media however also has a large part in this.

### 3.4 The role of the media

The media has a notable amount of power to define and redefine the narrative of the refugee influx, since *“the telling of a story necessarily excludes all other stories that are never told”* (Bird & Dardenne, 1999, p. 277). This is in alignment with the theory of maintaining the other by rarely hearing the stories from their side, keeping the distant and strange (Grove and Zwi, 2006). This can be seen in the way that news coverage mostly reflects the majority groups viewpoints while giving minority groups very little opportunity to express their views (Van Dijk, 1983). Moreover, the news tends to focus on sensation when covering a story concerning refugees and asylum seekers which generally creates a negative image (Van Dijk, 1983). More recent studies conclude that there are often irrelevant mentions of nationality, skin color and religion in news articles and that the depiction of refugees is generally dramatized, problematized, generalized and overall, negatively portrayed (d’Heanens and Saeys, 1996), Muijsers (1998). The role of the media is therefore one of significance concerning the portrayal of asylum seekers. The media plays a very important role in the process of producing the barriers between us and them. Especially in the reproduction of portrayals concerning others, with whom the public has no direct contact. Narratives are continually retold in news stories, echoing with the previous stories, creating the sensation of an “infinitely repeated drama” (Rock, 1981, quoted in Bird & Dardenne, 1999, p. 268). This lets the audience believe that there is a big problem concerning the refugees which is present at all times. This focus on negative news is proven to conduce to the dehumanization of refugees (Gijsberts and Lubbers, 2009 in Entzinger, 2014).

Besides traditional media like news papers, scholars argue that online media should also be taking into account. According to Thurlow (2011) it has become increasingly important to study the effects of online media in discourse analysis because of the large role it has taken up in daily life. Online media has become increasingly more integrated in the debate of social and political issues (Mautner, 2005). Online media also plays a crucial role in the promotion of extreme rights discourse and activity According to Askanius and Mylonas (2015). KhosraviNik and Unger (2015) argue that online media consists of a mix of voices and genres of communication and are often traced back to the traditional media forms. News itself, has become profoundly integrated with social media and its platforms (KhosraviNik and Unger, 2015).

Nationalism and the process of othering seem to play a role in the way asylum seekers are being portrayed in the Netherlands. This was seen in both political speeches as in the public opinion. Additionally, the media also has a big part in this because for a large group of people, the media is the only source of information concerning refugees and asylum seekers. This is strengthened by a lack of stories from refugees themselves causing the perception of refugees being a threat and/or burden to gain more power. The question remains if and how the sense of nationalism and the process of othering relates to the view of the Dutch tourists on the accommodation of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks? The following chapter will give an overview of the methodology and methods that I have used in order to answer the research questions.

## 4. Methodology

In order to answer my research questions, I have conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is one of many forms of discourse analysis. This chapter will give an overview of the methodology and methods of my thesis. I will start with a short introduction into discourse analyses, followed by an explanation of critical discourse analyses. After which I will explain the framework that I have used to conduct my study and finally I will address the sources that I have used to collect and analyze my data.

### 4.1 Discourse Analysis

Foucault (1971) used the term discourse to not only describe the use of language but as an indication of the entirety of social rules and practices that create a system of meaning. In *Archaeology of knowledge*, Foucault (1972) argues that although discourses are based in signs, there is more to it than just the act of designating things. This refers to the complex relation between discourse, truth, knowledge, and power. Foucault states that “truth” is merely a notion of this world and not an absolute value. Every society has its own truth regime which determines the types of discourse it accepts as being true (Foucault, 1972). Within discourse analysis, the use of language is thus seen as a construction of reality and not as a reflection or expression of it. Language forms its own reality and can be seen as a form of social behavior. Discourse analysis therefore is the investigation of the way in which opinions and realities are constructed discursively. Acts of Language can have (un)intended consequences that gets consumed by society. Van den Berg (2004) provides a relevant example of this in his article on discourse analysis. *“When stories about an impending clash of cultures become a dominant media discourse in news items referring to safety issues and social conflict, conflicts will indeed arise that take on that character (van den Berg, 2004 p31).”* It could be seen as a self-fulfilling prophecy (van den Berg, 2004). For this thesis I have chosen to do a Critical Discourse Analysis which derived from traditional discourse analysis.

### 4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis emerged in the late 1980’s in European discourse studies performed by scholars like Fairclough, Wodak, van Dijk, and others. Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) examines the way in which realities are constructed through language in social interactions (Fairclough 1995). CDA is an analytical approach used for the critically describing, interpreting and explaining of the way in which discourses are constructed and sustained and is used to expose the role discourses have in the legitimization of social inequalities (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). The practice of CDA has been used for many different topics relating to power struggles such as power abuse, inequality, injustice, nationalism, immigration, and social exclusion (e.g., Chouliaraki 1999; van Dijk 1991; Wodak and Mayer, 2009). The focus of CDA lays in the ideological effects of the construction of meaning and to what extent this contributes to the legitimizing of social inequality (Van den Berg, 2004). By analyzing, exposing, and undermining the “normality” of the discursive legitimizations of social inequality, CDA aims to contribute to social change (Van de Berg, 2004). This way of describing CDA is similar to the explanation of Fairclough (2001) who expresses that the aim of a critical discourse analysis is to uncover non-obvious ways in which language is involved in power dynamics and ideology. Critical Discourse Analysis is a way of studying language to uncover the construction of discourses and its effect on society and mainly on its role in creating and enhancing social inequality. Language sources used for CDA are generally from governmental, political and media organization. The media is often the primary source of information for people’s knowledge, making it a large part of the construction of discourses (Van Dijk, 1991). The role of the media becomes even bigger when it comes to the portrayal of asylum seekers because it is often the only source of information people obtain when not having direct contact with the asylum seekers themselves (Van Dijk, 2001).

When it comes to the coexisting of Dutch tourists and asylum seekers and the way this is viewed by the Dutch tourists and expressed via social media, it therefore makes sense to analyze this topic through the lens of a critical discourse analysis.

### 4.3 Framework CDA

For my thesis I have adopted the General Analytical Framework for CDA by Mullet (2018). Mullet (2018) created this framework for CDA for the purpose of using it in educational research. Which also works for the general themes mentioned before. Her framework is based on the works of Fairclough, Kress, van Leeuwen, van Dijk and Wodak. The framework is not based on a set selection of data which is important because most CDA research has been done on policy documents and newspapers but for my thesis however, I will conduct a CDA which is mainly based on the data from social media. Mullet (2018) proposes a framework based on seven stages; 1. Select a discourse. 2. Locate and prepare data sources. 3. Explore the background of texts. 4. Code text and identify overarching themes. 5. Analyze the external relations in the text (interdiscursivity) 6. Analyze the internal relations in the text. 7. Interpret the data. The framework can be found in Appendix I on page 48. Even though she proposes the framework in stages, they are not meant to be static. The analyst may move back and forth through all stages. This way of working leads to improved trustworthiness due to the encouragement of immersion in the data (Mullet, 2018).

Stage 1, Selecting a Discourse, is the first step of a critical discourse analysis in which a discourse related to injustice or inequality in society is selected (Mullet, 2018). This leads to the topic of the analysis. This stage is built into the introduction and theoretical framework of my thesis (chapter 1,2 &3 on pages 6 to 18), in which I elaborated on the topic and the theoretical framework of nationalism and the process of othering. The second stage is the phase in which data is located and prepared. This is however a flexible stage where the researcher keeps going back and forth in order to enrich the data. According to Luke (1997) the texts that are selected for CDA are often whole texts, but occasionally smaller units or specific sections and paragraphs are used. In this case I have used pieces of spoken texts from a documentary and small text units from online media: reviews and comments. The way in which the data was gathered and prepared will be discussed in the next paragraph. The third stage of the framework focusses on the background of the texts. This stage involves a context of the texts and producers concerning factors such as characteristics of the genre, historical context, production contexts, overall slant, or style, intended audience, intended purpose of the text, publisher characteristics and author characteristics (Mullet, 2018). This will be described in the first part of the analyses (chapter 5 page 22). Stage 4, Identify Overarching Themes, is the result of the coding phase in which major themes are identified in the texts (Mullet, 2018). The major themes that I have identified during this phase where nationalism, securitization of migration, economical benefits and the right to a specific kind of holiday experience. I will elaborate more on these themes in paragraph 4.5 of this chapter in which I explain the coding process. Stage 5 and 6 focuses on the analysis of the text. In stage 5 the focus is on the external relations in the text (interdiscursivity) (Mullet, 2018). According to Mullet (2018) Interdiscursivity is concerned with the identification of interactions among different discourses within specific texts. This involves looking for the presence of different ideologies in the texts and the way in which these relate to one another. This step also included the analysis of the social relations that control the production of the texts. Including how the text is shaped by social structures and how the text contributes to social structures (Mullet, 2018). The 6<sup>th</sup> stage focusses on the internal relation in the texts. This part of the analysis is concerned with the patterns, words and linguistic devices that represent power relations and social context (Mullet, 2018). The last stage of the CDA framework from Mullet is the interpretation of the data. After identifying the overarching themes, the texts background and the external and internal relations of the text, the data needs to be interpreted.

The structural features and individual fragments will be placed in the broader context which are based on the overarching themes. Stages 3 to 7 together represent the analysis and conclusions of this thesis which are found in chapter 5 on page 22 and chapter 6 on page 39.

#### 4.4 Data Gathering

For the gathering of the data, I have used the process of theoretical sampling. I started out with watching the documentary: Vacation for everyone. After which I singled out search terms to look for more data concerning this topic in scientific articles and newspapers. With the information gathered I created a list of potential holiday parks that would fit the topic. In addition, I also looked at all the terms that were used to indicate the accommodation of asylum seekers on these parks. In order to gather data from social media platforms, I used the search terms, list of holiday parks and terms to indicate the accommodation of asylum seekers. This has led to 125 social media messages from seven different social media platforms. In order to strengthen the data and to have a broader perspective, I also included spoken texts from the documentary that I had started with. In order to analyze the text fragments, I created separate documents for every platform.

#### 4.5 Coding and analysis

For the analysis I uploaded all the documents with text fragments that I had gathered in ATLAS. I started with open coding to gain insight in the general themes of the texts, from thereout I moved back and forth between the theory, data gathering and coding. This eventually led to four grant themes which were: Nationalism, Securitization of migration, Economical benefits and the right to a specific kind of holiday experience. In order to structure the data, I created coding groups for these grant themes. However, during the structuring process I realized that the data for my fourth theme: The right to a specific kind of holiday experience was insufficient. At that point I went back to data gathering in order to find new data related to this theme, but I have not been able to find enough and therefore decided to move on with only the three other themes. After the final round of coding and categorizing I started analyzing the texts by following stages five to seven from the CDA framework from Mullet (2018). The characteristics of nationalism and the process of othering that I have identified in the theoretical framework were used to analyze the text fragments. The first part of the analysis, however, is a general analysis of the contextual background concerning the platforms from which the data derives. The second part of the analysis is based on the critical discourse analysis of text fragments. The text fragments that I have used in the analysis, including the documentary, were in Dutch and are therefore translated. Although I have done my best to translate it to the best of my abilities, it is however, possible that some things have been lost in the translation and or lost the original meaning.

## 5. Analysis

The following chapter presents the analysis of the texts fragments that I have gathered for this thesis. The first part of this chapter represents the third stage of the CDA framework by Mullet (2018): explore the background of the texts. The second part of the analysis is divided into three segments: language of threat (securitization of migration), national burden (nationalism) and profit model (economic benefit). These segments derive from the initial themes that I identified during the coding phase; however, I have adjusted the terms based on insights I gained from the theory of nationalism and othering in the theoretical framework. The analysis for this part is based upon the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> stage of the CDA framework by Mullet (2018).

### 5.1 Contextual background

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the third stage of the CDA framework from Mullet (2018) is based on the context behind the texts and the producers of the texts. The social media platforms that I have used for the gathering of data are very diverse in their social and historical context. The texts can not be properly analyzed without considering the context. The same goes for the documentary. This will be discussed in the following chapter. The data gathered from social media, derives from six different platforms: TripAdvisor, Zoover, Google reviews, Facebook, Twitter, and Forum: GeenStijl. These platforms can be categorized in three groups. 1. Review websites: TripAdvisor, Zoover, Google reviews and Vakantieparkenvergelijken.nl. These are all review platforms where tourists can read and write reviews concerning their holiday stay. Accommodations can be rated by stars or grades and an additional message could be added by the tourist to explain their rating. 2. Social network platform: Facebook and Twitter. Both platforms are being used as online communication tools by both individuals and companies. 3. Forums: GeenStijl is a forum where an article gets posted by the authors and people visiting the site can react and discuss in the comment section underneath the article.

#### 5.1.1 Review websites

Travel review websites are intended as a public measure of the quality of the holiday destination and accommodation. Everyone with excess to and knowledge of the internet can post and read opinions about their designated travel destination. Travel providers get rated via stars or grades by the tourists. These grades and reviews can have an impact on the decision-making process of the tourists. 65% of leisure travelers will search online before deciding on a travel destination, and 69% of those people actually determine their plans based on online travel reviews (Collie, 2014). People tend to post reviews shortly after their stay/experience, and sometimes after a request from the accommodation or experience provider. A Dutch marketing company: *“Vind mij online”* (find me online) specializes in assisting companies with their online visibility. They advise companies to contact their customers/clients directly and ask them for a review because spontaneous unforced reviews are more likely to come from angry customers than satisfied customers therefore asking all customers to ask for a review might compensate that (Vindmijonline, 2018). The kind of reviews a company gets are therefore affected by their marketing strategy. In addition, not everyone that encountered asylum seekers during their vacation will have written a review. For this reason, I did not take into account the amount of negative versus positive reviews but only looked at the individual reviews. For my thesis I have collected data from three large travel review website and some loose reviews from smaller sites. When reading through the reviews from these platforms, it gives the impression that the texts are aimed towards other tourists that are interested in spending their holiday on the same location. Therefore, the targeted audience of these texts in particular but also the platform in general are tourists. The following two examples demonstrate that the reviewer addresses the tourists in his/her review:

- *"I would recommend using [lists facilities of accommodation] (Zoover 2020)".*
- *"Last time for us. I would advice going to (names accommodations) instead (TripAdvisor, 2018)."*

Both examples speak directly to the people reading the reviews by using the terms recommend and advice. The advice and recommendation are only of value for people that are interested in visiting the same accommodation, the tourists. As mentioned before, 69% of the people that read reviews prior to deciding on a holiday destination, take the reviews into account when making their final decision Collie (2014). In total I have gathered data from reviews concerning five holiday parks from three different review platforms, However not all five holiday parks were included on each platform, therefore some are not mentioned on all three platforms. In the following sections I will give an overview of the overall slant/style of the reviews on the three different platforms, the publisher and author characteristics and the holiday parks that were included in the data gathering.

### **TripAdvisor**

TripAdvisor is an American travel review website founded in 2000. Last year, in 2020 the number of reviews posted on TripAdvisor worldwide reached 884 million (Statista Research Department, 2021). The reviews posted on TripAdvisor concern accommodations, restaurants, and activities on holiday destinations. However, via the website it is also possible to book accommodations, leisure activities, restaurant tables and several transportation options (TripAdvisor, 2017). The reviews on TripAdvisor consist of a grade based on 5 dots. 1 dot equals horrible, 2 dots equal mediocre, 3 dots equal average, 4 dots equal very good and 5 dots equal exceptional. After rating the accommodation or experience with a number of dots, the reviewers can give a short explanation in text. First a title is asked and after that the reviewer is asked to explain their experiences in a maximum of 200 words. The reviewers are often anonymous, using only their first or last name or sometimes post under names such as: traveler and anonymous. I have gathered data from TripAdvisor for this thesis from the following Dutch holiday parks: Roompot holiday park Kuikduin, Oostappen Marina Beach Park, Landal Holiday park Hoog Vaals and Holiday Park Droomgaard.

### **Zoover**

Zoover is a Dutch review site that was founded in 2005. The number of reviews posted on the site is approximately 4 million. Just as TripAdvisor, Zoover also provides the opportunity to book accommodations (Zoover, n.d.). The reviews, however, have a different structure than those of TripAdvisor. Instead of one overall grade via a dots system, Zoover asks the reviewers to give a number from 1 to 10 for nine different aspects. Based on the numbers given, Zoover calculates an average for the overall grade. Besides the grades, Zoover also gives the reviewers the opportunity to write something in text starting with a headline. There is a maximum of 950 characters to be used. On Zoover most reviews are also written by people using only their first or last name which makes the authors anonymous to a degree. I have gathered data from Zoover for this thesis from the following Dutch holiday parks: Duinrell, Oostappen Marina Beach Park, Landal Holiday park Hoog Vaals and Holiday park Droomgaard.

### **Google reviews**

Google reviews is not a platform or a website on its own, it is a part of the google search engine. When you enter a holiday accommodation in the Google search engine, the right part of the computer screen shows an overview of the accommodation. This overview includes an overall grade between 0-5 stars, the number of reviews written and some examples of those reviews. Reviews can also be added via that same screen, however, people who use Google on their phone and have allowed Google to use their location at all times will be asked to review places that they are in close proximity with. This might generate more reviews. The layout of the reviews is similar to TripAdvisor,

it starts of with a grade based on stars followed by an optional textbox with a figure restriction of maximum 4000. Google does not however, make use of headings. A big difference between Google reviews and TripAdvisor and Zoover is the fact that Google uses your name and picture from your google account which makes it less easy to post anonymously. I have gathered data from Google reviews for this thesis from the following Dutch holiday parks: Duinrell, Oostappen Marina Beach Park, Landal Holiday park Hoog Vaals and Holiday park Droomgaard.

The people writing reviews on these platforms are most likely tourists who actually encountered or were at least aware of the asylum seekers staying on the same holiday park. Their reviews are therefore representing their own experiences regarding the accommodation of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks. The description of their experiences is often short due to the nature of reviews and the limited characters amount possible. Their experiences are often mixed with other impressions of the park such as facilities and hospitality. The reviews also contain a grade which may or may not be directly influenced by the presence of asylum seekers.

### 5.1.2 Social network platform

Social network platforms are Internet-based social media websites used in order to stay connected with other people. Facebook is the largest social network platform with 2.8 billion daily users (Statistica Research Department, 2020). Other examples of large social network platforms are Instagram, Pinterest, and Twitter. These platforms allow both individuals and corporations to connect with one another in order to develop relationships, share information and ideas, gain knowledge and get in contact. One of the negative effects of online social network platforms is that these platforms contribute to the spread of misinformation (Vosoughi et al., 2018). False news is 70% more likely to be retweeted on Twitter than the truth. And false news also reached people about six times faster than the truth. This effect is more pronounced with political news than other categories. The data also supports the novelty hypothesis which claims that people are drawn to information that is novel and unusual and are therefore more likely to interact with false news. The false news items also generated more replies expressing greater surprise, fear, and disgust (Vosoughi et al., 2018). When it comes to social networking platforms and political issues, people tend to live in partisan bubbles which causes them to only receive information which corresponds to their view on the situation, therefore leaving all other information out (Stewart et al., 2019). The information people receive via these platforms might therefore be false or it could be that only the information that suits their ideas actually reaches them. The amount of negative or positive reactions on a post concerning asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks is therefore not representative for all Dutch tourists. Similar to the reviews, I did not take numbers into account but only looked at the individual comments and its relation to nationalism and othering in the Netherlands.

#### **Facebook**

As mentioned before, Facebook is currently the largest platform concerning online social networking. Facebook consists out of a platform which people and companies can use to gain and share information with their network and messenger, which is a chat tool used to communicate with that same network. Facebook is also the owner of other social network and communication platforms such as Instagram and WhatsApp. For my thesis I have only used data from the Facebook platform itself and not from messenger and other platforms owned by Facebook. I have made use of the comments underneath three different posts. One post from a local media company: Ons Eiland Schouwen-Duiveland (2016, January 6) and two posts from national media companies: Telegraaf (2015, November 27) and NOS (2019, September 14). The layout of all three posts is similar. The post starts with a short textual description followed by an image and after that the original heading of the article is stated which also leads to the article when clicked on.

The amount of interaction with the posts however differs greatly. The post by Ons Eiland Schouwen-Duivenland has nine likes (thumbs up figure), 20 comments and has been shared 48 times. The post from Telegraaf has 187 likes, 426 comments and has been shared 28 times. The last one from the NOS was post in 2019 after an update from Facebook which lets users not only give posts a like (thumbs up) but also included the options of Angry (angry face), Love (Heart), Funny (laughing face), Surprised (open mouth face), and Sad (crying face). This post got 887 angry, 346 likes, 218 surprised, 87 love, 55 funny and 30 Sad. Besides the emoticons the post also received 2200 comments and has been shared for 177 times.

#### Ons Eiland Schouwen-Duivenland

Ons Eiland Shouwen-Duiveland is a small local media/news company located on one of the islands (called Schouwen-Duivenland) in the province of Zeeland. When looking at the personal profiles of the people commenting on this post, it seems like the majority lives on that same island. The article that this post is referring to, is the discussion between Roompot and COA concerning the accommodation of 250 asylum seekers on camping park Renesse, located on the island. It can therefore be assumed that the people commenting on the post are locals living in proximity of the park (same island) and are not necessary tourist who encountered the asylum seekers during their vacation.

#### Telegraaf

Telegraaf is a media company that started out as a physical newspaper. The newspaper is still available on print, however, the Telegraaf also offers online versions. The Telegraaf has a fairly flat geographical distribution and is read by people from all socioeconomic categories based on income and level of education (NOM printmonitor 2017-1, 2017). In 2017 the online platform of the Telegraaf was the most popular compared to other national newspapers. From the total range of 8.991.000 people, 4.006.000 were via their online platform (NOM printmonitor 2017-1, 2017). The comments underneath the post do not seem to imply that the people commenting also encountered the asylum seekers during their vacation. However, the majority of the people who have commented also do not live in the proximity of the park in Terneuzen, Zeeland that has been discussed to accommodate 600 asylum seekers in the article. The people in the comments are however discussing the situation on the park itself, possible benefits gained by the asylum seekers by staying on a holiday park, the effect on tourists, and the likelihood that they themselves will still go there. rather than the location of the park (Terneuzen).

#### NOS

The NOS (Dutch Broadcasting Foundation) is one of the largest news organizations in the Netherlands. In their own opinion the NOS aims to be the primary source of information in the field of news, sports, and events, so that the Dutch citizen is able to judge developments in the world and determine their behavior accordingly (NOS, 2021). NOS expresses that their users are rapidly spreading across a growing number of platforms. The NOS is therefore not only active in the traditional radio and television broadcasts, but also on the internet via their website, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube (NOS, 2021). The comments underneath their post concerning asylum seekers being potentially placed on holiday park Duinrell are similar to those from the Telegraaf post. Most people do not live in the proximity of Wassenaar were Duinrell is located, and the topics expressed in the comments also concern the situation on the park itself, possible benefits gained by the asylum seekers by staying on a holiday park, the effect on tourists, and the likelihood that they themselves will still go there. However, some of the comments focus on the motives from the park itself to accommodate asylum seekers.

When looking at all three Facebook posts, there seems to be a distinction between the motivations for writing a comment underneath the different posts. The post from the smaller local news company Ons Eiland Schouwen-Duivenland seems to attract reaction from people coming from the same area discussing the effects on the area itself rather than the situation on the park. On the other hand, are the posts from the Telegraaf and the NOS where the majority of the people who comment do not seem to be from that specific area and are more focused on the actual situation on the park and the notion of giving asylum seekers a place on Dutch holiday parks in general. The last group seems to have an indirect connection with the coexisting of asylum seekers and tourists on Dutch holiday parks.

### Twitter

Twitter is a social networking site where users can publish short messages up to 280 characters. Besides publishing, people can also follow and respond to each other. A message on Twitter is called a tweet. Twitter has approximately 192 million active users (Twitter, 2021), from which 3.9 million are Dutch (Statista Research Department, 2021). Twitter's popularity as an outlet for news has been on the rise, in fact, journalists make up nearly a quarter of all verified accounts on Twitter (Statista Research Department, 2021). On an average, people spend 3.39 minutes on Twitter per session which is relatively short compared to Facebook where people spend approximately 5 minutes per session (Statista, 2019). For the data I have used seven individual tweets and one tweet from Geert Wilders including the responses to his Tweet. There seems to be a mix of direct and indirect connection to the topic. Some tweets are specifically referring to the holiday parks that are housing asylum seekers and the distinction between the rules for long stay tourists and COA, while other tweets have a more general focus on the idea that asylum seekers stay on holiday parks. The Tweet by Geert Wilders appears to be a general statement concerning this idea rather than his own experience on a Dutch holiday park where asylum seekers are staying.

The data deriving from the social network platform is different compared to the data from the review websites because the people who wrote a review have most likely spend their vacation on one of the holiday parks discusses whereas this is for the most part unknown for the people commenting underneath the posts/tweets from the social network platforms. Another difference between the two groups is the amount of anonymity, where most of the reviews were posted anonymously or with only first or last name, the comments underneath the social network posts/tweets often show first and last name and sometimes also a profile picture of the person.

#### 5.1.3 Forum GeenStijl

For this thesis I have also included data from a Dutch forum named GeenStijl. GeenStijl is a Dutch blog founded in 2003. On the website, GeenStijl writes that many people categorize them as a weblog, however they claim that this does not cover it. GeenStijl is according to the site a platform for *"news facts, shameful revelations and journalistic research alternating with light-hearted topics and pleasantly insane nonsense."* The editorial staff informs over 400,000 visitors about *"the other side of the news"* every day. The site is one of the top 10 most visited current affairs sites in the Netherlands (GeenStijl, n.d.). GeenStijl often uses a provocative tone in their blogs under which people can comment. People who comment underneath those blogs are called 'Reaguurders' which can be explained as a combination of the Dutch verb *"reageren"* (to react) and the Dutch adjective *"Guur"* (Being cold/unfriendly) (GeenStijl, n.d.). The site however has also gained critique concerning the extreme nature of the comments it allows the readers to post. In an article from Trouw (2017), Dutch journalist, John van den Heuvel expressed his discontent with the platform. He believes that GeenStijl is guilty of inciting hate, by pinning people against one another. He used an example for this argument in which GeenStijl revealed the name of the person who became unwell in his car which

caused for a collision at the Amsterdam train station in June 2017. Not only did the forum reveal the driver's name, but they also linked the man's Moroccan nationality and the accident to what they call 'the popular Islamic attack month of Ramadan'. Van den Heuvel expressed that it is feeding a popular conspiracy theory claiming that this was a failed terrorist attack (Trouw, 2017). Immigration seems to be a popular topic on the platform of GeenStijl. When using the search term asylum seekers (asielzoekers) the website shows 347 results and another 184 results for the search term refugees (vluchtelingen). The term Muslims results in 575 articles. In comparison the search term politics leads to 415 results and the search term sports to 199 results, which are topics often used in journalism. For data collection, GeenStijl might be an odd choice due to their reputation of fake news and hate spreading. However, despite their reputation, GeenStijl is a popular site amongst Dutch citizens and since 2009 also has its own broadcasting association: PowNed. In an online reach study in 2018 amongst websites and applications used in the Netherlands it was stated that on a monthly basis, 1.2 million people visit the website of GeenStijl (Consultancy.nl, 2018). Therefore, I would argue that the comments from the site's visitors should be considered. It is however important to consider that the data deriving from this platform might have been influenced by potential fake news and or the spreading of hate.

I have gathered data from the following two articles:

1. "*Nederland geeft asielzoekers eigen pretpark*" translated: Netherlands gives asylum seekers their own theme park. (2013).
2. "*Asielzoekers pikken ONZE vakantieparken in*" translated: Asylum seekers steal our holiday parks. (2020).

The usernames of the people reacting to the articles are often anonymous. Similar to the users on review websites, people often only use a first or last name. There is, however, a larger number of usernames that are not actual names such as "rest in privacy", "Bottlebaby" and Duitse herder (dog breed). The comments indicate that the people did not specifically encounter asylum seekers on a Dutch holiday park during their own vacation. Most comments are seemingly more politically motivated concerning the topic of immigration. I have selected a part of the comments made by Dutch people based on the two articles mentioned before. The texts from the articles itself are not included in the critical discourse analysis but are discussed in this chapter in order to gain insight in the context behind the comments.

### **1. Netherlands gives asylum seekers their own theme park**

This article is about the holiday and theme park Duinrell, which accommodated 600 asylum seekers in 2013 on their holiday park. I would describe the tone of this article as cynical and sarcastic. The first sentence of this article states the following: Netherlands no longer the most racist country of the world. As this was not the case before this article, sarcasm seems to be the way to interpret this. After that, the article goes on that we (the Netherlands) not only accept more refugees than ever before, but we also give them their own amusement park. However, the amusement park Duinrell and the holiday park are not the same thing. The asylum seekers stayed in holiday homes on the holiday park. The amusement park has also never been closed to the general public due to the presence of the asylum seekers. The term *give* in this sentence raises the question whether we (the Netherlands) give asylum seekers something or is it a basic human right to be given asylum. After that the article goes on about possible negative experiences asylum seekers might have gone through and how these experiences are softened by the accommodation on an amusement park. This part also appears to have a sarcastic tone. Thereafter the article mentions some stereotypes concerning asylum seekers and the Islam such as the slaughter of sheep and people being veiled. The author expresses that these activities are not necessary in order to receive your own amusement park in the Netherlands next to an education and a house. This part I would say has a very cynical tone,

especially because of the use of stereotypes. This article received a total of 121 reactions. It is however stated in their house rules that they delete reaction for multiple reasons such as racist comments, threats, spelling and grammar mistakes, in their opinion uninteresting or repeating content, trolling, foul language directed at female *'reaguurders'* and people who post private information of others in their comments. For this topic, some reactions could have been deleted due to these rules. However, almost all reaguursels posted underneath this article are marked with a symbol stating that the comment is in violation of the house rules and are not deleted. This would indicate that not all or none of the reaguursels are deleted when in violation with the house rules.

### **Asylum seekers steal our holiday parks**

This article seems to imply that there is not enough room on Dutch holiday parks for both asylum seekers and the Dutch people that plan a holiday in their home country due to the corona virus. In the first sentence of the article the author expresses that the influx of refugees is approximately 400 per week and directly compares this too the measurements in place due to the corona outbreak, stating that "you" are still not allowed to travel anywhere even though the Dutch borders are opened for asylum seekers. Making it sound like asylum seekers are given an unfair advantage. This article received a total of 427 reaction and similar to the previous article, almost all comments have a symbol attached to them claiming that the comment is in violation of the house rules. The main difference in topics that are addressed in the reaguursels is the discussion of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday park in combination with the Corona virus and the measurements that are in place because of the virus.

The reviews, comments, tweets and reaguursels that I have used in this thesis for my data can be found in appendix II to VII on pages 49 to 59. As mentioned before, besides the data from online media platforms I have also made use of the documentary made concerning this topic. In the following paragraph I will try to give a contextual background of that documentary.

#### 5.1.4 Documentary

Holiday for everyone *'vakantie voor iedereen'* is a Dutch documentary from Rik Lauwen, Mark Koster and Annelies Wezenberg from 2017. The documentary is set on the Dutch holiday park Marina Beach in Hoek, Zeeland. According to 2doc, an organization which provides the Dutch public broadcast Corporation (NPO) with a range of documentaries, the main question that this documentary tries to answer is whether or not tourists and asylum seekers can live together on one holiday park (2doc, 2017). In their small summary they express that asylum seekers and tourists are being housed in the same kind of blue mobile homes and that initially not all tourists were happy about this. 2doc calls the documentary an unique insight into the way two completely different groups try to live together, while they are far from home (2doc, 2017). In an interview with the Provincial newspaper of Zeeland (PZC), the producers of the documentary expressed that they went into it openly in order to show both sides. They therefore explicitly express that they have not received any funding from COA, Marina beach or other parties involved (PZC, 2017). One of the producers of the documentary was also interviewed by the newspaper Dagblad van het Noorden (2017) in which he stated that his intentions prior to the documentary were to just see what would happen. He followed up this answer by discussing his political view on the topic of migration, stating that the discussion about asylum seekers is currently being hijacked by Geert wilders on one side and the hypercorrect elite on the other. He himself claimed to be positioned in the liberal middle of the political field. The political views and the overall opinion of the producers were however, never discussed in the documentary itself. Besides the documentary only showed the answers that people gave and not the question that were asked.

The political views and opinions of the producers could have had an influence on the question that the tourists and asylum seekers were asked and therefore had an impact on the narrative of the documentary.

The second part of this chapter is based on the text fragments from both the documentary and the data from online media. I will not discuss all fragments that I have gathered in this chapter due to the large amount and overlap. The fragments in this chapter are already translated to English, the original Dutch fragments can be found in the appendix. The fragments from the documentary are in chronological order and are followed by the fragments from online media. The first theme that I will discuss is the language of threat followed by national burden and finally profit model.

## 5.2 Language of threat

The language of threat is the idea that refugees pose a threat towards the nation state (Grove and Zwi, 2006). This way of framing influxes of refugees is often compared with dehumanizing terms such as invasion, threat, and protection of borders (Goździak and Main, 2020). Amongst Dutch people this seems to be an accepted narrative given that in 2001, 61% of the Dutch population believed that influx of refugees in their nation-state would increase the likelihood of terrorism (Pew Research Center, 2016).

*“In autumn 2015, Europe was flooded by the largest refugee influx of this century (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017, 0:56).”*

Documentary fragment 1.

This is the leading statement for the introduction of the documentary: vacation for everyone. The term flooded can be considered an example of the language of threat. A range of natural disaster metaphors are used when discussing the influx of asylum seekers (Turton, 2003). In the following sentence, the narrator states that:

*“As a result of the explosive influx of asylum seekers, the Netherlands is forced to look for alternative locations (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017, 1:03).”*

Documentary fragment 2.

In this sentence there has been made use of a war related metaphor, explosive influx. This way of representing asylum seekers puts them in an impersonal, destructive and destabilizing light (Grove and Zwi, 2006). The language of threat also becomes visible in some of the interviews, for example the park manager of Marina Beach expressed that the location for the asylum seekers needs to be separated from the location for tourists. His argumentation for this separation is the following:

*“Because if you are honest and you think about your family with children, then you do not want to go on holiday among the refugees because you just do not know what to expect (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017, 5:33).”*

Documentary fragment 3.

In the first part of the sentence, he expresses that “if you are honest...” making it sound like what he is about to say is not only his opinion but also “yours” in this case the interviewer but also the viewers. In the second part he assumes that if people go on holiday with their children they do not want to be in close proximity with asylum seekers. This comes across as if the assumption he makes is based on a sense of safety which would be threatened by the presence of asylum seekers.

He also states the second part of the sentence as a unitary truth, “they don’t want to” instead of might not want to. The last part of the sentence expresses that “you don’t know what to expect” which indicates that at the least there is something to expect because of the presence of asylum seekers. However, not only in the interview with the park manager the language of threat became visible, the location manager from the asylum seeker centra expressed the following:

*“The inhabitants (asylum seekers) live in the blue chalets actually and uh there we can accommodate a family of four or four with a baby, and uh that is a good way for us to keep it manageable and safe (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017, 6:34).”*

Documentary fragment 4.

In the last part of the sentence, the interviewee expresses that it is a good way for them to keep it manageable and save. By saying this, the interviewee indicates that there is a need to house the asylum seeker in a certain way to ensure safety. The interviewee, however, does not indicate on what actually needs to be manageable and who’s safety is meant. Due to the timing of this fragment, soon after the previous fragment, this creates the idea that the interviewee is talking about the safety of the tourists. It is however unknown who is meant because the interviewee either does not elaborate on it or it is not included in the documentary. Later on, in the documentary the same interviewee talks about the way the asylum center is shielded and secured for tourists and other people.

*“Well as asylum seekers centra we really want control over who is inside. So, you register and then you show your passport or your ID and then your purpose of your visit. Well afraid of violence, it is more preventive to show that yes it is safe here, both for the people who are in here, and for the people, for the local residents, who see that there is an asylum seekers' center yes with also those traumatic people (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017, 24:10).”*

Documentary fragment 5.

These fragments are paste together in the documentary without the questions from the interviewer. The interviewee expresses that for the asylum seeker centra it is important to have control over who is inside and therefore people have to identify themselves. The next sentence however seems to be a respond to a question that is not included. “well afraid of violence” Is the reaction of the interviewee, which seems like the use of the term violence came from the interviewer rather than from the interviewee. The sentence ends with the term traumatic people, It could have been meant as traumatized people but the interviewee said traumatic people, implying that some of the asylum seekers can cause trauma to other people, rather than traumatized or people who experienced trauma. “Traumatic people” expresses the idea that there is something wrong with them because they are traumatic, whereas people who had a traumatic experience describes the situation those people were in. The interviewee also expresses that the measures are to prevent violence by showing that it is save. Aside from the mandatory ID check, the area is also enclosed by a fence with razor wire and red tape as shown in the documentary. Grove and Zwi (2006) however, argue that the physical aspects of the asylum seeker centra also play a role in the language of threat. The razor wire and fences make it difficult to discern the differences between asylum seekers centra and prison. The security measures therefore have the opposite effect on people because it creates the sense that the asylum seekers are unreliable and untrustworthy (Grove and Zwi, 2006). This way of separating the asylum seeker from tourists is not only used in Marina Beach. In a review concerning Duinrell estate and holiday park the following text fragment was stated:

*“The woman behind the counter explained to us that behind the fence it was too dangerous for us because of the asylum seekers who can be unpredictable from time to time. However, she reassured us as there was security carrying weapons day and night so we did not have to be worried (Zoover).”*

Online platform text fragment 1.

The language of threat can also be seen in certain contradictions that are made in the text fragments. In the following two examples contradictory feelings or attitudes towards asylum seekers staying on Dutch holiday parks are being expressed.

*“You are not bothered by the asylum seeker centra, people are mainly friendly, but you still keep an eye on your adolescent daughters (Zoover).”*

Online platform text fragment 2.

*“A large part of the park has been cordoned off because of an asylum seeker centra on the park and the Asylum seekers that stay on the park also use all facilities. I have nothing against those people but I would have liked to know about their presence on the park beforehand (Zoover).”*

Online platform text fragment 3.

These texts show a contradiction in the way asylum seekers on the holiday park are being portrayed. In the first text the reviewer expresses that you are not bother by the presence of the asylum seekers centra because the people are mainly friendly. In the next sentence however, it is stated that you (the reader) still keep an eye on your adolescent daughters. So even though the interaction between the asylum seekers and the person writing this review seem to be positive, there is still an alleged threat between the asylum seekers and adolescent daughters. The review does not state that anything happened that led to this threat which makes it seems like they idea that people need to be extra aware of their adolescent daughters in the presence of asylum seekers already existed in this person before visiting the holiday park. In the second text fragment a reviewer expresses that she has nothing against the presence of asylum seekers but would have liked to be made aware of their presence before staying on this park. In this text fragments the asylum seekers are made out to be “the other” that the Dutch tourists needs to be aware of before entering the park. This can also be seen in the statement I have nothing against those people, categorizing a certain group of people.

Some of the comments underneath the Facebook, Twitter, and forum GeenStijl posts also expressed a direct link between asylum seekers and violence/criminal offends such as sexual assault, property destruction, cannibalism, terrorism and harassment. The people who wrote that, however, probably did not actually stay on these parks. The following four fragments are examples in which criminal activity is predicted based on the presence of asylum seekers on holiday parks as the sole factor.

*“600 asylum seekers on holiday park Duinrell. How many cannibals and Islamists are among them? (Twitter).”*

Online platform text fragment 4.

*"If they are placed in holiday parks, it is only a matter of time before it will lead to swimming pool terror, and other things that will ruin it for hard-working people. (Forum GeenStijl)."*

Online platform text fragment 5.

*"The park can close its doors after that... I bet it will be completely demolished by those guys... (Forum GeenStijl)."*

Online platform text fragment 6.

These fragments all mention some form of criminal activity that could happen on the holiday parks. Cannibalism, swimming pool terror and vandalism. The way that the fragments are written however, shows that the commenters did not actually experience those criminal activities on the parks that are discussed. The first fragment is an assumption used in a question format concerning Islamist and cannibals. It is an assumption because the question is not are there also cannibals but how many, therefore assuming that there are cannibals among the asylum seekers. I would however argue that if the question was stated as "are there" there would still be an amount of stereotypical thinking at the base of it because cannibalism is very specific in this context. The second fragment expresses that it is only a matter of time, therefore stating that it did not happen already in the presence of the commenter, that the presence of asylum seekers on a holiday park, in this case Duinrell, will lead to swimming pool terror. The person writing this comment also added "*and other things*" which gives the impression that they expect even more criminal behavior from asylum seekers on the park. In the last part of the phrase, it is also assumed that Dutch tourists are hard-working people trying to enjoy their time on the park and asylum seekers are made out to be the contrary. However, even though the asylum seekers are not on the park to enjoy a holiday and are presumably not working in the Netherlands either due to their status, that does not mean they are not hard-working people. It is highly likely that they had a job in the country that they fled and besides they might also be working hard to learn a new language and culture whilst living in an alternated situation. Finally, the third fragment places a bet that the holiday park will be completely demolished by the asylum seekers, claiming violent behavior in the form of vandalism. By placing a bet it is also clear that this person did not experience this actual situation on the park but that it is a premonition. I would therefore argue that all three examples of criminal activities are prejudice.

This can be backed up by the reviews, from people who actually stayed at the holiday parks in question, that show no direct linkage to criminal activity. However, some reviewers do describe certain situations that they experienced as threatening and/or uncomfortable such as: peeping through the windows, forming a group, and having loud conversations. This can be seen in the following text fragments:

*"It was very unfortunate that they were so prominent in the public areas. At our bungalow there were several peeping through the windows which was not a nice idea (TripAdvisor)."*

Online platform text fragment 7.

*"What was very disturbing were the many asylum seekers on the beaches, the tennis courts and the indoor arcade. the groups around us felt quite intimidating (Zoover)."*

Online platform text fragment 8.

*"We were constantly disturbed by their constant chatter, even shouting at night. We got an unsafe feeling by the congregating men, young people (Zoover)."*

Online platform text fragment 9.

These fragments all discuss the feelings of tourists that were in close proximity with the asylum seekers during their vacation. None of the situations however show signs of criminal activity. The feelings that were experienced by the tourists could have been caused by prejudice and stereotypes concerning asylum seekers. Would they have also experienced the same feelings if a group of other tourists would have been peeking through the windows, walking around in large group and chatting and shouting loud at night?

### 5.3 National burden

Besides the language of threat, data also shows a discourse of portraying asylum seekers as a national burden. The portrayal of asylum seekers as a national burden can be seen in the notion that asylum seekers are rarely portrayed as individuals with agency, skills, or resilience, the idea that asylum seekers need to be (forever) grateful and the perception that refugees are an overload and a drain on national resources. This portrayal of refugees and asylum seekers as a national burden is also active in the Netherlands. 41 percent of the Dutch population feels that they take advantage of our jobs and social services (Pew Research Center, 2016). In the documentary *vacation for everyone* the mayor of Terneuzen, where Marina Beach holiday park is located, expressed the following:

*"I cannot say everyone is happy with it. The people in the surrounding area, they now accept it. But the undercurrent that is everywhere in society, the fears of what does it mean for our jobs, for our homes, yes they will be no different here than elsewhere (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017, 3:27)"*

Documentary fragment 6.

Our jobs and our houses, only for the "us" group. This represents the idea that the asylum seekers want what we have and that there is a strict limit. The asylum seekers are seen as an overload to the country which creates the narrative of they want what we have (Grove and Zwi, 2006). Asylum seekers are mostly portrayed as needy, helpless and a drain on our resources rather than a potential asset for the country and community (Grove and Zwi, 2006). I would argue that the narrative of they want what we have is connected to the portrayal of asylum seekers as needy, helpless and a drain on our resources. The fear that is expressed by the mayor of losing our jobs and our houses is an example of that. But it is not just about our houses and jobs, it also goes for our vacations and holiday parks itself.

The title of the documentary "vacation for everyone" suggest that both tourist and asylum seekers are experiencing a vacation on Marina Beach, I would say that this is not the case given the fact that the tourists are there willingly whilst the asylum seekers fled their country in hopes of finding asylum somewhere else. The fact that asylum seekers are staying at a location meant for vacation causes some friction. A tourist on Marina Beach expressed the following:

*“Look, I understand that it has to happen, however not on a holiday park. It drives people away. People want three weeks of rest. They do not have that (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017, 3:52).”*

Documentary fragment 7.

The interviewee expresses companionship towards other tourists who stay on Dutch holiday parks for their relaxation while simultaneously excluding the asylum seekers. The needs of the tourists are valid and the needs of the “other” are not. This leads back to the notions of nationalism and othering. However, some people do not only feel companionship toward other tourists in this case but speak on behalf of the Dutch people (us group) in general. The following two text fragments from the documentary are examples of this.

*“They should stuff poor families in these houses for a couple of weeks. Who are sitting at home for 6 weeks with their children. They would love to maybe be here for a couple of days (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017, 4:02).”*

Documentary fragment 8.

The interviewee in this fragment feels companionship with poor families in the Netherlands and therefore expresses how she feels that they would love to stay there (instead of the current asylum seekers). This is another example in which the other (Asylum seekers) is being excluded.

*“It is not the fear of those people personally, but what are those people doing here? In the big cities there is already no work, no houses. everyone is having a really hard time there. so, then you just hate all those refugees (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017, 21:07).”*

Documentary fragment 9.

In documentary fragment 9, the interviewee expresses companionship for all people living in the larger Dutch cities by making claims that imply unitary truth: “there is no work, no houses” and “everyone is having a really hard time” rather than expressing that there are fewer or less jobs and houses and that a part of the citizens are having a hard time. These implications of unitary truth are than presented as the motivation to “just hate all those refugees”. When looking at the comments from online media platform, there also seems to be a clear discourse of othering concerning the resources of the Netherlands and who has the rights to use them. The following statements that were posted underneath a post from the NOS on Facebook demonstrate this. The idea that there are specific group of Dutch people more deserving of the space has been repeated multiple times in the comments. I have chosen three out of them to discuss in this chapter.

*“What about our own people, who are not able to find a roof over their head or are put on hellish waiting list... How rotten is the Netherlands (Facebook [@NOS]).”*

Online platform text fragment 10.

*“ when can hard-working Dutch people go to an amusement park with an overnight stay for free? (Facebook [@NOS]).”*

Online platform text fragment 11.

*“And we have to pay the highest price to stay on the park. And the real Dutchmen cannot even afford a ticket for the park with the family (Facebook [@NOS]).”*

Online platform text fragment 12.

These text fragments are all focused on the us group which is expressed to be more deserving of the accommodation. In the first fragment the us group is described as “our own people” and specifically those who are struggling finding a home in the Netherlands. The second fragment expresses the us group as “hard-working Dutch people” which leaves the impression that they other group (asylum seekers) are not hard working and therefore less deserving of being accommodated on the park. This can be linked to the portrayal asylum seekers as people without agency, skills or resilience (Grove and Zwi, 2006). In the last fragment the us group is being called the “real dutchmen”. The expression of a real Dutchmen raises question such as when someone is considered a real dutchmen and can one become a real Dutchmen. The expression gives the impression that asylum seekers can indeed become Dutchmen by law but that it is not the same as becoming a real Dutchmen hence sustaining the process of othering. Pickering (2001) argues that this is often seen in developed countries where granting asylum is seen as charity rather than an obligation under international law. This can ultimately lead to a narrative in which the asylum seeker is ought to be forever grateful for receiving asylum and thus never truly belong (Grove and Zwi, 2006). In the documentary a tourists made the statement that asylum seekers are very lucky to stay here, after all the tourists themselves had to pay for it (Koster and Wezenberg, 2017). This narrative of refugees and asylum seekers needing to be grateful is also seen in the following text fragments. All statements can be linked to the narrative that asylum seekers have to feel grateful towards the local community of the country granting asylum.

*“For real asylum seekers, there would also be simpler places to imagine, I would say? These people are provided with unnecessary luxury houses, while us (Dutch people) have to figure it out ourselves. If we keep spoiling them it is not crazy that they keep asking for more! (Facebook [@NOS]).”*

Online platform text fragment 13.

The first fragment expresses how the houses on holiday parks are unnecessary luxury for asylum seekers. This kind of luxury is not meant for the asylum seekers (others) but only for the tourists (us). This fragment gives the impression that asylum seekers, that are accepted as “real” are deemed to be grateful for receiving asylum in the first place and therefore a simpler accommodation should do.

*“The whole of the Netherlands is a holiday park for them and meanwhile they complain that everything they get is not good enough while people have to pay large amount of taxes for it (Facebook [@Telegraaf]).”*

Online platform text fragment 14.

The second fragment expresses that the whole of the Netherlands is a holiday park for them, making it sound like the country is designed to cater to the needs of the asylum seeker. This is however not the case since people born in the Netherland are able to apply for jobs, education, sports and other activities that are not always available under the same conditions for asylum seekers due to their status (Rijksoverheid, 2021). Besides, people mainly visit holiday parks for fun, entertainment and relaxation which does not stroke with the reasons for becoming a refugee. The fragment continues by expressing that the asylum seekers still complain that what they get is not good enough.

This indicates the narrative of having to be grateful because the asylum seekers are expected to give up their rights to complain. This narrative effectively silences the asylum seekers because it limits their ability to assert their rights and to question the treatment they receive from the host country (Grove and Zwi, 2006). This has also led to the expectation that a genuine or legit asylum seeker would gladly comply with all the state procedures regardless of any unfair or inefficient treatment. Any indication that asylum seekers show dissent or criticize the procedures is portrayed as them not being genuine (Grove and Zwi, 2006). This effect can be seen in some of the other text fragments in which distinctions are being made regarding the type of refugee. Terms such as freeloaders, gold seekers, and fortune seekers are used to describe a group of asylum seekers that are believed to have come to the Netherlands only to “take what is ours”. In online text fragment 13 for example, it is explicitly mentioned that for “real asylum seekers...” therefore referring to a distinction between real and fake asylum seekers. This distinction can also be seen in the following text fragment:

*“ Yes refugees okay... but in my opinion there are too many freeloaders among them (Facebook [@NOS]).”*

Online platform text fragment 15.

In this fragment a distinction has also been made, refugees are okay but some of them are labeled as freeloaders and therefore not okay. Freeloaders are determined as people that are taking advantage of other people or governmental systems. This way of portraying asylum seekers that are given governmental funding or being helped by charity initiatives is a very narrow view because it is often the case that asylum seekers are being denied the right to work which causes them to rely on such funding and initiatives in order to provide for their basic needs (Grove and Zwi, 2006). In the last fragment it is stated that the asylum seekers expect everything from the country which granted them asylum and that if they are not satisfied they will vandalize.

*“I am sorry too. But then they come here and expect everything and if it is not met they will vandalize! Most do not respect us!! Do you think it is crazy that we are fed up with it !! We will see how it goes, we will talk again in six months and see what they did out of boredom or not... Give respect, earn respect... (Facebook [@Telegraaf]).”*

Online platform text fragment 16.

This statement both fits in the narrative of asylum seekers needing to be grateful as well as the language of threat that I have discussed before. However, this accusation in combination with the second part of the text shows a double standard for the us group and the others group. In the fragment it is expressed that most asylum seekers do not respect us followed by another indirect prejudice concerning asylum seekers and criminal activity. After that the expression “give respect, earn respect” is stated. This expression seems to only apply to the asylum seekers (others) because it does not come of as a respectful way to speak about asylum seekers through stereotypes and prejudice.

An issue that is often linked to the presence of asylum seekers is the ongoing housing shortage in the Netherlands. The text fragments often display the negative portrayal that asylum seekers “want what is ours” and that they are a drain on our resources without contributing to society. This can be seen in the following text fragments:

*"More or less permanent residence on holiday parks? COA arranges it for asylum seekers. Because of the housing crisis. You should try this as a regular house hunter... (Twitter)"*

Online platform text fragment 17.

*"Due to the current housing crisis, many people are forced to live on holiday parks. A number of them are evicted because the houses may not be permanently inhabited. Therefore, he or she can find a nice spot under a bridge in order to make room for one of the many people from shithole countries (Forum GeenStijl)."*

Online platform text fragment 18.

*"A cheese (stereotypical name for Dutchmen) is not allowed to live on a holiday park even though their current house shortage and construction freeze. Of course, that is perfectly reasonable and just (Forum GeenStijl)."*

Online platform text fragment 19.

These text fragments seem to demonstrate a certain displeasure concerning the way the shortage of houses is being handled. It is indeed the case that most holiday houses are regarded as recreational and therefore it is not allowed to permanently live in these houses. According to The Rijksoverheid (2021), it is up to the municipalities to decide whether or not people are allowed to permanently stay in recreational houses. Permanent housing, however, is not the same as staying in an asylum seekers centre. The asylum seekers are merely living on the territory of the COA and do not benefit from the same freedom and privileges as people who have a permanent home. Regardless, the text fragments show that asylum seekers are believed to receive benefits that are not available for the us group.

#### 5.4 Profit model

Besides the language of threat and national burden, the fragments also show a profit discourse concerning holiday park owners.

In the documentary vacation for everyone the owner of multiple holiday parks including Marina Beach is introduced: Peter Gillis. The voice over expresses that the entrepreneur took over Marina Beach while it was on the brink of bankruptcy. And that the refugee crisis provides an opportunity to make Marina Beach profitable again. The mayor of Terneuzen also expressed that gaining profit is most likely a motive for the Oostappen group for renting the houses to COA. He also expresses that he had not seen any charitable motives for doing so. Later on in the documentary, Peter Gillis indeed confirms that gaining profit is indeed an important motivation for doing so because in his words that is why you are an entrepreneur. The text fragments from online media also show some indicators of a perceived profit discourse. The data from online platforms also show a few statements that are in line with this idea of a discourse of profit concerning the reception of asylum seekers.

*“Sadly, Roompot lately prefers to house migrants on a working visa and asylum seekers. Only for money!!! The Dutch tourist being put on second place... Scandalous!!! (Tripadvisor).”*

Online platform text fragment 20.

*“The park is on a nomination list to get renovated so this would be a great solution to finance it (Facebook [@OnsEilandSchouwen]).”*

Online platform text fragment 21.

*“Well, the owner of the holiday park is assured of a rental income. And the Dutch taxpayer can provide for that same income. (Facebook [@Telegraaf]).”*

Online platform text fragment 22.

*“Smart entrepreneurs who are now converting all kinds of campsites into small Poland and now get a license to house all those cozy pharmacists (most likely a term for asylum seekers linked to drugs related criminal activity) (Forum GeenStijl).”*

Online platform text fragment 23.

These fragments directly describe a profit motive behind the housing of asylum seekers on holiday parks. There is also some resentment in these fragments concerning the idea that asylum seekers are preferred over Dutch tourists in the first fragment and also concerning the payment that holiday park owners receive coming from taxpayers. This resentment relates to the previously mentioned idea that asylum seekers are receiving benefits that are not accessible for Dutch people. Which is something that can lead to a sense of opposition and conflict and therefore maintains the us against them narrative (Grove and Zwi, 2006).

## 6. Conclusion and Discussion

The primary goal of this thesis has been to examine how discourses of nationalism combined with the process of othering constructs the view of Dutch tourists on the accommodation of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks. In order to analyze this, I carried out a critical discourse analysis by means of a CDA framework proposed by Mullet (2018) on several text fragments from a documentary, travel reviews and social media posts. This chapter will proceed to conclude the results and therefore answering the research questions proposed in the introduction. Thereafter the results will be put to analysis in comparison with other related academic publications. Finally, this chapter will conclude with the contributions made to academic literature and suggestions for further research concerning the coexisting of tourists and asylum seekers.

### **1. How do Dutch people react in the documentary and on holiday review pages and social media, to the fact that asylum seekers are accommodated on Dutch holiday parks?**

The reaction of the Dutch tourists seems to be very diverse as shown in the results. Some people are worried about the amount of asylum seekers and whether or not there are enough jobs and houses for everyone, especially for the people already living in the Netherlands, whilst other people are expressing fear of nuisance and violence. The documentary *Holiday for everyone* showed different responses to the presence of asylum seekers on the Dutch holiday park Marina beach. For instance, the park manager expressed that he would only agree to their presence if some sort of separation was created between the asylum seekers and the tourists. The reason for this separation was according to the park manager, that people who go on vacation with their children would not want to spend it amongst asylum seekers. At a later point in the documentary however, it was expressed by tourists (traveling without young children) that the separation combined with the red tape and fenced wire made them feel like something dangerous was going on on the other side, like asbestos. They expressed that the separation created a “human zoo” experience and thereafter made comparisons with the second world war and concentration camps. In their opinion it would have been better to scatter the asylum seekers over the park amongst the tourists. This idea was contradicted by an employee of COA, who expressed that in order to maintain a safe and manageable situation it is needed to identify all people entering and leaving the site. A couple that was approached in the documentary, expressed that they believed that the asylum seekers in the Netherlands that came from Syria are trying to gain personal benefits in the Netherlands, because in their opinion Syria is a much bigger country and should therefore have more than enough safe places for people to turn to. They also expressed that the asylum seekers are misusing the term war in order to get here. After the couple sneaked into the part of the park that accommodated asylum seekers, they expressed that the asylum seekers are very lucky to be staying on this park, after all they themselves had to pay for it.

The reviews and posts from online media also show a range of responses to the presence of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks. On TripAdvisor for example it is expressed that it is a shame that holiday park Roompot gives a preference to accommodate immigrants and asylum seekers for economical benefits, putting the Dutch tourists on second place. On Facebook someone expressed that providing accommodation for asylum seekers on holiday parks is unfair towards our “own” people that are unable to find a roof over their head or are put on hellish waiting lists. And on the forum *GeenStijl* someone commented that the park will likely have to close their doors after accommodating asylum seekers because in the opinion of the commentator, the park will be demolished by them. However, there are also some people that acknowledge the presence of asylum seekers on the park without expressing any negative experiences or opinions.

As mentioned before, during the coding stage I identified 4 grand themes that were often linked to the presence of asylum seekers on Dutch national parks. These were: nationalism, securitization of migration, economical benefits and entitlement to a certain type of vacation. However, for the last theme mentioned there was not enough data to support it and therefore I did not look further into it. The next part of this chapter will discuss how the responses from Dutch tourists on the presence of asylum seekers relate to nationalism and the process of othering by means of the previously mentioned themes.

## **2. How are these reactions relating to the ideology of nationalism and the process of othering?**

When reflecting on the collected data, one can assume that nationalism and the process of othering indeed play a role in the construction of the view of the Dutch tourist concerning the accommodation of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks.

The language of threat in the text fragments both affects social practices and structures as well as it is formed by social practices. By using metaphors of threats based on war and natural disasters, an impersonal and destructive image is created concerning asylum seekers. The data showed that already in the introduction of the documentary this imaged was created by using the terms flooded and explosive whilst referring to the influx of refugees. The use of these terms constructs the narrative that similar to natural disasters and actions of war, an influx of asylum seekers is a threat to the nation-state. This view of asylum seekers can then be linked to the third text fragment in the results in which the park manager of Marina beach expresses the need for a separation between the area where asylum seekers are accommodated and the area for the tourists. I would argue that this need for a separation is based on the narrative that the asylum seekers form a threat to the tourists because the park manager expresses this need for a separation on the assumption that families with children would not want to spend their holiday in close proximity to asylum seekers. This assumption of threat was also seen in one of the travel reviews on Zoover in which a tourist expressed that even though you are not bothered by the asylum seekers on the park, you still keep a close eye on your teenage daughters. The data from the documentary showed that this language of threat was not only seen in the fragments of the park manager and the tourists but also in the fragments from an employee of the asylum seekers centra. In an interview in the documentary the employee expresses that the way in which the accommodation is arranged on the park is a good way to keep it manageable and safe. It is however important to address that the documentary uses clips that were cut out from an interview and that the actual question is unknown. The subject of manageability and safety might have also been brought up by the person asking the questions in which case the language of threat is being spread by the interviewer.

The language of threat does not only consist out of language, it also contains visible aspects, for example the visible characteristics of asylum seekers centra also contribute to this discourse. During the documentary it was showed that the part where the asylum seekers were accommodated was closed off with barbed wire fences and red tape. One of the tourists actually mentioned that it seemed as though something threatening like asbestos was going on, on the other side of the fence. This way of accommodating asylum seekers is a powerful way to criminalize them because it gives the impression that if such security measurements are needed, there must be some sort of threat (Grove and Zwi, 2006). Which causes for a shift in the focus of the protection of refugees to the protection from refugees. In a travel review on Zoover it was even expressed that there was security carrying weapons for the protection of tourists from the accommodated asylum seekers on the park. I would argue that expressing that one group needs protection from another group is a clear sign of the process of othering via the language of threat.

Besides the language of threat, I also identified the narrative of asylum seekers being considered a national burden by Dutch tourists. Similar to the language of threat, the discourse of national burden in texts affects social practices and structures as well as it does the other way around. One of the signs of a discourse of national burden is the focus seen in the data regarding the amount of asylum seekers that will be given accommodation on Dutch holiday parks. In the documentary for example a permanent holiday guest expressed that initially 800 asylum seekers would be given asylum on Marina Beach holiday park but because that number was quite high, and local people and tourists did not feel comfortable with this amount, the mayor later on explained that it would be 500 people. This way of discussing amounts of refugees contributes to the idea that there is an absolute limit in terms of absorbing refugees.

The text fragments from both the documentary and the online platforms often display the use of terms that divides people such as our jobs, those people, our own people, real dutchmen, us versus them / we versus they etc. The use of these terms are also characteristics of the process of othering. An argument often mentioned in the text fragments is that another group is more deserving of the accommodation such as poor Dutch families, Dutch homeless people, Dutch elderly and Dutch disabled people. This is sign of othering because it only applies to the Dutch homeless, elderly and disabled people that already lived and/or were born here. The asylum seekers which are being accommodated on these Dutch holiday parks is expected to be very grateful to be given such an opportunity. This mindset is often seen in developed countries where granting asylum is seen as a form of charity rather than an obligation under international law (Pickering, 2001). Asylum seekers are ought to be forever grateful and will therefore never truly belong (Grove and Zwi, 2006). One of the text fragments that underpins this idea stated that the whole country is a holiday park for asylum seekers and yet they still complain that it is not good enough while we (the us group) pays taxes to support it. This clearly shows that asylum seekers should be grateful for what they have been given by means of the tax paying us group and are not allowed to complain. In addition, asylum seekers are often portrayed as needy, helpless and a drain on our resources rather than a potential asset for the country and community (Grove and Zwi, 2006). Because asylum seekers are often not allowed to have a paid job they are relaying on charity and governmental resources which in turn strengthen the narrative that they want what we have (Grove and Zwi, 2006).

The fact that the asylum seekers are staying on a holiday park also seems to be an issue for tourists. In the documentary a Dutch tourist expressed that even though he understood that refugees need to be given asylum, it should not be on a holiday park. He expressed that tourists come to such parks to experience three weeks of rest which they will not have because of the asylum seekers. This correlates to the idea that tourists have a right to a certain holiday experiences that is more important than the need of the other. However, the right to this kind of experience is not the main reasons why people are resistant towards asylum seekers staying on Dutch holiday parks. In the documentary another tourists expressed that they should be putting Dutch families in these houses that are having a hard time to provide for their families because they would be very grateful to have a holiday experience. This leads back to the idea that sub groups that belong to "us" are more deserving than the "others". Similar expressions were also seen in the data from online media, stating that hard-working Dutch people should be given the opportunity to stay on a holiday park for free, we have to pay very high prices and are not able to afford this kind of luxury and what about our own people that are currently homeless?. In the documentary however, there were also tourists that supported the idea of housing asylum seekers on the park but did not agree with the way it was arranged. They expressed that it would have been better if the houses in which the asylum seeker lived were spread amongst the park instead of being all cropped together behind a razor wired fence. According to Strang and Ager (2008) there are indeed benefits to this idea.

They argue that it is important for asylum seekers to get be in close proximity with the host community to learn customs and improve language skills more easily. These encounters are believed to also produce tolerance and promote inclusion amongst the host community (Strang and Ager (2008). However as mentioned earlier, the COA employ expressed that this would be to hard to manage. In the introduction I asked the question whether or not the coexisting of asylum seekers and Dutch tourists on Dutch holiday could potentially break down the barriers between them, or if it would just reinforce the narrative of us versus them? I would argue that because of the way asylum is organized on the holiday parks and the presence of the discourses of language of threat and national burden it is seemingly only reinforcing the narrative of us vs them.

### **Discussion and further research**

The data fragments used for this thesis were not only from Dutch tourists but also from Dutch people in general. The results of this study are therefore not purely based on the way tourists view the situation. The opinions given by the people that have responded on social media could have been motivated by other reasons than travel experiences or future travel plans such as living in the proximity of the holiday park, or just their general opinion about the presence of asylum seekers in the Netherlands. However, I would argue that the people responding to social media post concerning this topic probably have some kind of connection to the idea of staying on a Dutch holiday park which also accommodates asylum seekers (with the exception of trolling accounts). Another important aspect of this study that need to be taking into consideration is the fact that al data has been translated from Dutch to English. The reviews and social media fragments contained a lot of grammatical errors, slang and proverbs which made it even more challenging to translate the texts without loosing the intended meaning of the words. As I have expressed in chapter four, I have tried to the best of my knowledge to translate these fragments, however, mistakes could have been made. Aside from the distinction between tourists and non tourists and the possible errors in translation it is also important to be aware of the fact that a large part of the data is based on reviews and comments from online media, and due to the instable environment of online platforms, it is not reliable to make a distinction between the positive and negative reactions and the topics they discuss. However, when looking at the gathered data it is possible to identify the process of othering via the language of treat and national burden. There is also some evidence of a third discourse being a profit discourse, the data for this however is very limited and for further research I would recommend enriching this data by interviewing park owners, COA employees and municipality staff to gain more insight on the motives behind the accommodation of asylum seekers. As mentioned before, I started out with four grant themes, one of them being the idea that tourists have the right to a certain holiday experience. The data in this thesis was not sufficient enough to explore this discourse, however there was some evidence that this discourse exist and for future studies it might be valuable to gain more insight on this.

This thesis makes a contribution to the academic field because it is the first one that studies this specific situation on Dutch holiday parks. Given the population growth and environmental pressure leading to droughts and other natural disasters, it is likely that more people will have to leave their country and become asylum seekers. It is therefor important to find logistical solutions for the accommodating of asylum seekers but also to dismantle these discourses in order to combat social inequality. I have not been able to find similar papers on this topic, but there are studies based on the interaction between tourists and asylum seekers in general and study's that are focused on the portrayal of asylum seekers and refugees in the receiving country. Refugees and asylum seekers are portrayed as a threat to the economy, a threat to the integrity of the refugee system and a threat to national security in the Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act (PCISA).

These portrayals were particularly focused on forced migrants (Huot et al, 2015). The portrayal of refugees and asylum seekers as a threat to the economy is comparable to the results in my thesis concerning the portrayal of asylum seekers as a national burden. In the results of my thesis, the text fragments showed a form of othering directed at asylum seekers concerning their rights to a house in comparison to the rights of people born in the Netherlands. It was often mentioned that there were more deserving people like homeless and poor people in the country that should be given the chance to stay on Dutch holiday parks. The study from Huot et al. (2015) expressed a similar view concerning the health care system, The department of citizenship and immigration Canada expressed that it is unfair that those who have not followed the rules (forced migrants) have access to more generous benefits in health care than average Canadian receive. The language of threat in this thesis corresponds with the threat to national security that is mentioned by Huot et al. (2015) irregular arrivals are expressed to form a potential security and threat because in cases of unconfirmed identity of the migrants there is a risk of human smuggles, traffickers, terrorists or individuals who committed crime against humanity are being led in. This study, however, did not focus on the way refugees and asylum seekers are portrayed by tourists but on the existing of othering within the PCISA system in Canada. In a study by Franck (2018) it was stated that the European refugee crisis has been exploited for political and economic purposes in order to push for securitized immigration and border regimes. Which can be linked to the populist right political movement as discussed in a previous chapter. Franck (2018) also expresses that migrants and refugees crossing the border is increasingly becoming a profitable business for various actors. Her study focusses mainly on the involvement of humanitarian relief work in Lesvos, but this could also be seen in this thesis, where holiday park owners are trying to gain profit from accommodating asylum seekers. The influx of refugees on destinations that are popular amongst tourists can potentially influence tourism flows. In order to gain an insight in this potential influence, Seeteram (2012) developed a dynamic model for international tourist arrivals to Australia. The outcomes proved that migration in general is indeed an important demand determinant for the destination (Seeteram, 2012). The presence of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks might also determine demand, it was also advised in some of the text fragments to avoid the park. The model, however, is based on inbound tourism rather than domestic tourism and could therefore not predict the effect on demand for Dutch holiday park. For actors in tourism it could be interesting to develop a model which can predict the effects of accommodating asylum seekers on holiday parks on the demand for domestic tourism. However, I would argue that this might only strengthen the profit discourse in the private sector.

To get a better understanding of the role of nationalism and othering in the way Dutch tourists view the accommodation of asylum seekers on Dutch holiday parks I would recommend further research by means of in-depth interviews with tourist that encountered asylum seekers during their vacation, and or a case study on one of the holiday parks to get a broader perspective on the coexisting of these two groups.

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## Appendix I: CDA Framework Mullet

General Analytical Framework for CDA.		Mullet, 2018	
Stage of analysis	Description	Example	
1	Select the discourse	Select a discourse related to injustice or inequality in society.	Experiences of women who work in male-dominated workplaces; portrayal of LGBTQ individuals in the media.
2	Locate and prepare data sources	Select data sources (texts) and prepare the data for analysis.	Newspaper articles, textbooks, interview transcriptions, advertisements, song lyrics, visual media.
3	Explore the background of each text	Examine the social and historical context and producers of the texts.	Characteristics of the genre, historical context, production process, overall slant or style, intended audience, intended purpose of the text, publisher characteristics, and writer characteristics.
4	Code texts and identify overarching themes	Identify the major themes and subthemes using choice of qualitative coding methods.	Thematic analysis, open or inductive coding, axial or deductive coding.
5	Analyze the external relations in the texts (interdiscursivity)	Examine social relations that control the production of the text; in addition, examine the reciprocal relations (how the texts affect social practices and structures). How do social practices inform the arguments in the text? How does the text in turn influence social practices?	Dominant social practices and norms (e.g., women in caregiver roles), social structures (e.g., social class or caste system, governments and legal systems, institutions such as schools).
6	Analyze the internal relations in the texts	Examine the language for indications of the aims of the texts (what the texts set out to accomplish), representations (e.g., representations of social context, events, and actors), and the speaker's positionality.	Headlines and leading statements, structural organization or layout of the text, use of quoted material, vocabulary (e.g., high frequency or sensitizing words), grammar, voice, and linguistic devices such as turn-taking, metaphor, or rule-of-three.
7	Interpret the data	Interpret the meanings of the major themes, external relations, and internal relations identified in stages 4, 5, and 6.	Revisit the structural features and individual fragments, pacing them into the broader context and themes established in the earlier stages.

## Appendix II: Text fragments TripAdvisor

### Roompot holiday park Kuikduin (Den Haag)

- Helaas geeft Roompot de laatste jaren er de voorkeur aan om arbeidsmigranten en asielzoekers te huisvesten!!! Alleen maar voor het geld!!! De Nederlandse toerist op plaats twee.....Schandalig!!!
- Enige minpuntje zijn de vele vluchtelingen in huisje 102."
- Op sommige stukken lijkt het wel een opvang kamp voor vluchtelingen of arbeidsmigranten. Ik denk dat je voor het zelfde bedrag een betere plek kunt vinden.

### Marina Beach (Terneuzen)

- Was wel leuk zwembad was top. mooi plaatsje, wel paar asielzoekers op ander gedeelte park. 🙄 voor de rest was het park niet zo druk.
- Er zitten asielzoekers op het park waar je verder niets van merkt.

### Landal holiday park (Hoog Vaals)

- Het park lijkt gedeeltelijk afgehuurd voor asielzoekers. Hier hebben we geen last van gehad, maar hierdoor was het drukker waardoor wij ervoor kozen om ergens anders wat te drinken.
- Helaas waren er op het moment dat wij daar verbleven heel veel migranten aanwezig. Het lijkt er op dat Landal een deel van het park verhuurd heeft aan asielzoekers. Heel jammer dat ze zo nadrukkelijk aanwezig waren in de openbare ruimtes bv zwembad, speeltuinen en restaurant. Bij onze bungalow stonden er verschillende door de ramen naar binnen te gluren wat geen fijn idee was. Hierdoor hadden wij niet het fijne vakantie gevoel dat we bij vorige bezoeken wel hadden.
- Een nadeel was het verblijf van de asielzoekers. Je hebt geen last van ze maar je kijkt toch even raar op, fijn als dit van tevoren bekend is
- Zeer vervelend is dat je beter naar noord Afrika kan gaan. Dat is goedkoper en je ziet daar minder noord Afrikanen. Ben werkelijk ontsteld.

### Holiday park Droomgaard, Kaatsheuvel

- Hier zijn momenteel 1200 vluchtelingen uit Sirie opgevangen in stacaravans op een gedeelte van park aan de andere kant een caravanpark met Poolse arbeidsmigranten, tenzij je hier tussen wil zitten, anders wegblijven!!

## Appendix III: Text fragments Zoover

### Duinrell estate and holiday park (Wassenaar)

- Was leuk alleen wat is het schandalig dat een deel van het park afgesloten is bij de supermarkt in de buurt. De mevrouw die achter de kassa zat zij dat het daar achter het hek te gevaarlijk was ivm asielzoekers die weleens raar uit de hoek kunnen komen. Maar ze stelden ons gerust want er was dag en nacht beveiliging aanwezig die wapens zouden dragen dus we hoefden ons geen zorgen te maken. Al is dit wel aparte ervaring voor een familie park.
- Daarbij wordt je steeds geconfronteerd met de asielzoekers door heel het park.

### Marina Beach (Terneuzen)

- Kan er veel woorden aan vuil maken maar heb er geen goed woord voor over. Oud, aftands en smerig. Vluchtelingen in het COA ernaast hadden betere caravans. Troep is het.
- De asielzoekers hebben hun eigen gedeelte en zijn niet storend aanwezig.
- JA er zit een AZC maar daar heb je geen last van. Tuurlijk kom je wel mensen tegen in het winkeltje ed.
- Er zit inderdaad een AZC'tje op het park vooraan. Na het lezen van eerdere reviews dacht ik wel van " oei". Maar het hele weekend geen asielzoeker gezien en zeker geen last van gehad. Ook niet met het slechte weer in de indoorspeeltuin. Ze doen hun boodschapjes in de winkel en verder hoor of zie je ze niet.
- Wat erg storend was waren de vele asielzoekers op de strandjes, de tennisbanen en in de indoor speelhal. De groepen om ons heen voelde intimiderend. Verder maakte ze zelf de regels wat gewoon niet die ontspannen en gezellige vakantie gevoel gaf.
- en oh ja van de vluchtelingen niets gemerkt, deze zitten op een apart,gedeelte.... Voor de rest prima vakantie gehad!
- Het AZC heb je op zich geen last van, mensen zijn overwegend vriendelijk, maar toch hou je je puber dochters extra in de gaten. Dat het COA midden in het park (terwijl de COA huisjes aan het begin van het park staan) ook een dokterspost heeft opgezet, geeft toch wel een apart tintje aan je vakantie.
- Van het COA absoluut geen hinder van ondervonden.
- De opvang voor asielzoekers is op apart gedeelte en heb je totaal geen last van. - Van de asielzoekers die zich veel aan de waterkant bevinden geen overlast gehad.
- Tegenvaller. Lokatie is nu ook asielzoeker centrum.
- ook las ik veel over de asielzoekers dat me eerst bang maakte heb 3 meiden van 7 tm 10 jaar maar dat is echt een fabeltje . ze zijn er idd wel en je komt ze heel soms tegen op t park, maar t zijn vriendelijke mensen met t zelfde doel "rust en vrijheid " je heb er totaal geen last van en snap niet hoe iemand hier negatief over kan schrijven geef de mensen een kans en je zal zien dat er niks is waar je druk over hoeft te maken.
- hier gaan we echt nooit meer heen hier heb je geen vakantie maar erger je uw eigen aan het personeel en de aziel zoekers die er zitten maar dat wordt niet gezecht.
- Van de vluchtelingen nauwelijks iets gemerkt, is min of meer een apart/ander parkje, met alleen dezelfde uitgang.
- Van het COA niets gemerkt en wanneer wij de vluchtelingen zagen was het goedemorgen/avond en was het contact prima en positief.
- Tijdens ons verblijf totaal geen last gehad van de aanwezige Asielzoekers, dit is zeker geen reden om weg te blijven wat wel was te zien aan de bezetting op het park

- Was er zeer kalm mss door dat de mensen wegbleven dat er vorig jaar opvang voor asielzoekers was. Maar is echt spijtig als men daarvoor weg blijft is niks meer van te merken

- Aangekomen op het park viel ons direct het 'ghetto' voor de vluchtelingen op. Onze caravan stond dicht bij de afsluiting, en we werden voortdurend gestoord door hun constant gebabbel, geroep, ... zelfs 's nachts. We kregen er een onveilig gevoel door de samentroepende mannen, jongeren... er is ook niets van controle, iedereen kan zomaar het park op en af. In de binnenspeeltuin zat het vol vluchtelingen die zich niet aan de regels en leeftijdsgrenzen houden, waardoor het voor de andere kinderen niet meer leuk is.

- Op het park is ook een AZC gevestigd en ik vind dat ze dat wel duidelijk mogen vermelden op de website en tijdens de advertentie op veiling. Er is namelijk een heel gedeelte afgezet met hekken en de bewoners maken ook gebruik van alle faciliteiten. Voor de duidelijkheid ik heb niets tegen die mensen maar ik had het wel fijn gevonden als ik vooraf had geweten dat er een AZC op het park zit.

- Het is een park van niks ,met rondschuivende asielzoekers , die ook nog al bier drinkend bij de ingang van de receptie en de winkel staan te vervelen.

### **Landal Holiday Park (Hoog Vaals)**

- Jammer van de asielzoekers. Gedragen zich hinderlijk. Volgens de balie medewerkers zijn dit gasten uit Dubai, maar je ziet aan deze mensen dat dat flauwekul is.

- Asielzoekers centrum Hoog Vaals. Jammer is dat er heel veel Burka's lopen op het park, het lijkt wel een asielzoekerscentrum.

### **Holiday Park Droomgaard (Kaatsheuvel)**

- Dit park is pas heropend vanaf 1 april 2017, daarvoor zat er een grote groep asielzoekers in het park en dat is te merken.

## Appendix IV: Text fragments Google reviews

### **Duinrell estate and holiday park (Wassenaar)**

- Baggerpark. Echt te veel asielzoekers. Zonde van je geld. Niet doen.

### **Marina Beach (Terneuzen)**

- van de asielzoekers merk je niks

- Veel asielzoekers

### **Landal Holiday Park (Hoog Vaals)**

- veel buitenlanders op het park (asielzoekers?)

- Rustig park, veel asielzoekers

- Behoorlijk wat vluchtelingen die daar verblijven. Ligt veel vuilnis naast de bakken. Wij zullen hier niet snel boeken

- Onzettend veel buitenlanders/ hoofddoeken.

- Was wel erg rustig en er zaten buitenlanders Ik weet niet of het nog wel goed gaat met het park.

### **Holiday Park Droomgaard (Kaatsheuvel)**

- Een geweldig vakantie park, met 800 luidruchtige Poolse arbeidsmigranten. tel daar de 1200 asielzoekers bij op, dit gaat u gegarandeerd een heel exotisch gevoel geven. het kan weleens de vakantie van u leven worden.

- Een grote bak polen en asielzoekers. Veel plezier daar in die tering bende.

- Het zit vol met stinkende asielzoekers. NOOIT NAAR DEZE CAMPING GAAN!

- Waanzin voor geld: 1200 vluchtelingen in een vakantiepark in een klein dorp.

## Appendix V: Text fragments Other reviews

### **Duinrell estate and holiday park (Wassenaar)**

- Park is wel leuk alleen jammer dat het wel lijkt of je in het Midden-Oosten zit met al die buitenlanders terwijl wij het volle pond betalen. Zoveel buitenlanders: ongelooflijk. We lijken vreemden in ons eigen land. Veel zitten waarschijnlijk als asielzoekers op het Duinrellvakantiepark. En wij maar betalen. (fijnuit.nl)

### **Marina Beach (Terneuzen)**

- de aanblik van de asielzoeker is ook niet oke, je hebt geen last van die mensen maar het lijkt wel een concentratiekamp, treurig om te zien!

### **Landal Holiday Park (Hoog Vaals)**

Ja, leve google. Geen goede reclame, want als je Landal Hoog Vaals intikt krijg je standaard zoektermen erachter als 'vluchteling, asielzoekers, moslim'. Ehhh, huh? Ik heb wel wat gesluierde mensen zien lopen in dit park, maar eerlijk gezegd dacht ik dat het gewoon vakantiegangers waren.

## Appendix VI: Text fragments Facebook

### Holiday parks in general

#### Comments posted underneath this post:

Mogelijk opvang 250 asielzoekers op camping bij Renesse (*UPDATE: Roompot zegt niet mee te willen werken. COA heeft het onderzoek stopgezet.*) **from** @OnsEilandSchouwen · Media-/nieuwsbedrijf <https://www.facebook.com/OnsEilandSchouwen/posts/897521233695502>

- Gelukzoekers belangrijker dan betalende toeristen? Hoe stom kan je zijn.
- Als je al weet wat Polen afgelopen jaren gesloopt hebben op Aqua Delta snap ik niet dat Roompot dit aanbiedt! maar ja geld, geld
- Ben je lekker mee zeg.....waardeloos, hoe kunnen ze !!!! Weg renesse....
- Laat ze gvd lekker terug gaan naar hun eigen land
- mooie plek! staat anders toch maar leeg...
- Park staat op de nominatie voor renovatie dus dit is een mooie oplossing om de renovatie te financieren !
- Pff zijn we weer lekker klaar mee
- Weg met de rust in ons mooie dorpje

### Duinrell estate and holiday park (Wassenaar)

#### Comments posted underneath this post:

Het aantal asielzoekers in Nederland neemt toe, en dus worden deze winter maximaal 930 asielzoekers opgevangen op landgoed Duinrell. Bezoekers van het vakantiepark zullen er in principe niets van merken. **from** @nos · Omroep- en mediaproductiebedrijf <https://www.facebook.com/nos/posts/3055604091121795>

- Hoe zit dat met onze eigen mensen die geen onderdak kunnen vinden of helse wachtlijsten...hoe verrot is nederland
- Er staat nergens dat ze een verzorgde bungalow Inc entree park krijgen. Het herbergen van asielzoekers is een verplichting waar elke gemeente mee te maken krijgt. Wat fijn dat er van deze ruimte op landgoed Duinrell gebruikt gemaakt kan worden. Heerlijk straks in de herfst/winter op zon nat koud park zonder auto en verdere voorzieningen. Waarschijnlijk staan jullie allemaal in de rij om te ruilen.
- Op Duinrell was een paar jaar geleden ook al opvang. Mooi gebaar om dit nu weer te doen in de wintermaanden!!
- Fijn dat zij plek krijgen. Nu nog een warm welkom. Hebben al te veel ellende meegemaakt en kunnen best zonder de zuurte hier.
- Wat fijn voor ze, ik ben echt blij dat er zulke goede opvang voor deze arme mensen is in Nederland! Ik zeg goed bezig! Zo blijft er tenminste nog voldoende ruimte over voor de ECHTE Nederlander om lekker warm en beschut onder een brug of in een (vuil) container te slapen.
- Hoe triest ! Een hoop Ned. kunnen niet met vakantie of weekend weg . En zij krijgen een plek in Duinrell ??? Er zijn indien echte asielzoekers ook wel simpele plaatsen te bedenken zou ik zeggen . Deze mensen worden van overbodige luxe behuizing voorzien ! En wij (Ned) moeten maar zien hoe we het rooien 🙄🙄🙄 zo worden zij van alle gemakken voorzien . Gek he dat er steeds meer word geeist door hen leg ze nog meer in de watten en wij krimperen straks helemaal !!!
- jeetje...en hoe zit het met de Nederlanders die op straat staan ? Het verdriet van moeders die hun kinderen elders moeten pnderbrengen omdat ze geen dak boven hun hoofd hebben ..Dit word als humaan gepropageerd ,maar eigen volk moet het maar zien te redden en steeds meer dokken voor de vluchtelingen ....ja vluchtelingen ok .Maar naar mijn eigen mening zijn er veel te veel klaplopers bij ..
- Terug naar eigen land we zijn geen lui Lekkerland sommige Nederlanders moeten op straat leven en die buitenlanders krijgen een huis raar he
- Eigen volk kan het niet betalen! Hoeveel gezinnen kunnen er niet op vakantie? Hoeveel kinderen krijgen niet de kans om van een vakantie te genieten? Gun ons eigen volk eens wat! Stuur onze

gezinnen die het hart kunnen gebruiken eens een keer op vakantie. Kinderen van ouders in de schuldsanering. De gezinnen die zich kapot hebben gewerkt maar door echte redenen werkeloos of in de schulden zijn gekomen! Gun hun eens dat kleine lichtpuntje inplaats van ons eigen volk het vel over de oren te halen omdat we al kaal geplukt zijn! Nee joh!!!! Buitenlanders stoppen we in vakantie parken! Gratis smartphone met onbeperkt bellen en internet en ach doe er maar een mooie nette nieuwe fiets bij cadeau ook! Vergeet geen abbo voor het zwembad wat vanzelf een sexbad word. Geen zorgen voor aangifte wegens verkrachtingen en aanrandingen hoor!!!! Arm volk weet niet beter en is hun cultuur. Duinrell echt vlieg in de fik en brand tot de grond toe af!!!!

- Het is toch weer om te janken ...! Weet je wanneer ze goed bezig zijn? Huisjes beschikbaar stellen voor kansarme NEDERLANDSE gezinnen met kinderen die zwaar in armoede leven, gebruik moeten maken van voedselbanken en nooit op vakantie kunnen!!!! - Dus ze worden voor 6 maanden in een vakantiewoning geplaatst, terwijl wij een paar honderd per week mogen betalen 😊👍
- Is er ook plaats voor dakloze Nederlandse jongeren ?? - en als wij daar heen willen een weekje kost het 1200 euro ofzo
- Als duinrell nou kinderen in nl of desnoods daarbuiten een weekje vakantie hadden gegeven die nooit ergens heen konden, dan hadden ze alle respect gekregen van mij, maar nu 🙄. Nooit meer duinrell. Succes met de wederopbouw straks 🙏
- Hoeveel dak en thuislozen waren er ?40.000? Die willen ook wel in duinrell verblijven - Tis toch niet te geloven! En wij de hoofdprijs betalen voor een vakantie daar!
- Ach ja, toe maar weer.... Zoveel Nederlanders die al jaren op een wachtlijst staan voor een woning, mogen onder een brug slapen, want die mogen echt niet op zo'n luxe park logeren.... Nee daar moet je "vluchteling", lees uitvreter, voor zijn!
- Hoe leg je zoiets uit aan mensen die zich überhaupt geen weekje vakantiehuisje kunnen veroorloven?
- En wij de hoofdprijs betalen voor het verblijf op dat park.
- Als vluchteling kom je in duinrell. Wij kunnen er niet heen
- Wanneer mogen de hard werkende Nederlanders eens gratis naar een pretpark met overnachting?
- Belachelijk ! wij moeten maanden sparen als gezin voor een paar overnachtingen. Die leiers krijgen het weer gratis .. dat word duinrel boycotten dus !
- Nu dan ga ik daar niet meer naar toe ,hun gratis en ik dubbel betalen ,dag duinreel. Ik hoop dat iedereen zo denkt .het word tijd om in opstand te ko.en regen deze gelukzoekers.
- Ze zijn hier op vakantie en ze krijgen ook nog geld toe. Hebben Nederlanders hier ook recht op of mogen die weer toekijken hoe de regering ons geld investeert aan de buitenlanders - Betalen zij ook €1200,- per week, net zo als Nederlanders met kinderen in de schoolvakantie? Of wordt er weer gediscrimineerd en betaald alleen de Nederlander deze prijs in de schoolvakantie?
- En wij de hoofdprijs betalen voor het verblijf op dat park. - En de echt Nederlander kan niet eens een kaartje betalen voor t park met zijn gezin...

## Marina Beach (Terneuzen)

Comments posted underneath this post:

De asielzoekers blijven een jaar in vakantiepark **from** @telegraaf · Nieuws- en mediawebsite <https://www.facebook.com/telegraaf/posts/1191745044214455>

- ja en die hoeven de eind schoonmaak niet te betalen

- Doe voor mij ook maar een vakantierpark weekje is genoeg

- Wouden en hadden vorig jaar de kids beloofd naar vakantiepark oranje pipodorp.....maar mocht niet van de staat want het hele dorp en de speeltuin en de leuke huisjes waren voor asielzoekers. 😊

- Een jaar gratis naar een vakantiepark á €500 per week dat willen wij ook wel, ik neem aan dat de toegang tot het zwembad (mannen en vrouwen gescheiden) er ook bij inzit, alsmede de eindschoonmaak ? Echt, we zijn helemaal van de pot gevallen want na een maand zullen ze zich wel weer vervelen en klagen over van alles en nog wat. Lekker mee blijven doen en blijven wegstijgen. - Geef mij ook maar een jaartje vakantie

- 'De asielzoekers blijven een jaar in een vakantiepark'. Heel Nederland is een vakantiepark voor ze en ondertussen maar klagen dat alles wat ze krijgen niet goed is terwijl mensen er kapitalen aan belasting voor betalen... Grenzen hadden eeuwen geleden al dicht moeten

- ik heb niks tegen asielzoekers dan bedoel ik de echte niet die goud zoekers...natuurlijk moeten zij wonen...maar wat mij verbaast is wel dat zij gelijk wat het ook is een woning krijgen terwijl er mensen zijn die al jaren op de wachtlijst staan en niet aan de bak komen..zo kweek nje wel scheve verhoudingen..en dan nog wat denken zij nu echt dat dat zij die mensen na een jaar er uit krijgen ik ben bang van niet vinden zij dan nog gek dat de Nederlander zich gediscrimineerd voelen en dat allemaal gratis ik denk dat de belasting weer omhoog gaat iemand moet dit toch betalen en dat zijn wij

- Ja Mohamed maar het eigen volk vooral bejaarden en mensen met een bijstands uitkering voor hen is het echt niet te bevatten of die noodgedwongen van de voedselbank moeten leven voor hun is er niks.

- Vakantiepark? waar moeten wij Nederlanders volgend jaar met de zomer naar toe dan? en nog iets, voor mij is een midweek of weekend in een vakantiepark al snel 400 euro, wat gaat dit geintje dan al niet kosten?

- 'Geen optie tot verlenging', zegt al genoeg over de problemen die daaruit gaan ontstaan. Over het algemeen zijn de vakantiehuizen op vakantieparken goed ingericht en comfortabel. De asielzoekers zullen dit aannemen als 'hun nieuwe woning' en als het jaar dan voorbij is en zij naar 'versoberde accommodatie' moeten zullen zij hier niet mee instemmen.

- De eigenaar van dat vakantie park is in ieder geval verzekerd van de inkomsten uit verhuur. En de nederlandse belastingbetaler kan dan voor de huur opdraaien

- nog effe en kunnen de nederlanders niet eens meer zelf naar een vakantiepark

- Nog meer zijn er al niet genoeg , wordt het eens geen tijd om onze eigen mensen te gaan helpen die niet meer weten waar ze alles van moeten betalen ? Ben geen racist hoor ...maar aan ons eigen volk mag ook wel eens gedacht worden . En laten ze NU eens een keer het geld bij de ECHTE rijken vandaan halen

- Het gaat maar door en door,de Nederlanders mogen overal achteraan sluiten en de asielzoekers en vluchtelingen krijgen alles schaaam je eigen Rutte dat je alles in dit land kapot maakt 🙄🙄🙄🙄🙄 - Daar betalen wij 3000 euro voor lekkere verhouding hier

- Een jaar!! Nou daar gaat je vakantiepark.. Eisen zullen ze wel hebben,zijn niet zomaar tevreden.

- Vanwege het feit dat ze in een vakantiepark geplaatst worden kun je toch al merken dat ze er heel veel geld voor krijgen . Een 'normaal ' iemand betaald toch al snel een paar 100 euro voor een midweekje . En dat park zal ze toch echt niet gratis plaatsen lijkt mij want dan snijden ze der eigen in hun vingers . Vraag me alleen af hoe het park eruit ziet als ze daar weer weg moeten 😞

- Hebben ze ook een huisje voor mij!! - en jaar in en vakantiepark,wij nederlanders maar 3 weken,erg dit

- Ik vind het ook erg maar dan komen ze naar hier verwachten van alles en zo niet dan gaan we vernielen ! meesten respecteren ons niet !! vind je het gek dat wij het zat zijn !! We zullen zien hoe het gaat verlopen , praten we over half jaar weer en kijken wat ze hebben gedaan uit verveeling of niet ....Wie respect geeft krijgt respect terug ....Ik gun hun van harte mits ze verkeerde dingen gaan doen !! Het gaat niet om haat en gaat om feiten !!

## Appendix VII: Text fragments Twitter

### Holiday parks in general

- Kijk uit bij het boeken voor asielzoekers accommodatie op bungalow parken! Fijne vakantie! @landalnl @Roompot
- Gvd men mag niet in eigen caravan verblijven, in vakantiepark, maar asielzoekers steken ze er wel. Nog een ruk naar rechts... - We laten onze mensen in de kou en geven asielzoekers een vakantiepark.
- Wie wil nu nog een klein fortuin betalen om te gaan relaxen in een vakantiepark vol asielzoekers?
- Min of meer permanent wonen op een vakantiepark? Het COA regelt het voor asielzoekers. Want woningnood. Moet u als gewone woningzoekende ook eens proberen...

### Duinrell estate and holiday park (Wassenaar)

- Tweet van Geert Wilders: Asielzoekers naar vakantiepark Duinrell? . Beter naar Verenigde Arabische Emiraten!

### Comments:

- stuur ned gezinnen maar in dit park die geen dak meer boven hun hoofd hebben.
  - honderden vaste bewoners van recreatieparken moeten deze verlaten, asielzoekers meer rechten dan Nederlanders, kan echt nie
  - en dan gratis van alle faciliteiten gebruik mogen maken...
  - Ben het helaas eens met Wilders. Standaardgezin kan niet 1 dag Duinrell betalen! Opvang asielzoekers? Kom op zeg!
  - En wij in het seizoen woekerprijzen betalen.En nu ook nog voor die asielzoekers.
  - Terwijl een hele simpele midweek vakantie in Nederland voor velen chronisch zieke Nederlanders een droom is.
  - geert ik ben ziek en mijn man werkt zich drie keer in de rondte om de kost te verdienen eigen bijdrage ziektekosten enz. dit is dan toch niet normaal kan als eerlijke nederlander geen zorg krijgen of op vakantie. Betaal belasting alle premies.
  - stuur maar gezinnen.die leven onder de armoedegrens voor 2 weken vakantiepark Duinrell!!!!
- 600 asielzoekers naar vakantiepark Duinrell. Hoeveel kannibalen en islamisten zitten daarbij?

### Holiday park Droomgaard (Kaatsheuvel)

- Als ze het nou maar luxe genoeg vinden... "1200 asielzoekers naar vakantiepark Kaatsheuvel!"
- Zo ontzettend veel mensen kunnen zich niet eens 1 dagje Efteling veroorloven!!

## Appendix VIII: Text fragments Forum GeenStijl

### Holiday parks in general

Headline: Asielzoekers pikken ONZE vakantieparken in [@Pritt Stift](#) | 29-07-20

- Je zult maar geterroriseerd worden in je duur koopvakantiehuisje door deze gasten. Er zitten al teveel overlastveroorzakende "arbeidsmigranten" op deze plekken.
- Slimme ondernemers die inmiddels allerlei campings ombouwen tot klein Polen en nu dus vrijbrief krijgen om al die gezellige **apothekers** te kunnen huisvesten. Bizar dat we dit laten gebeuren
- Er is gewoon geen plaats meer voor asielzoekers en arbeidsmigranten. In Zeeland worden polen en bulgaren al geweerd van de parken. De vakantiegangers laten de parken al links liggen.
- Voor zon huisje hebben we eens 1000 eu betaald voor n midweek vakantie. Ik kan wel janken.
- Wij werken en niet op vakantie want corona en zij op onze kosten onze leefruimte beperken en plek innemen in onze gezondheidszorg, godgeklaagd!
- Ja leuk. Ga je in eigen land op vakantie en waar kom je naast te zitten? Inderdaad. Iemand met wél een gratis Miele en gratis uitkering en gratis rechtshulp om overal gratis geld te halen. Maar zonder huis. Dan zal dat wel weer financieel vergoed moeten worden.
- Die arme zielige asielzoekertjes/vluchtelingetjes, kunnen toch in afwachting van hun toewijzing verblijfsvergunning (gratis huis, miele en uitkering) toch gewoon naar land van herkomst op vakantie? Daar gaan ze ook heen op vakantie zodra ze de gratis geld papieren binnen hebben.
- Als het voor gewone Nederlanders "verboten ist" om op vakantie parken te wonen dan ook voor asielzoekers, Artikel 1 grondwet. Anders verzoek tot handhaven illegale bewoning terrein met recreatiebestemming.
- ik ken nog wat mensen die al 8+ / 10+ jaar ingeschreven staan op woningnet en toch op plaats 500+ van de 1000+ staan ondanks dat ze elke week reageren. Die zouden maar wat blij zijn met zo'n huisje, in plaats van de straat op moeten omdat ze vanwege corona zo in inkomen zijn gezakt dat ze hun noodgedwongen veel te dure gedeelde "appartement" in de particuliere sector (+/- 12 m2 kamertje voor 500+ euro) niet meer kunnen betalen.
- Buitenlandse vakanties al bijna onmogelijk gemaakt en daar gaat je vakantie in eigen land. Het nieuwe normaal.
- Waar komen die mensen in godsnaam vandaan? Tijd voor een wekelijkse uitstroom. Als ze in vakantieparken worden neergezet dan is het wachten op zwembadterreur en andere zaken die een vakantie voor hardwerkende mensen verpesten. Zet al die mensen maar in tentjes neer in de tuin bij onze rijke bestuurders. Kunnen zij ook een keer cultuur snuiven.
- Vanwege de huidige woningcrisis wonen er vele mensen noodgedwongen in vakantieparken. Een aantal van hen wordt het huisje uitgezet omdat ze niet permanent bewoond mogen worden en zonder perspectief op vervangende woonruimte. Dus hij of zij mag lekker onder de brug slapen en plaats maken voor mensen uit één van de vele shithole countries. Lieden die geen enkele binding hebben met ons land en het niet eens op de kaart kunnen aanwijzen?
- Het COA heeft zoveel geld: die biedt aan die vakantieparken eenvoudigweg een prijs waar geen werkende Hollander op kan. Of anders komt er gewoon een lock down. Dan moeten de mensen wel in hun eigen huis blijven. Maar opvangen zullen we.

- Een kaas mag niet in een vakantiewoning wonen, ondanks woningtekort en bouwstop. Dat is natuurlijk volkomen redelijk en rechtvaardig en uiteraard een zinvolle en wijze beslissing.

### **Duinrell estate and holiday park (Wassenaar)**

Headline: Nederland geeft asielzoekers eigen pretpark [@Johnny Quid](#) | 06-11-13

- Dat het een zootje mag worden met veel schade en mensen die niet vertrekken zodra het seizoen aanbreekt. Ik voorspel het laatste met grote zekerheid. Tot over 6 maanden naïeve terroristen knuffelaars

- NEDERLAND WAS ALTIJD AL HET PRETPARK VOOR ASIELZOEKERS. So what's the fucking difference ?

- Buiten het feit dat ze op een pretpark verblijven word alles ook nog 's betaald voor ze, kleding, onderkomen, eten.

- Leuke opdracht voor de ondernemer. Wat zal Dries van der Most jaloers zijn. Overigens, ik hoef niet meer zo nodig een huisje te huren op Duinrell. Ben ooit eens op bezoek geweest bij familie die een chalet hadden gehuurd bij Oostappen. Zaten midden tussen de Polen. En dan heb je echt geen prettige week.

- Altijd dat verongelijkte en het op jezelf betrekken van zaken. Alsof die lui daar voor hun plezier een midweekje zitten zeg..

- Kan het park daarna z'n deuren sluiten... wedden dat het compleet gesloopt wordt door die gasten ?

- Zo goed zou Nederland eens voor de Nederlanders moeten zorgen. Weg met ons! - We hebben genoeg vluchtelingen. Klaar d'r mee. Ga dat geld maar eens besteden aan ouderenzorg, gehandicaptenzorg, etc. Bejaarden zitten weg te rotten in een 48-uurs luier, en ondertussen krijgen vluchtelingen een onderkomen op een pretpark aangeboden. Omgekeerde wereld!