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Migration Discourse in Contemporary Italian Press:

A Computational-Critical Discourse Analysis with SocioFillmore

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Summary

Introduction

Migration discourse can be studied through a critical lens from a rich variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives. The approach followed in this dissertation finds its roots in the emerging field of Computational-Critical Frames Semantics, which combines the different linguistic sub-fields of Cognitive Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Computational Linguistics. Specifically, the hereby proposed critical analysis borrows the theoretical notion of frames from Cognitive Linguistics (and, specifically, from Frame Semantics) and employs computational methods for the annotation and interrogation of a large corpus of Italian newspaper articles on migrations.

In line with the remarks of the initiators of this field (Minnema et al., 2022c: 208-210), the motivation behind this study is finding evidence of the misrepresentation of migrants in a novel, systematic way and shedding light to unjust, standardized reporting practices in Italian journalism. A further crucial consideration is that prejudiced discourse does not need to be explicit, extreme, or even intentional to reproduce social injustice. On a general level, the present research concerns the linguistic framing of the migratory phenomenon and its primary actors in contemporary Italian press. More specifically, the purpose of this dissertation is assessing any differences and similarities in the frames that characterize press migration discourse across different years (from 2014 to 2021), as well as across newspapers with different features (i.e., ideological orientation, territorial diffusion, and publication periodicity).

Additionally, this study takes into account contributions of some of the several institutions that work on the verge between scholarly research and activism. Among associations that promote a more just and person-centered discursive representation of people with migratory background, the most influential for this research is *Associazione Carta di Roma*,[1] which developed a deontological chart for the journalistic representation of migrants and has been producing yearly reports on the matter since 2013. What follows is the presentation of *Associazione Carta di Roma* as reported on their website:[2]

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[1] But see also, for instance: *Fondazione ISMU - Iniziative e Studi sulla Multietnicità*, an Italian foundation that produces and supports research and initiatives on multiethnic and multicultural society and on migratory phenomena (https://www.ismu.org/); *Archivio delle memorie migranti*, an Italian association that collects and disseminates self-narratives and testimonies on migration, producing anti-racist teaching materials with the active participation of migrants (https://www.archiviomemoriemigranti.net/); and the multidisciplinary, international research projects Ithaca (https://ithacahorizon.eu/), BRIDGES (https://www.bridges-migration.eu/), and OPPORTUNITIES (https://www.opportunitiesproject.eu/). All links accessed on 06/12/2023.

[2] https://www.cartadiroma.org/who-we-are/ (accessed on 10/12/2023).

"The Association Carta di Roma has been founded in December 2011 with the goal of implementing the Journalist's Code of Conduct on immigration, signed by the National Council of Journalists (CNOG) and the National Federation of the Italian Press (FNSI) in June 2008. Carta di Roma seeks to be a stable reference point for those who work on daily basis with media and minorities issues: journalists, media operators, as well as various institutions, associations and activists involved in promoting and supporting the rights of asylum seekers, refugees, minorities and migrants in the field of media reporting."

The Journalist's Code of Conduct on immigration is an invitation to Italian journalists to "exercise the highest care in dealing with information regarding asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants living in Italy and elsewhere". The Code,[3] which is complemented with technical definitions of the terms "asylum seeker", "refugee", "beneficiary of humanitarian protection", "victim of trafficking", "migrant/immigrant", and "irregular migrant", contains the following guidelines:

a. Adopt an appropriate terminology which reflects national and international law so as to provide readers and viewers with the greatest adherence to the truth as regards all events which are the subject of media coverage, avoiding the use of inappropriate terms;

b. Avoid spreading inaccurate, simplified or distorted information as regards asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants. CNOG and FNSI call all their colleagues' – and those responsible for editorial content in particular – attention to the negative effects of superficial or unprofessional behaviour on those who are the object of news coverage, on readers/viewers and, as a consequence, on media professionals' credibility. Superficial behaviour may include associating different news items in an inappropriate manner and may engender unwarranted apprehension among the public.

c. Safeguard those asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants who choose to speak with the media by adopting solutions as regards their identity and image so as to ensure that they are not identifiable. Asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants who are identifiable – as well as the latter's relatives - may face reprisals on the part of the authorities in their country of origin, of non-state entities or of criminal organizations. Moreover, individuals who belong to a different socio-cultural context, where the press plays a limited role, may not be aware of global media dynamics and may thus not be able to foresee all the consequences of their decision to appear in the media.

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[3] https://www.cartadiroma.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/CODE-AND-GLOSSARY-ENGLISH.pdf (accessed on 10/12/2023).

d. Whenever possible, consult experts and organizations with a specific expertise on the subject so as to provide the public with information which is clear, comprehensive and also analyses the underlying roots of phenomena.

This dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter Chapter 1 introduces the theoretical framework in which the research is rooted, that is, Computational-Critical Frame Semantics. Chapter Chapter 2 describes the steps followed for the construction and annotation of a corpus of journalistic articles on migrations. The same chapter presents the methodology employed for the analysis of the corpus, which is provided in the following three chapters. Chapter Chapter 3 serves illustrative purposes and contrasts the most frequent frames in the corpus of press articles built for this research with the most frequent frames found in a comparable corpus of newspaper headlines. Chapter Chapter 4 analyzes frames that characterize the different years covered in the corpus (i.e., 2014-2021), while Chapter Chapter 5 focuses on typical frames on each of the sub-corpora identified through the parameters of newspapers' ideological orientation, territorial diffusion, and periodicity of publication. Finally, Chapter Chapter 6 is dedicated to the discussion of the results of the previous three chapters, followed by the Conclusions.

Chapter 1.   Theoretical framework: Computational-Critical Frame Semantics

This work stems from recent developments in the application of Computational tools and methods to the linguistic study of socially relevant phenomena. Specifically, this research finds its roots in the combination of three linguistic subfields: Frame Semantics, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and Computational Linguistics. Frame Semantics, as a branch of Cognitive Linguistics, provides the core theoretical foundation of this work. Critical Discourse Analysis, which is an analytical approach to discourse rather than a set of (linguistic) theories (Hart, 2011), serves as an observation lens for highlighting the social relevance of press representation of migrations. Computational Linguistics – specifically, the task of Frame Semantic Parsing – provides the methodological tools for operationalizing a Frame Semantics-based linguistic theory and a CDA-based approach to the analysis of large corpora.

The label "Computational-Critical Frame Semantics", employed here to identify the theoretical framework in which this research is rooted, was introduced in a recent work by Minnema et al. (2022c), who present it as follows:

> "Our theoretical background aims to unite different linguistic subfields, which together provide the conceptual and methodological tools for automatically analyzing responsibility analysis: (i) Fillmorian Frame Semantics (FFS, Fillmore 2006 [1982]) as a branch of Cognitive Linguistics (CogLing), for linking language to conceptual structures; (ii) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, Van Dijk 1995), for linking language to ideology; and (iii) Computational Linguistics (CompLing), specifically the FrameNet system of lexical representation and related parsing tools, for automatically mapping language to conceptual and structural representations." (Minnema et al., 2022c: 210).[4]

Minnema et al. (2022c) further stress the usefulness of computational methods for CDA in that they allow for larger scale analyses and can contribute to reducing subjective readings of data (cf. also van Dijk, 2015 and, more generally on quantitative methods for linguistic analyses, Sinclair, 1991). Computational-Critical Frame Semantics is the framework behind the development of SocioFillmore, a computational toolkit designed for framing and perspective-taking analysis (Minnema et al., 2022a). Using a model trained on Berkeley FrameNet data (see 1.2.1), SocioFillmore can be used for Frame Semantic Parsing at least on English, Italian, and Dutch data (Minnema et al., 2022c; see 1.2.2). The

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[4] The authors use the term "Fillmorian Frame Semantics" to clarify which notion of frame they adopt among the ones used in cognitive linguistics and social science (cf. Section 1.1.1.1).

aim of the SocioFillmore project is using computational methods for unveiling perspective-taking in news reports of socially relevant events, with particular focus on the backgrounding/foregrounding of event participants and the degree of agentivity that they are attributed through different representation alternatives (Minnema et al., 2022c). The analysis of perspectives is not trivial, since perspective-taking is often unconscious due to its embedding in the social practices of a community, including discourse practices (cf. also 1.1). Importantly, it has been observed that the perspective from which a news report is written can have a substantial impact on readers' perception of responsibility attribution for an event (Iyengar 1994; Bohner, 2001; Hart, 2018b; Minnema et al., 2023). The way in which SocioFillmore is employed in this research for the analysis of the representation of migrations in Italian press is explained in Section 2.2.2.

Before concluding this section, it seems important to point out that the present study also fits in a line of research commonly referred to as Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS; Partington, 2004, 2006). Indeed, as documented in Chapter Chapter 2, the data parsed with SocioFillmore had previously been collected and systematically structured for enabling interrogation through multiple parameters (i.e., micro-diachrony, ideological positioning of news providers, their territorial diffusion, and their periodicity). However, while the Corpus Linguistics principles of systematicity and structuredness have certainly informed this research, its most innovative aspect is probably its employment of computational tools (that, likewise, respond to principles of systematicity and structuredness of data) for the automatic annotation of frames and semantic roles, which constitute the basis for the subsequent critical analysis.

While the tripartite approach of Computational-Critical Frame Semantics represents an innovation, the integration of Cognitive Linguistics within the two separate fields of Critical Discourse Analysis and Computational Linguistics is not novel. The next sections account for the implementation of notions elaborated in Cognitive Linguistics (in particular, frames) in both these fields.

1.1. Critical Discourse Analysis[5]

The aim of this section is to introduce Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, also CDA). First, the origin and development of CDA will be described, also taking into account different approaches to this

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[5] Some scholars have proposed to abandon the label Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in favor of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). As noted by van Dijk (2009: 62), the shift in designation is motivated by the realization that CDA is expanding beyond applied analysis to encompass philosophical, theoretical, methodological, and practical developments (see also van Dijk, 2013; Wodak & Meyer, 2015; Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017). Nevertheless, in line with some recent contributions that had a strong influence on this research – such as Hart (2021, 2023) and Hart & Winter (2022) –, the present study adopts the 'conservative' denomination CDA.

composite field. Section 1.1.1, then, focuses on Cognitive CDA, which is the approach adopted in this work.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an analytical framework that delves into the interplay between language and society. On the one hand, CDA examines how ideologies, identities, and inequalities are (re)produced in texts across different social and political contexts. On the other hand, CDA focuses on the role of language in shaping and perpetuating such ideologies, identities, and inequalities (van Dijk, 2001: 352; Wodak & Meyer, 2015: 10).

A key point in CDA, in turn, is the nature of discourse: within this framework, discourse is considered a form of social practice in a dialectical relation with both discursive events and their broader context (i.e., situations, institutions, and social structures). Such relationship is reciprocal: using Fairclough and Wodak's (1997: 258) definition, "discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned" and its constitutive power consists in sustaining and reproducing (or, otherwise, contributing to transform) the social status quo – of situations, shared knowledge, social identities and power dynamics within and between groups of people. Specifically, the ways in which events and people are represented can have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce asymmetrical power relations between, for example, social classes, gender groups, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities (cf. also Fowler et al., 1979; Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, 1991; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). What is crucial for CDA practitioners is that discourse can conceal ideology by "making what is social seem natural" (Kress 1989: 10; also see Hart 2015). Following Gee (1990), as well summarized by Hart (2015:324), "we may use '(d)iscourse' to refer to language in use and '(D)iscourse' to refer to social practices that license and are licensed by language in use". The analyses conducted in the context of the present research are primarily linguistic and, as such, fall under the scope of the former definition, i.e., discourse as language in use.

According to van Dijk (1998: 176-177), implicitly racist media discourse is an example of the routinization and subsequent normalization (and concealment) of ideology in Western societies. With elites exercising nearly exclusive access to and control over mass media, and ethnic minorities playing a marginal role in the daily lives of the majority of white individuals, the circulation of bias, stereotyping, and outright ethnic polarization seems to be an elite – rather than a spontaneous, popular – phenomenon. Crucially, public discourse is heavily influenced by what the media decide to include or exclude, and what to 'foreground' and what to 'background' in their discourses (Fairclough 1995: 4). Since journalists (and politicians, whose voice is amplified by journalists) are themselves part of the privileged (and often unconsciously biased) elite, immigrants, refugees, and minorities can became easy scapegoats for generally felt problems, such as unemployment, overpopulation, and insufficiency of welfare resources (cf. van Dijk, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1998; Wodak, 2015).

As the analyses conducted for this research will also show, journalistic texts are often a means for the wider circulation of texts (and ideologies) from other sources, such as political speeches, parliamentary debates, or government reports (Koller, 2004; Hart, 2010). Crucially, racist discourse does not need to be explicit, extreme, or even intentional to reproduce social injustice (cf. also Hart 2021 and next section). Since ideological beliefs pre-formulated by the elite easily become widespread, challenging them and taking into account alternative standing points requires a certain degree of critical effort, especially because their ideological basis is so normalized to become elusive (van Dijk, 1998: 176-177). It is therefore the aim of CDA to unveil biased discourse.

At this point, it seems necessary to provide a definition of "ideology". In the preface of his monograph titled "Ideology", Teun van Dijk remarks that "Ideology has been dealt with in literally thousands of books and articles, but (as many other authors also conclude) its definition is as elusive and confused as ever" (1998: vii). The majority of studies on ideology are rooted in the social sciences and reconstructing the multidisciplinary contributions to its definition goes beyond the scope of this work – but see, for instance, Thompson (1990). It seems more relevant, here, to provide a synthesis of (some of) the definitions of ideology that are found in the framework of CDA.

One of the most influential and prolific scholars in CDA is Teun van Dijk, who defines ideologies as "the basic frameworks for organizing the social cognitions shared by members of social groups, organizations or institutions" (1995: 17), where social cognition is intended as the system of mental representations and processes shared by group members, including sociocultural knowledge and opinions that inform social attitudes. In this context, ideologies are the overall, abstract mental systems that allow people, as group members, to organize such socially shared beliefs and attitudes: ideologies may even influence what is accepted as true or false, i.e., they can influence general understanding of the world. In other terms, rather than corresponding to world views, ideologies are intended as the building principles of world views (van Dijk, 1995, 1998).

Additionally, among the structural characteristics of ideology there is a polarization between social groups, intended as the formation of positive beliefs about and attitudes toward members of the ingroup ("Us") and negative beliefs about and attitudes toward members of the outgroup ("Them") (van Dijk, 1998). As already anticipated, although in different terms, in the definition of discourse provided above, ideologies play a crucial role in establishing and perpetuating unequal power relations through discourse. This is achieved, for instance, "by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling the access to specific discourses or public spheres ('gate-keeping')" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 88).

In more general terms, Hart intends ideology "in a similarly broad fashion as something akin to 'perspective'. That is, as a particular [standing point for the] interpretation of the way things are or ought to be" (2014:2). Elaborating on Haynes's observation that "ideology is made possible by the

choices a language allows for representing the same material situation in different ways" (1989: 119), Hart says that language is used ideologically whenever it serves to promote one perspective over another.

Another widely debated notion, not only in CDA, is "critique". The critical approach of CDA can be explained in van Dijk's words: "Being critical, first of all, is a state of mind, an attitude, a way of dissenting, and many more things, but not an explicit method for the description of the structures or strategies of text and talk. So, in that sense, people who want to practice CDA may be supposed to do so from a perspective of opposition, for instance against power abuse through discourse" (2013). According to Wodak & Meyer (2015: 7), the aim of researchers who assume a critical perspective is "to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection". For what concerns the present contribution, the critical take is its devotion to unveiling the reproduction of power relations in press migration discourse.

After defining core concepts of CDA, a central question remains unanswered: what is the scope of CDA? According to van Dijk (2001: 353), "CDA is made up of several identifiable strands which differ methodologically but which share a common conceptual framework and critical perspective" (also see Titscher et al., 2000; Hart, 2010). Indeed, CDA is not a unitary discipline with a well-defined theoretical asset, but rather a looser interpretative lens for unveiling power relations enacted through discourse. More specifically, as summarized by Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80), the central tenets of CDA are the following: CDA addresses social problems; discourse is a form of social action; discourse does ideological work; power relations are discursive; discourse constitutes society and culture; discourse is historical; the link between text and society is mediated.

Moving aside from its central principles, scholars disagree on the classification of different branches within CDA. For instance, Wodak and Meyer (2009: 20) identify five approaches: the Discourse-Historical Approach (whose main proponents are Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl), the Social Actors Approach (by Theo van Leeuwen), the Dispositive Analysis (by Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier), the Socio-cognitive Approach (by Teun van Dijk), and Dialectical Relational Approach (by Norman Fairclough). Wodak and Meyer's taxonomy is based, on the one hand, on the theoretical foundations that influenced different scholars and, on the other hand, on the extent to which each approach is deductive or inductive. According to Hart and Cap (2014: 3), however, such classification does not consider the interconnectedness of different approaches since, as Wodak and Meyer (2015: 19) also recognize, CDA did emerge as a mix of social and linguistic theories and further admit that "mapping different approaches to CDS [CDA] has become more complex, as different authors use theoretical entry-points in a rather eclectic way depending on their research questions". Indeed, an alternative criterion is used by Baker et al. (2008: 297-298): they identify approaches that are based on systemic-functional grammar vs. approaches that focus on argumentation theory and draw on text

linguistics, and further distinguish their own as a Corpus Linguistic methodological approach informed by lexical grammar. More generally, Baker et al. (2008: 274) recognize that their work is rooted in Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS; Partington, 2004, 2006), to which the present research also owes (cf. Section Chapter 1). Additionally, Hart (e.g., 2010, 2011, 2014, 2015, 2018a, 2018b) is among the main proponents of Cognitive CDA, which shares with van Dijk's Socio-cognitive approach (1998, 2008, 2014) a general focus on cognition, but also differs from it epistemologically and methodologically (cf. Wodak, 2006; Hart, 2018a).

It is not among the purposes of this study to contribute to the classification of different approaches to CDA. Instead, the following sub-section is dedicated to Cognitive CDA, in which the present research finds its roots.

1.1.1. Cognitive CDA

Cognitive CDA develops at the interception between Cognitive Linguistics (henceforth, also CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis: more precisely, it entails a critical turn in CL and a cognitive turn in CDA, which is traditionally closer to social sciences (Hart, 2015: 322). Both fields emerged between the end of the 1970s (e.g. Fowler et al., 1979) and the beginning of the 1980s (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), but the emergence of a body of literature that integrates the two only dates back to the early 1990-2000s (see, for example, van Dijk, 1995, 1998; Dirven et al., 2007; Wodak, 2006).

The compatibility between CDA and CL is visible in their shared underlying assumptions. Firstly, both CDA and CL see language not as an autonomous object, but rather as integrated in other non-linguistic domains and grounded in extralinguistic experience. Secondly, they both assume that language reflects and contributes to building socio-culturally specific cognitive models, often without speakers being aware of it. Indeed, the social perspective of CL is already found in Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 156): "metaphors create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action […]." It is not surprising, then, that the first CL construct to be integrated within CDA has been Conceptual Metaphor Theory (see, for instance, Chilton 1996). In the past twenty years, the body of literature in Critical Metaphor Analysis has been increasingly growing (see, for example, Charteris-Black 2004, 2006a, 2006b; Koller 2004; Musolff 2004, 2006, 2015, 2016).

Beside conceptual metaphors, other CL theoretical constructs can be operationalized into critical analyses. For instance, in CL construal operations are defined as the cognitive processes underlying our ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternate ways by means of different lexical and grammatical choices (Langacker, 1991, 2015, 2019). The critical applicability of the notion of construal appears to be rather evident when considering that "ideology is made possible by the choices a language allows for representing the same material situation in different ways" (Haynes, 1989: 119).

A substantial contribution to the integration of CL into CDA has been given by Christopher Hart: building on Croft and Cruse's (2004) classification of construal operations, Hart (2015) proposes a taxonomy (illustrated in Figure 1) that systematically connects construal operations with discourse strategies that may implicitly channel ideology.

System / Strategy	Construal operations	Gestalt	Comparison	Attention	Perspective
Structural Configuration		Schematization			
Framing			Categorization		
Framing			Metaphor		
Identification				Profiling	
Identification				Scanning	
Identification				Scalar adjustment	
Positioning					Point of view
Positioning					Deixis

Figure 1. Construal operations and discursive strategies (from Hart, 2015: 328).

On the horizontal axis, construal operations are classified as instantiations of four general cognitive systems: Gestalt, Comparison, Attention, and Perspective. On the vertical axis are the (ideological) discursive strategies that realize each construal operation: structural configuration, framing, identification, and positioning.[6]

Structural configuration strategies are put into practice through schematization, a process involving the imposition of a specific image-schematic representation and enabling our fundamental understanding of object- or event-structures. The process of schematization is grounded in the Gestalt system, which allows conceptualizers to conceive complex scenes as holistic structures. Framing strategies involve assigning specific qualities to entities, actors, actions, relations, and processes, as their understanding is enriched with alternative categories and metaphors. Identification strategies concern the prominence given to social actors in conceptualization. They are executed through

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[6] Other scholars have proposed different taxonomies of both construal operations (see, for instance, Langacker, 2015) and discursive strategies (cf. Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Chilton & Schäffner, 1997; Chilton, 2004). In this work, however, Hart's (2015) integrated classification is preferred because it creates a fruitful bridge between CL and CDA.

construal operations grounded in our system of attention, including profiling, scanning, and scalar adjustment. Positioning strategies determine the vantage point from which we observe a scene and can be spatial, temporal, or modal (i.e., concerning our own perceptions of reality and morality). Positioning strategies are grounded in our ability to envision a scene from diverse perspectives and are realized through point of view and deixis (cf. Hart, 2015: 328-329).

With respect to positioning strategies in public discourse – especially in their affective and interpersonal components –, Chilton's (2004) Discourse Space Theory pinpoints the discursive deictic center as the convergence of three dimensions: the socio-spatial axis, which stretches between a here-ingroup and a there-outgroup; the temporal axis, encompassing present, past, and future; and the modal axis, relating to what is perceived as cognitively and morally right for the ingroup. It is important to note that the deictic center can be constructed through discourse. With respect to persuasive and manipulative discourse, Cap (2006, 2013) proposes the notion of proximization, a discursive practice that consists in "alerting the addressee to the proximity or imminence of phenomena which can be a threat to the addressee and thus require imminent reaction" (Cap, 2006: 4).[7] Although positioning and proximization strategies are not the focus of this study, they will be noted when relevant throughout the analysis (see, for instance, Sections 3.1, 5.1.1, and 5.1.3).

The notion of framing within CDA, which is central to this research, will be explored more in detail in the following sub-section.

1.1.1.1.   Framing in Cognitive CDA

The notions of frame and framing originated in cognitive psychology in the 1970s (Cienki, 2007) and have been adopted in various disciplines across linguistics, psychology, computer science, and various approaches to social science. Notably, Erving Goffman (1974) first used the concept of frame to connect sociology and anthropology with linguistics, discourse analysis and conversation analysis (cf. van Dijk, 2023). Overviews on the spread of the notions of frame and framing, at different points in time, are provided by Fillmore (1987), Cienki (2007), Hart (2010, 2023), and Catenaccio et al. (2023) while this section focuses on frames and framing as they are conceived in CL and, subsequently, in Cognitive CDA.

With reference to Hart's taxonomy represented in Figure 1, it is important to note that the separation between structural configuration and framing strategies only serves descriptive purposes, but it is actually impossible to separate them in the practice of discourse. In fact, categorization and metaphor also imply the imposition of image schemata (Hart, 2015: 328). The conflation of these

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[7] Ungerer (1997) already mentions proximization among the effects of the use of emotional language in news stories.

operations is accounted for in the notion of event-frames (Talmy, 2000: 259) – also referred to as archetypal conceptions (Langacker, 2008).

Event-frames are abstract representations of basic recurrent event-types and represent, in the form of image schemata, the skeletal structures shared by events of the same type. Linguistic expressions profile event-frames, although there is no one-to-one correspondence between words and the world: this means that more than one event-frame could be apt for conceptualizing the same material situation (cf. Talmy, 2000; Hart, 2023). To exemplify the notion of event-frames, Hart (2023: 3-4) examines contrasting press depictions of an event occurred in Bristol in 2020, focusing on the structural configuration imposed to the act of 'removing' something. Specifically, the event features protesters of the Black Lives Matter movement removing a statue of a historical figure associated with the slave trade. One newspaper uses the expression 'tear down', which focuses on detachment of the object and highlights the damage caused to the statue through its removal. In this case, the expression profiles a causal interaction event in which the statue undergoes a change in state. By contrast, another newspaper describes the action through the expression 'pull down', which highlights the change caused to the statue's orientation rather than to its internal state, while also suggesting a lesser degree of force being exerted. In terms of structural configuration, the expression 'pull down' constructs the event as a caused motion rather than a causal interaction (as the expression 'tear down' does).

While the notion of event-frames refers to basic and recurrent patterns of interaction with the world, frames represent a more specific and detailed instantiation of event-frames. In other words, "frames instantiate and elaborate given event-frames offering a further construal of the situation" (Hart, 2023: 5) in that they represent recurrent situations and events that we experience as members of a given culture or society. With reference to Hart's (2015: 328) taxonomy (cf. Section 1.1.1), the discursive strategy of framing involves the cognitive operation of categorization, i.e., the "comparison of the experience in question to prior experiences and judging it to belong to the same class of prior experiences to which the linguistic expression has been applied" (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 54).

As already said, Cognitive CDA takes its theoretical construct of frame from Cognitive Linguistics – and, more specifically, from Frame Semantics –, in which the notion of frame indicates "any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits" (Fillmore, 1982: 111). As a "theory of language understanding" (Fillmore 1985), Frame Semantics sees frames as the semantic foundation against which interconnected words (and their corresponding concepts) are understood. For example, the words 'army', 'invasion', 'occupation', 'weapons', and 'siege' profile concepts that are interconnected

via the WAR[8] frame, through which they derive their meaning based on speaker's/addressee's background knowledge. In Fillmore's (1987: 31) words, "nobody can really understand the meanings of the words […] who does not understand the social institutions or the structures of experience which they presuppose". Importantly, upon the activation of a concept within a frame through a linguistic expression, all other concepts within that same frame become accessible.

Thus, framing consists in imposing a conceptual structure to events and their participants, with every participant to the event assuming a role in it. These roles are generally accounted for in terms of "thematic" or "semantic" roles, such as Agent, Patient, Instrument, and Experiencer. Although roles can be generalized across different events, there is no comprehensive list of roles since they can be more or less refined depending on the granularity of the analysis (cf. Fillmore, 1968; Langacker, 1991; Kittilä et al., 2011; Luraghi & Narrog, 2014). In FrameNet, indeed, event participants are frame specific (cf. Section 1.2.1).

The ideological interpretability of alternative framings can already be traced in Fillmore's (1982: 125) seminal work: "it is frequently possible to show that the same 'facts' can be presented within different framings, framings which make them out as different 'facts'". This is visible in the example above – taken from Hart (2023) – in which alternative wordings used for reporting on the removal of a statue in Bristol highlight different aspects of the event. Furthermore, alternative framings can be provided through different literal or metaphorical expressions. Consider the following sentences – from Hart (2021: 238-239) –, formulated with the intent of resembling possible news titles on immigration:

a) Immigrants Coming into the Country;
b) Immigrants *Swarming*[9] into the Country;
c) Immigrants *Marching* into the Country.

The event is framed literally in a) and metaphorically in b) and c): in b), immigrants are construed as INSECTS through the word 'swarming', which echoes to the concept of INFECTIVE DISEASE; in c), they are depicted as SOLDIERS by the word 'marching', which triggers the WAR frame together with its elements. All three sentences describe a motion event, but they profile it differently in terms of the nature of its participants. Moreover, they rely on different areas of speaker's/addressee's encyclopedic knowledge, thus making available different collateral concepts.

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[8] Following CL practice, frames and frame elements are indicated in small caps, as in WAR. In order to prevent any ambiguity, FrameNet frames are indicated in capitalized small caps, as in TRAVEL.

[9] Emphases in original.

Given the labile boundaries of CDA strands (cf. Section 1.1), several works could potentially be seen as part of Cognitive CDA. Without any presumption of exhaustivity, therefore, in the remaining of this section I will only highlight a few studies in addition to the ones already mentioned. Among works that can be classified under the label of Cognitive CDA is the analysis proposed by Lakoff (2004), who sketches the respective worldviews of U.S. Democrats and Republicans through the analysis of metaphors found in discourses of their respective representatives. More recently, Hart (2013a, 2013b) analyzed event-construals in British press reports of political protests to highlight the common mainstream media outlets practice of framing protests in such a way that it foregrounds any violent or disruptive consequences of protests while backgrounding the issue or message behind them. Turning to the Italian context, particularly influential for this research is a recent study by Pinelli & Zanchi (2021), who use CL (and, specifically, Construction Grammar) to analyze local news reports on violence against women and show the relevance of different argument structure constructions for diminishing perpetrators' responsibility. Building on Pinelli & Zanchi's (2021) work, Minnema et al. (2021, 2022b, 2022c, 2023) adopt computational methods to analyze the attribution of responsibility to different event participants as a function of alternative framings in Italian news reports on femicides.

Further contributions will be explored in the subsequent section, which presents a review of CDA studies that focus on the representation of migrations and migrants in the media, with a particular emphasis on the press.

1.1.2. CDA on the representation of migrations and migrants

The body of literature that applies a critical lens to the study of media representation of migrations and their social actors is vast and multifaceted: a discussed in Section 1.1, studies adopting a Critical Discourse Analytic approach cross-cut boundaries between disciplines. Consequently, CDA works on migrations are found, beside Linguistics, in fields such as Media and Communication Studies, Semiotics, Journalism, Ethnic and Racial studies, and Political Studies. Acknowledging the impracticality of achieving exhaustiveness, in this section I delineate the boundaries of research enterprises around migration discourse, selectively including studies that are most relevant to the present research, thus focusing primarily on works rooted in Linguistics.[10]

The scope of studies on migrations is often intertwined with that of studies on racism, hate speech, and, more in general, discursive injustice. Such overlaps are easily explained: as succinctly put by Arcila-Calderón et al. (2021: 3) in their review of current trends in media discourse on migrations, "the representation of migrants in Western media is usually negative and prejudiced". More in detail,

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[10] For previous reviews, see, for instance, van Dijk (1991: 10-20; 2001: 361-362) and, for the Italian context, Orrù (2017: 46-51).

the regularities that have been identified in discourse about migrants and immigration in Europe and the US can often be categorized as "othering" discursive strategies (Wodak, 2019). For instance, the terms indicating migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees are often used interchangeably, thus conflating into a more generic category "others"/"strangers": in the British press, for example, this tendency is observed by Baker et al. (2008), KhosravNik (2010, 2014), and Musolff (2015). With respect to the Italian press, corpus analyses on the use of lexemes that point to the different primary actors of migrations can be found, for instance, in Orrù (2017, 2019) and Coschignano & Zanchi (2023), while Taylor (2014) compares Italian and British newspapers.

Crucially, the discursive identification of "the other" – i.e., not a member of the dominant group, of which mainstream media expresses the perspective (cf. Section 1.1) – has an ideological basis (van Dijk, 1998, 2018).[11] Ideology can be expressed in discourse intentionally or unintentionally, respectively as a mere reproduction of existing discursive practices or with the (declared or covert) intent of serving political purposes. The latter case is realized, for instance, in the propagandistic use of fear towards foreigners made by right-wing politicians, as highlighted, among others, by Wodak (2015) and Kopytowska & Chilton (2018). On the other hand, ideology may be so deeply embedded – and, by virtue of its normalization, concealed – that media can unconsciously contribute to perpetuating and reinforcing asymmetrical power relationships. The influence of mass media on the construction of socially shared conceptualizations of events and social actors depends on their potential in reaching a wide audience with recurrently repeated storytelling (i.e., framing) patterns (cf. Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 2005). Such potential becomes even more important if we consider the space given by information media to the political agenda, as shown, for instance, by Coschignano et al. (2023): without taking a critical perspective, journalists work as a sounding board for the dominant framing of immigration which, given the centrality of the topic in right-wing and populist political campaigns, is usually detrimental to migrants.

The unjust discursive treatment reserved to migrants in Italy is also captured in the contributions to Maneri & Quassoli (2021)'s edited volume, titled *Un attentato "quasi terroristico"* (which translates as 'A "quasi-terrorist" attack'). The volume is dedicated to the public discourses around a mass shooting perpetrated by an Italian man against a group of black people. Crucially, the event was not discursively framed as a terrorist attack, but rather as the act of a lunatic or, worse, as a consequence of the immigration problem. With respect to discursive injustice in Italian public

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[11] The classification of discursive strategies employed for the representation of different social actors is also the object of study of van Leeuwen (1996, 2008). Van Leeuwen's model has been recently applied by Simonsen (2023) to the representation of migrants in the Swedish and the Danish press and by Lirola (2023) to the representation of immigrant women in the Spanish press.

discourse, it is also worth mentioning Dal Lago (2009[1999])'s book *Non-persone* 'Non-people', which gave an important contribution to the study of the recurrent dehumanization of people with migratory background in Italian public discourse. Additionally, various contributions on migration discourse in the Italian media are collected in Bond et al. (2015) and in Pietrini (2020).

Turning to studies with a cognitive focus, many works are dedicated to the metaphorical representation of migrations and their actors in the printed media. To mention only a few, see El Refaie (2001) on Austria, Pietikainen (2003) on Finland, KhosraviNik (2009) and Musolff (2015) on UK, Santa Ana (1999, 2002) and Catalano & Musolff (2019) on the US, Teo (2000) on Australia, and Flowerdew et al. (2002) on Hong Kong. With respect to the Italian context, works on metaphorical representations of migrants have been conducted, for instance, by Calaresu et al. (2008), Orrù (2017, 2020), Mollica & Wilke (2017), and Coschignano & Zanchi (2023). The observations made in these studies tend to converge:[12] in most cases, contemporary press metaphorically depicts migrants either as non-humans (e.g., animals, natural entities, or also generic, numerable, inanimate beings) or as soldiers/invaders.

Another recent integration of cognitive methods into CDA consists in conducting perceptual experiments, as in Hart (2021)'s study on the reception of anti-immigration metaphors. Partly in contrast with the results of previous perceptual experiments (on migration, see, e.g., Utych, 2018), Hart (2021) found that respondents tend to resist to overtly offensive metaphors, which instead trigger sympathetic attitudes toward migrants. Since implicit discursive strategies are generally recognized as more persuasive than explicit ones (cf., e.g., Lombardi Vallauri & Masia, 2014; Lombardi Vallauri et al., 2020), scholars have been trying to implement cognitively informed analytical tools for the study of subtle discursive injustices. In this direction go, for instance, Pietrandrea & Battaglia (2022), who focus on the construction of *ad hoc* categories in French far-right discourse on immigration, while Barotto & Zanchi (2023) highlight the use of list constructions for out-grouping migrants in Italian political discourse on Twitter.

To conclude this Section, it seems appropriate to mention that the present research was developed upon Coschignano et al. (2023)'s work on journalistic headlines on migrations in the Italian press. Chapter Chapter 4 details differences and similarities between the two studies, which share the goal of showing variation of framing choices across newspapers with different ideological stances and across different years. Additionally, SocioFillmore is used for the Frame Semantic Parsing (cf. 1.2.2) of both the corpus of news articles built for this research and the corpus of headlines analyzed by Coschignano et al. (2023). The remaining of the Chapter is dedicated to the computational ground of this research.

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[12] But also see Taylor (2021)'s historical discourse analysis, which highlights the evolution of migration metaphors in the British press between 1800 and 2018.

1.2. Computational Frame Semantics

This section addresses the computational applications of Frame Semantics, which constitute the (Cognitive Linguistics theoretically informed) methodological base of the present research. As recounted by Marmo (2017: 19), the computational turn of Fillmore's Frame Semantics was driven by his collaboration – started in the late 1980s – with the computational lexicographer Beryl Atkins. In their papers, Fillmore & Atkins (1992, 1994, 2000) use computational techniques to analyze textual corpora and propose hypotheses on semantic theory, while also moving critiques to definitions found in current dictionaries. As a direct development of Frame Semantics, Computational Frame Semantics intends frames as "structured objects that link together lexical units and semantic roles, and carry the conceptual background shared by them" (Minnema et al., 2022c: 212). Two main directories of Computational Frame Semantics can be identified: on the one hand, the creation of FrameNets (1.2.1); on the other hand, the task of Frame Semantic Parsing (1.2.2). These are addressed in the next two sections.

1.2.1. Frames in FrameNet

A FrameNet is a human- and machine-readable lexical database that contains frames, Frame Elements and Lexical Units. In a nutshell, the database represents a computational translation of the principles of Frame Semantics:

> "the meanings of words are best characterized in terms of experience-based schematizations of events and objects in the speaker's world. Such schematizations relate to particular types of events and the participants and circumstances involved in them. The schematizations are referred to in Frame Semantics as "semantic frames". Individual word senses are called "lexical units" (LUs). When a lexical unit belongs to given frame, the LU is said to "evoke" that frame. Typically, senses of several distinct lemmas evoke a common schematization, that is, groups of word senses evoke the same frame. The roles associated with an event are referred to as "frame elements" (FEs)." (Ruppenhofer et al., 2017: 383).

Each frame entry contains a definition of the frame in terms of its FEs, followed by the relation of the frame with other frames and by the list of LUs (words, multi-word expressions, or idiomatic

phrases) that trigger such frame.[13] Additionally, FrameNet uses the "coreness status" of FEs to distinguish between arguments and adjuncts (i.e., core or peripheral FEs) of a frame.

Frames "are intended to be situated in semantic space by means of frame-to-frame relations" (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016: 79). These are: Inheritance, Using, Perspective On, Subframe, Precedes, Causative Of, Inchoative Of, and See Also. The different types of frame-to-frame relations are detailed in Fillmore & Baker (2010) and Ruppenhofer et al. (2010, 2016). For the purpose of this research, the Inheritance relation is particularly relevant: it is defined as "the strongest relation between frames, corresponding to is-a in many ontologies. The basic idea of this relation is that each semantic fact about the parent must correspond to an equally specific or more specific fact about the child" (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016: 80). Thus, FE Inheritance is the mapping of frame-specific semantic roles to superordinate semantic roles: for example, the semantic role KILLER in the frame KILLING is inherited from the role AGENT in the frame TRANSITIVE_ACTION. Likewise, Inheritance of AGENT-like roles is also possible from the abstract, superordinate frame INTENTIONALLY_ACT: for example, the FE AGENT of the frame INTENTIONALLY_ACT corresponds to the FE PROTESTER of the frame PROTEST.

It is important to note that the term FrameNet indicates a type of data structure (cf. Baker et al., 2003) and that more FrameNets have been developed over the years. The first one, introduced by Fillmore & Atkins (1994), is the Berkeley FrameNet[14] project, which is based on the English language and currently contains 1,224 frame entries and 13,687 LUs. For languages other than English, different FrameNets have been developed based on the Berkeley FrameNet. For Italian, for instance, the so-called IFrameNet (Basili et al., 2017; cf. also Tonelli & Pianta, 2008; Tonelli et al., 2009; Lenci et al., 2010; Brambilla et al., 2020) currently contains 554 frame entries. Despite its considerable number of frames, it is currently impractical to use IFrameNet data for training statistical Frame Semantic Parsers (see Section 1.2.2) because the number of its released annotated sentences (1,569) is very limited if compared to the Berkeley FrameNet (over 168,000) (Basili et al., 2013).

1.2.2. Frame Semantic Parsing

Frame Semantic Parsing (FSP) is a computational task that consists in the automatic annotation of texts in terms of semantic frames and their associated semantic roles (Minnema et al, 2022c). Efforts in FSP have been initiated by Gildea & Jurafsky (2002), while an overview of various approaches to FSP is provided by Kabbach et al. (2018). In this work, the same approach used by Coschignano et al. (2023) is followed.

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[13] The list of frames contained in Berkeley FrameNet can be browsed at the following link: https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/frameIndex (accessed on 01/06/2023).

[14] https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/ (accessed on 01/06/2023).

Traditionally, the task of FSP consists of three distinct sub-tasks (Baker et al., 2007): target identification, which involves recognizing words in a sentence that evoke frames; frame identification, where each frame-evoking word is labeled with the corresponding frame it triggers; and argument identification, which entails identifying the correct spans and labels of semantic roles associated with the evoked frames. Although these tasks are interconnected and mutually informative, for long they have been treated in isolation. Minnema & Nissim (2021) highlight that most efforts have been devoted to the task of argument identification, and that recent studies focusing on the simultaneous prediction of frames and arguments neglect the target identification step (Yang and Mitchell, 2017; Peng et al., 2018). Such separation of tasks and the lack of emphasis on FSP as an end-to-end task – intended as a task whose output are complete sets of annotations, given raw text as input – have made the applicability of FSP rather impractical.

An additional challenge to the practical application of FSP is that most literature on the matter is only focused on the English language. A step forward in this direction was made possible with the release of LOME (Large Ontology Multilingual Extraction; Xia et al., 2021), an extensive system designed for automatic information extraction that incorporates an end-to-end FSP model. According to Minnema et al. (2022a: 242), LOME is one of very few available models that produce end-to-end frame analyses and supports *zero-shot* multilingual predictions (i.e., it produces annotations in 100 different languages while having only been exposed to English FrameNet-annotated texts), overcoming the problem raised by the limited availability of training data in languages other than English. LOME's multilingual capabilities are allowed by its XLM-R encoder (Conneau et al., 2020), a multilingual language model trained on a large multilingual corpus.

Minnema et al. (2021) tested multiple versions of LOME – both the original zero-shot model and a few adaptations obtained adding the available annotated data for Italian to its training procedure – against an existing benchmark for Italian – the 2011 Frame Labeling over Italian Texts Task (FLAIT; Basili et al., 2013), which includes the only publicly available Italian FSP models, as well as a training corpus for performing FSP on generic texts. Additionally, Minnema et al. (2021) tested LOME on new "real world" data, that is, a corpus of Italian news reports on femicides. Their analysis shows that, for the task of frame detection within the context of the FLAIT training data, the previous state-of-the-art model (by Croce et al., 2013) still outperforms both zero-shot LOME and its adapted versions. Crucially, however, zero-shot LOME achieves the best scores on real world data. The latter result has been interpreted as a consequence of the nature of available training data for Italian: Italian annotations only contain one frame per sentence, making it harder for a model trained on such data to learn which lexical units evoke a frame and, thus, leading to poor performance in the task of target identification. Consequently, Minnema et al. (2021) conclude that zero-shot LOME is currently the most practical option for FSP in real-world applications.

In the current study, LOME is employed as part of SocioFillmore, a computational toolkit designed to conduct large-scale analyses on framing and perspective-taking (Minnema et al., 2022a, 2022b, 2022c). Its implementation for this research is described in Section 2.2.2 of the following Chapter.

Chapter 2. Construction, annotation, and analysis of a corpus of journalistic articles on migrations

The first part of this Chapter provides a description of the corpus that has been constructed for this work and upon which the following analyses are based. First, the source of corpus data and metadata are presented, along with the criteria for their selection. We will then illustrate the procedures used to collect and prepare the data for subsequent analysis.

The second part of the Chapter describes the corpus annotation, which has been carried out partly manually (i.e., additional mark-up) and partly automatically (i.e., frames and semantic roles detection). As regards mark-up, the corpus was enriched with information on the political and religious orientation of the included newspapers, along with their periodicity and circulation. Together with metadata already available through data collection (i.e., publication year of the articles), this information allows structuring and querying the corpus in different sub-sections. The automatic annotation of frames and semantic roles was performed with SocioFillmore, an NLP tool that will also be described in this chapter. Examples of data extracted from the corpus with their annotations will be provided.

The third and final part of this Chapter shows the methodology used for the analyses presented in Chapters Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5.

2.1. Corpus design

The corpus built for this research is representative of Italian press discourse on migration between 2014 and 2021: it contains all press articles on the topic of migration collected by *Associazione Carta di Roma* (see Introduction and *infra*) through a daily press review of more than 200 Italian newspapers.[15] Among the purposes of the press review is the production of annual reports on Italian media coverage of the topic of migration – see, for example, Associazione Carta di Roma (2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023).

As shown in Table 1, the corpus consists of ~100,000 articles, corresponding to more than 76 million tokens. The corpus is not balanced for year of publication, as the relevance of the migration phenomenon for the Italian press has not remained constant over the period considered. For example, in 2021 there is a minimum of 4,852 articles on the topic, while the maximum amount of 19,175 articles is reached in 2015. Indeed, as reported in the latest *Carta di Roma* reports, a peak in news attention

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[15] The corpus only excludes web articles, which could not be analyzed due to technical reasons, as described in Section 2.1.2.

on the topic of migrations was registered in 2015, while in 2020-2021, and especially during the worst phases of the Covid-19 pandemic, the media were less focused on migrations.

Table 1. Corpus size by year.

Year	N. of articles	N. of tokens
2014	13,261	8,582,195
2015	19,175	13,670,233
2016	16,219	11,688,501
2017	16,480	12,378,126
2018	11,782	9,620,717
2019	11,387	10,132,946
2020	7,068	6,366,917
2021	4,852	4,407,238
TOTAL	100,224	76,846,873

The following sections present the criteria and methodology adopted for data and metadata collection (2.1.1) and for the subsequent preparation of the corpus for annotation (2.1.2).

2.1.1. Data collection

As already stated, the macro research question addressed in this dissertation concerns the linguistic representation of the migratory phenomenon and its primary actors in contemporary Italian press. In order to achieve this goal, a novel corpus of news articles was constructed, given the availability of a systematic collection of articles on migration carried out by the *Associazione Carta di Roma*. Specifically, for the purposes of this research it seemed appropriate to create a specialized corpus, representative for the selected textual genre, i.e., journalistic articles on migration published in Italian newspapers in recent years. As mentioned above, the corpus reasonably approximates to containing the totality of press news on migration published in Italy between 2014 and 2021.[16]

The articles included in the corpus were originally collected by *Waypress Intelligence2020*, a company specializing in monitoring and gathering news on various topics.[17] On behalf of *Associazione*

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[16] For systematicity, the corpus only contains articles from solar years that were already concluded at the time of data collection (which was performed during 2022) and could possibility be expanded in the future.

[17] https://www.intelligence2020.it/home/italian.html#pag_16chisiamo (accessed on 02/03/2023).

Carta di Roma, the company performs a daily press review of migration news published in Italian national and local newspapers and periodicals. The collected articles are stored on the company servers, and they are accessible at different degrees depending on their date of publication. The most recent news can be accessed through the website of *Associazione Carta di Roma*.[18] Entering the password "rassegna", which is openly displayed on the same page, will take you to a section of the *Waypress Intelligence2020* database containing the most recent news – from now on referred to as the current archive. News items stored in the current archive are periodically moved to a different section, which contains articles published from 2014 onwards: this will be referred to as the historical archive and its access is restricted to authorized users.[19]

Figure 2 is a screenshot of the current archive (which is structured in the same way as the historical archive). Stored articles are divided into different sections, listed in the box on the left side of the page (see (a)): this classification was not taken into account for the analysis, since the categorization of topics addressed in the corpus, for which frames are used, takes a data-driven approach. The search bar at the top of the page (see (b)) allows setting filters using metadata associated with the articles (see (c)), which are listed on different rows. Of these, publication date, newspaper name, and article title were collected and included used for mark-up (see 2.2.1). Article titles (see (d)) redirect to a new web page, from which the article can be downloaded in the desired format (pre-selected from the menu at the top right of the page – see (e)). Available formats are (image) PDF, black-and-white (image) PDF, text PDF, TIFF, and JPG; of these, text PDF was chosen because it facilitates conversion of articles into text files without employing any automatic character recognition (OCR) software.

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[18] https://www.cartadiroma.org/rassegna-stampa/ (accessed on 02/03/2023).

[19] *Associazione Carta di Roma* provided the author with access credentials for research purposes. Data contained in the two archives are intended for exclusive use of service recipients and, therefore, the content of the articles used in this research cannot be fully disclosed; however, distribution of their analysis is allowed, as is diffusion of text excerpts for analysis illustration.

Figure 2. Visualization of current archive.
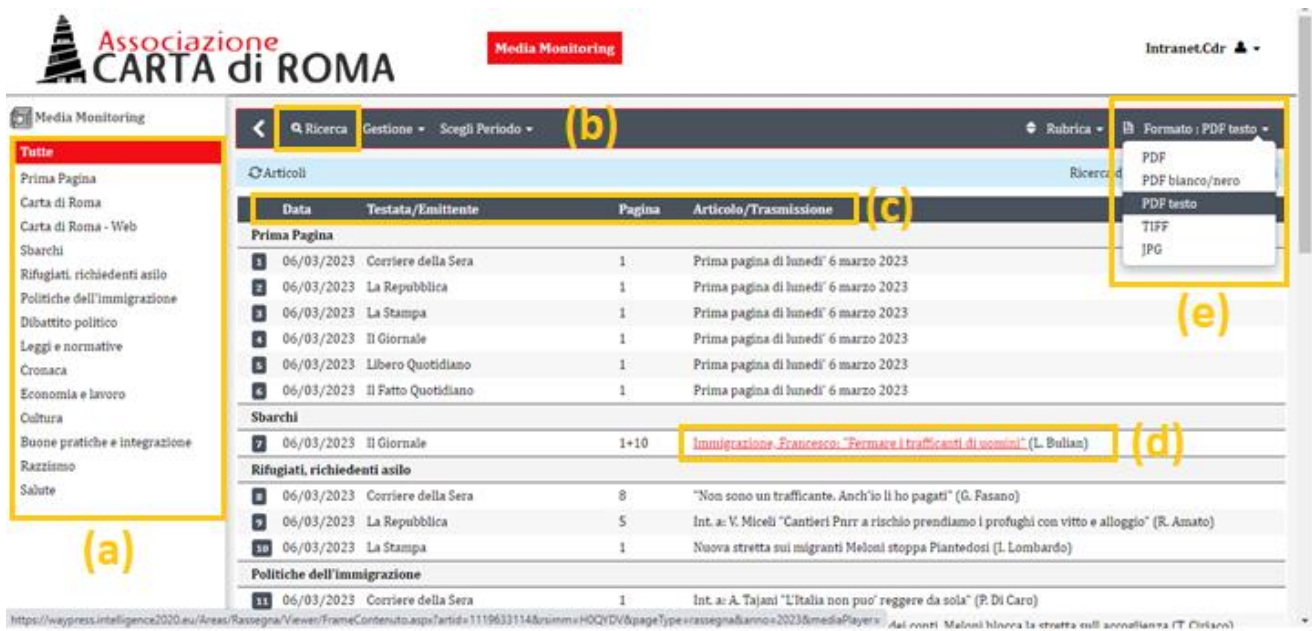
What follows is an illustration of the data collection procedure. Given the large number of articles, a web-scraping program was developed for their semi-automated collection. The web-scraper, compiled in Python, uses the Selenium[20] library, which was selected because it allows a richer interaction with web pages than other libraries, such as Scrapy[21] and Beautiful Soup[22]. The web page structure of the current archive and the historical archive is almost identical, but the latter has a few additional elements; therefore, two separate programs were compiled. Since the two programs perform the same operations, however, their differences will not be highlighted in the scraping procedure description.

After setting the destination folder for the files that will be downloaded, the web-scraper creates a TSV file for storing metadata to be associated with the collected items. Next, the program reaches the requested web page (the current or the historical archive) and enters the access credentials. By default, the landing page of the archives only shows articles published on the most recent available date (i.e., the present day for the current archive). At this point a research filter is manually set. To store data and metadata in an orderly manner, their collection was carried out on a yearly basis: therefore, the search filter was set to display articles published within single solar years. After setting the filter, the program begins downloading articles and the corresponding metadata. For each row (see Figure 1), the program checks for the existence of a clickable link, opens the selected

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[20] https://selenium-python.readthedocs.io/ (accessed on 02/05/2023).

[21] https://scrapy.org/ (accessed on 02/05/2023).

[22] https://www.crummy.com/software/BeautifulSoup/bs4/doc/ (accessed on 02/05/2023).

article in a new window, and downloads it in the previously selected format (text PDF). The name of the collected files is a timestamp of the date and time of their download: for example, "Image - 2022-03-17T130831" is the name of the article downloaded on March 17, 2022 at 13:08:31. Before moving on to the next article, the program stores some information in the previously created TSV, that will later be associated with their corresponding article: these are progressive identification number, publication date, newspaper name, article title, web link to the article, and timestamp. The last two pieces of information were collected to facilitate subsequent inspection of the exact match between the data and metadata (see 2.1.2). The program collects data and metadata for all the rows displayed on the page (up to 200); once it reaches the bottom of the page, it moves to the next one (if present) and repeats the previous operations.

The web-scraper was refined through a trial-and-error procedure, first testing its functioning on a small sample of articles and adapting it to solve problems that were encountered. Nevertheless, in some cases it was necessary to restart it manually, since the download of the whole set of articles of each year (which was in the thousands) took several hours, during which it was sometimes necessary to re-enter access credentials for the archive in use, identify where the program had stopped, and instruct it to continue. Furthermore, as better detailed in 2.1.2, the program was modified as to filtering out articles collected from online newspapers, which contained too much noise. The problem was identified after several articles had already been collected (for all 2014 and 2015, and for part of 2017),[23] and the script was updated to simplify the cleaning procedure for remaining data.

Collected data were stored in eight local folders, one per publication year, each containing a set of articles in text-PDF format and a TSV file with metadata. The amount of collected articles is shown in Table 2. The following section describes the operations performed to build the corpus from the collected data.

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[23] The web-scraper was run in parallel on two different computers, one for odd and the other one for even years. On the computer dedicated to even years, the web-scraper was temporarily suspended while inspecting data collected for the first full solar year (2014). This explains why the first three years for which data were collected are 2014, 2015, and 2017, rather than 2014, 2015, and 2016.

Table 2. Collected articles, by publication year. Asterisks mark years for which web articles were also collected.

Year	Collected articles
2014	*14,717
2015	*20,909
2016	16,219
2017	*17,048
2018	11,784
2019	11,388
2020	7,068
2021	4,852
TOTAL	103,985

2.1.2. Converting articles into text format, merging data and metadata, and cleaning the corpus

This section describes the operations performed to build the corpus using the data and metadata collected from the *Carta di Roma* archives.

Firstly, a script was run to check that the collected articles were in text-PDF format, as specified through the web interface of the archives: this format was selected to facilitate conversion of PDF articles into TXT files. For this check, the Python modules Tika[24] and Shutil[25] were used. Using this script, PDF articles with selectable text were converted into text files, while any PDF articles with non-selectable text were moved to a new folder for further manual inspection. Some articles were indeed found to be in image-PDF format, which is automatically selected whenever an article is not available in text-PDF format in the web archives. Two types of articles in image-PDF format were identified: newspaper clippings (i.e., articles that did not correspond to a full page), and screenshots of articles from web pages. Newspaper clippings are structurally similar to full-page articles: they were first converted into text-PDF files with the Adobe Premium software, and then converted into TXT files with the same script used previously. On the contrary, screenshots of web articles are too noisy to be integrated in the corpus: beside the text of the article, they contain additional portions of irrelevant

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[24] https://github.com/chrismattmann/tika-python (accessed on 05/05/2023).

[25] https://docs.python.org/3/library/shutil.html (accessed on 05/05/2023).

text, such as web links to other website sections, previews of other articles, and advertisements. For this reason, they were excluded from the corpus and the corresponding metadata were deleted. Articles included in the corpus are taken from 194 different newspapers, which are listed in the Appendix together with their classification according to corpus parameters (see 2.2.1).

Secondly, a random manual check of metadata consistence was performed: this revealed the presence of a few articles from international newspapers (i.e., Financial Times, Libération, The Economist, Time, and WBOC). These articles, 10 in total, were also excluded from the corpus because they were not in Italian. Furthermore, several newspaper names appeared in different forms (for example, *Repubblica* was sometimes written as *La Repubblica*, while the name of the periodical *Oggi* occasionally appeared as *OGGI*, in all-caps). Newspapers' names were manually unified at a later stage, once data and metadata from all years were merged.

The final corpus composition is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Articles collected, removed, and included in the corpus, by publication year.

Year	Collected articles	Removed articles	Articles included in the corpus
2014	14,717	1,456	13,261
2015	20,909	1,734	19,175
2016	16,219	0	16,219
2017	17,048	568	16,480
2018	11,784	2	11,782
2019	11,388	1	11,387
2020	7,068	0	7,068
2021	4,852	0	4,852
TOTAL	103,985	3,761	100,224

The content of articles, now in TXT format, was then inspected. Specifically, texts were checked for decoding errors (i.e., anomalies caused by OCR, both in articles originally downloaded in text-PDF format and in those converted afterwards) and for any other character strings that might cause annotation issues. The inspection was conducted manually, on a random sample of 50 articles per year. A number of recurrent problematic strings were identified, namely:[26] every article contained the string

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[26] During this phase, a few recurrent irrelevant strings were overlooked and entered the final version of the corpus. Their exclusion from the analysis was carried out during corpus exploration, as described in Section 2.3.

RIPRODUZIONE RISERVATA "confidential reproduction"; articles longer than one page contained the words *pagina* "page" and *continua a pagina* "continues on page" followed by numbers; several words were truncated by a "-" character, which is normally used for line breaking; the non-alphabetic characters "®" and "©" sometimes appeared within words; in specific words, some characters were systematically recognized incorrectly (e.g., the surname of former minister "Alfano" often appeared as "Altano"); portions of text that in the original articles had an unusual combination of background and character color, whose content is highly variable and therefore hard to correct automatically, were often not recognized as portions of text (Figure 3) or presented decoding errors (Figure 4).

Figure 3. From Libero (Friday, January 8, 2016, page 8). Not recognized as text: the string *ANGELA INDIGNATA MA NON PENTITA* "ANGELA (IS) OUTRAGED BUT NOT REGRETFUL" is absent in the TXT article.

Figure 4. From Libero (Friday, January 8, 2016, page 8). Wrong text recognition: the TXT article contains the string *ILIATTRO ARRESTS%/G* instead of *QUATTRO ARRESTI* "FOUR ARRESTS."

TXT articles were processed with a script that corrected their contents by applying a sequence of regular expressions. Given the size of the corpus, a complete cleanup of infrequent or unique errors would not have been feasible and the cleaned texts are not completely free of noise: for example, they contain isolated sequences of non-alphabetic characters, such as "*", "-", ":" and "_", and they sometimes contain the name of their author. Anyway, residual noise is mostly found outside the main body of the articles – which constitutes their greater portion and is the object of interest for this study – and it does not prevent the automatic annotation of frames and semantic roles: when parsing the corpus, the annotation tool SocioFillmore only considers lexemes that can serve as frame activators (see 1.2.2), ignoring any isolated nonalphabetic strings, proper names, or non-words outside clausal structures (e.g., the names of article authors, or strings such as *ILIACTRO* from Figure 4).

For every publishing year, the content and name of the cleaned TXT files was copied to an empty TSV file, which was then combined with the corresponding metadata. The correct alignment

between data and metadata was again manually inspected on a random basis, checking for correspondence between article file names and the timestamp of metadata collection (cf. the collection procedure described in 2.1.1). Finally, articles and metadata from different years were merged into a cumulative TSV file, which constitutes the first, semi-raw version of the corpus. After unifying the names of newspapers that appeared in different forms (e.g., *La Repubblica*, *Repubblica*; *OGGI*, Oggi; *Il Sole 24 Ore*, *SOLE 24 ORE*), the corpus was integrated with additional mark-up and Frame Semantic Parsing. These steps are respectively described in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

Before concluding this Section, some limitations of the corpus must be mentioned. Firstly, its structure does not allow interrogations that consider the different sub-sections of the collected news articles (i.e., title, subtitle, standfirst, main body of the article, captions, sidebars, etc.), as these simply appear one after another as plain text. Moreover, the corpus does not allow taking into account the position of articles within a newspaper page, or the presence of any accompanying images. However, it would be possible to conduct separate analyses on headlines, which have been collected and attached to each article as additional information (cf. Section 2.1.1) but which, in fact, could constitute analyzable texts themselves and be parsed through SocioFillmore.[27]

2.2. Corpus annotation

2.2.1. Manual mark-up

This section will describe the procedure used for manually enriching the corpus with additional metadata – specifically, with information on the political and religious orientation of newspapers, on their periodicity, and on their national distribution. Additionally, information on the year of publication of the articles constituting the corpus had already been collected upon data scraping. Altogether, this information allows for structuring and querying the corpus according to multiple dimensions, as each parameter is assigned a column in the TSV file that contains the corpus. Table 4 shows corpus parameters and their possible values.

Table 4. Metadata associated with the corpus.

Parameter	Values
Publication date (years)	2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021.
Newspaper ideological orientation	left-wing; non-partisan; Christian; right-wing.
Newspaper diffusion	National; Sub-national.

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[27] Headlines downloaded from the same database used for this research are analyzed by Coschignano et al. (2023) in the study that led to the development of this work – cf. Chapter Chapter 3.

Periodicity	Daily; Periodical.

It would be reasonable to assume that journalists writing for ideologically different newspapers would portray ideologically charged topics differently. This is based on the premise that ideologies, i.e., socially shared systems of beliefs, determine the information accessible to language users when expressing and interpreting meanings (Section 1.1). However, Coschignano et al. (2023) observed no sharp differences in the framing of migrations in contemporary Italian news headlines. In the present research, newspapers' political and religious orientation was used as a corpus parameter to expand such analysis to wider texts, i.e., news articles.

Classification of newspapers' political orientation is based on the following annotation scheme. Firstly, it was verified whether a newspaper is an official newspaper of a political party and, if so, it was accordingly tagged as left or right-wing (e.g., *La Padania*, official newspaper of the right-wing party *Lega Nord*, now informally substituted by the right-wing party *Lega per Salvini Premier*). If the first criterion was not met, it was assessed whether a newspaper was founded or directed by any politicians (e.g., *Il Manifesto*, which was co-founded by left-wing politicians). If not, it was checked whether a newspaper outspokenly supports a specific political side (e.g., *La Verità*, whose political line was commented by its founder Maurizio Belpietro as inspired by Silvio Berlusconi's ideology, i.e., right-wing).[28] For newspapers that did not match any of the previous criteria, political orientation was determined based on their positioning in ideologically charged topics, including economics, social policies, and migrations: news providers with a clear political leaning were labeled accordingly (e.g., *La nuova ecologia* 'The new ecology', left-wing), while those without a clearly discernible political leaning were labeled as non-partisan. This annotation scheme, which was also adopted in Coschignano et al.'s (2023) study on the framing of migrations in Italian newspapers' headlines, admittedly simplifies the complexity of ideological positionings in the Italian mediatic scene. However, it also finds correspondences in the output of other procedures for the classification of Italian newspapers' political leaning, such as Fletcher et al. (2020)'s, who use questionnaires to assess news readers' political orientation. An alternative, finer-grained classification is used by Ieracitano & Vigneri (2018), who only include six widely distributed newspapers in their analysis: Corriere della Sera (which they classify as liberal), La Repubblica (progressive), La Stampa (moderate), Il Giornale (right-wing), L'Unità (left-wing), and Libero (right-wing). Nevertheless, their classification partially overlaps with the one adopted here.

The corpus also includes a significative proportion of articles from Christian newspapers, which were all labelled as politically non-partisan. Given the overlap between Christian and non-partisan

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[28]   https://www.ilpost.it/2016/09/19/la-verita-belpietro/ (accessed on 08/03/2023).

newspapers, the parameters of religious and political orientation are not treated independently, but rather integrated under the broader label of ideological orientation.[29] For the present work, it is interesting to note that Christian environments support the so-called *cultura dell'incontro* "culture of encounter", which promotes intercultural and interreligious dialogue, and which may result in a more empathetic narration of migrations by Christian news providers.[30] Therefore, Christian news providers were separated from non-religious non-partisan ones in order to verify if the *cultura dell'incontro* finds any correspondence in the use of frames and in the attribution of semantic roles to migrants. Religious orientation was determined based on statements on newspapers' websites: religious newspapers in the corpus are either owned by religious institutions (e.g., *il Settimanale della diocesi di Como* 'Como diocese's weekly') or declaredly inspired by Christian values (e.g., *Avvenire*).

Table 5 shows the number of articles contained in sub-corpora of newspapers with different ideological – i.e., political and religious – orientation.

Table 5. Newspapers by ideological orientation.

Newspapers ideological orientation	N. of articles
Left-wing	30,121
Non-partisan	30,008
Christian	10,981
Right-wing	29,114
TOTAL	100,224

Territorial diffusion was added as a corpus parameter because, despite the existence of deontological guidelines for treating sensitive matters (cf., for example, *Manifesto di Venezia* for gender-based violence and *Carta di Roma* for migrations), editorial boards of smaller/local newspapers may spend less resources to their application. In fact, beside it being difficult to define and integrate subtle misrepresentation practices in deontological guidelines, unjust representation of marginalized groups is often normalized in everyday language, to the point that it can escape journalists' cognitive screening and be unintentional (cf. Chapter Chapter 1). For this reason, it seems interesting to observe

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[29] Note that, when referring to the manually annotated newspapers' ideological orientation, the label "ideological" is used in place of "political and religious". In this use, the term is intended in a much more restricted sense than in the context of CDA, as detailed in Chapter Chapter 1.

[30] See, for example, https://www.osservatoreromano.va/it/news/2021-11/quo-251/cultura-dell-incontro.html (accessed on 09/03/2023).

whether indirect (mis)representation of migrants through framing crosscuts newspapers' circulation width, i.e., at National or Sub-national level. The classification of newspapers' territorial diffusion was also determined based on information available on newspapers' websites and a rather fine-grained classification was initially performed: as a first step, newspapers were tagged as National if they are found across the whole Italian country (e.g., *Il Sole 24 ore*), as International if they are a localized edition of international publications (e.g., *National Geographic*), as Over-regional if they are distributed in/concerned with more than one administrative region (e.g., *Gazzetta del Sud* 'Southern Gazette'), as Regional if covering single regions (e.g., *Nuovo Quotidiano di Puglia* 'New Newspaper of Apulia'), and as Local if distributed in smaller geographical areas (e.g., *Giornale di Brescia* 'Newspaper of Brescia'). However, such fine-grained distinction is to some extent artificial, since newspapers classified, for example, as Regional may also be found beyond regional borders. Furthermore, assessing differences in the framing of migrations between, e.g., Regional and Local newspapers, lies outside the scope of this research. Thus, a more coarse-grained classification was used, only distinguishing between National and Sub-national (i.e., Over-regional, Regional, and Local) newspapers. Their figures are shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Newspapers by diffusion.

Newspapers diffusion	N. of articles
National	82,578
(of which National)	(82,529)
(of which International)	(49)
Sub-national	17,646
(of which Over-regional)	(4,601)
(of which Regional)	(4,899)
(of which Local)	(8,146)
TOTAL	100,224

Additionally, newspapers' periodicity was taken into consideration. Analogously to territorial diffusion, periodicity was initially classified on a fine-grained level, distinguishing among any publication frequency attested in the corpus: Daily, Biweekly, Weekly, Bimonthly, Monthly, Three-Monthly, and Four-Monthly. In order to maintain the classification informative, non-Daily publications were then grouped together and labelled as Periodical. Even after the aggregation of periodicals, it is evident that the corpus is highly imbalanced towards daily newspapers and that the proportion of

articles from non-Daily newspapers (which altogether make up to less than 3% of the corpus) is extremely skewed towards Weekly publications (over 90%), with some publication frequencies only represented by singles instances (cf. Table 7). However, such imbalance should be contextualized: on the one hand, from a merely quantitative point of view, more daily than periodical newspapers are published in a given time span; on the other hand, while daily newspapers tend to deal with a plethora of topics, periodicals are often concerned with more specific themes, which may be less likely to intersect with migrations.

Table 7. Newspapers by periodicity.

Newspapers periodicity	N. of articles
Daily	96,204
Periodical	4,020
of which Biweekly	(20)
of which Weekly	(3,810)
of which Bimonthly	(1)
of which Monthly	(183)
of which Three-monthly	(5)
of which Four-monthly	(1)
TOTAL	100,224

After manually integrating information on newspapers' political and religious orientation, territorial diffusion, and periodicity into its markup, the corpus was automatically annotated through the Natural Language Processing tool SocioFillmore (Minnema et al., 2022a). This step is described in the following Section.

2.2.2. Automatic semantic and syntactic annotation with SocioFillmore

The automatic annotation of frames and semantic roles in the corpus was performed with SocioFillmore (Minnema et al., 2022a), which is a computational toolkit that produces semantic and syntactic annotations. Semantic annotations are performed by SocioFillmore through LOME (Xia et al., 2021), a multilingual system for Frame Semantic Parsing (FSP): in this step, LOME uses data from Berkeley FrameNet (Baker et al., 2003) to identify target lexemes that evoke frames, label them with the frame they trigger, and identify relevant Frame Elements (which express the various semantic roles taken by event participants; cf. 1.2.1-1.2.2). Out of ~100,000 news articles, SocioFillmore annotated

~20 million frame targets (~200 frame targets per article). Subsequently, SocioFillmore uses the SpaCy toolkit (Honnibal et al., 2020) to perform syntactic annotations: at this point, part-of-speech tags and dependency parse trees are generated. Finally, language-specific rule-based algorithms use the predicted semantic and syntactic information to categorize frame instances into construction types (e.g., nonverbal, verbal/active; verbal/passive; verbal/unaccusative) and to establish connections between syntactic dependencies and semantic role labels. Given a TSV file as input, the output of this pipeline is an annotated JSON file.[31]

To allow for its manual exploration, the annotated corpus was converted into a human-readable format (i.e., a CSV spreadsheet), so that each frame target could be visualized on a dedicated row, with its relative metadata displayed on different columns. Given the size of the corpus, to find a balance between human readability and computational efficiency, a random 10% proportion of the ~20 million individuated frame targets was used to create a CSV spreadsheet of ~2 million rows.

At this point, the corpus contained the following information: from the FSP procedure, the targets of annotation and their corresponding frames and semantic roles; from the manual mark-up of articles composing the corpus, their year of publication, news provider's name, political and religious orientation, territorial diffusion, and periodicity. To facilitate the analysis, the spreadsheet was further integrated with the following information: the sentence in which the frame target appears, whether or not the sentence mentions migrants,[32] whether or not the frame is agentive (i.e., inherited from the superordinate frames INTENTIONALLY_ACT or TRANSITIVE_ACTION; cf. 1.2.1), whether or not the identified semantic role mentions migrants, and whether or not it is an AGENT-like role.

2.3. Methodology for the analysis of frames

This section illustrates the methodology followed for the analysis of frames activated in the whole corpus (Chapter Chapter 3) and in each of its sub-corpora (Chapters Chapter 4 and Chapter 5). Specifically, Chapter Chapter 3 explores the most frequent frames found in the present corpus and, after filtering out uninformative ones, it compares them with the frames activated in the comparable

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[31] This only applies to the current research, for which annotations were performed offline, on a local machine. SocioFillmore also has a web-based interface through which other corpora can be queried (cf. Minnema et al., 2022a; Coschignano et al., 2023). In those cases, annotations are performed on-line upon user request and their outputs are not stored locally.

[32] Based on the following keyword list of Italian lexemes used to point to people with migratory background: *migrante, migranti, rifugiato, rifugiata, rifugiati, rifugiate, profugo, profuga, profughi, profughe, richiedente, richiedenti, immigrato, immigrati, straniero, straniera, stranieri, straniere, clandestino, clandestina, clandestini, clandestine, extracomunitario, extracomunitaria, extracomunitari, extracomunitarie*.

corpus of news headlines analyzed by Coschignano et al. (2023). Since the same most frequent frames are almost invariably found across different sub-corpora, the analytical measure used for their comparisons in Chapters Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 is not frame frequency, but rather frame typicality, which is more informative for highlighting differences across sub-corpora. For this purpose, the statistical measure of FF-ICF is used. FF-ICF (standing for Frame Frequency-Inverted Corpus Frequency) calculates how much the frequency of a frame in one sub-corpus deviates from its frequency in the remaining of the corpus. For each sub-corpus, the FF-ICF measure identifies an ordered list of frames by decreasing typicality on a scale between zero and one, where one indicates maximum typicality of a frame (i.e., the relative frequency of a frame in a given sub-corpus is higher than its relative frequency in the remaining of the corpus) and zero indicates minimum typicality (i.e., the relative frequency of a frame in a sub-corpus is similar to its relative frequency in the rest of the corpus). That is, frames ranked in top positions are typical of a given sub-corpus, while frames in lower ranks have a more and more homogenous distribution across different sub-corpora.

For each sub-corpus, numerical values between zero and one are obtained through a normalization process that considers the range between the minimum and the maximum score obtained with the FF-ICF measure. For the applied purposes of the measure within this study, it was deemed more informative to focus on frame typicality ranks than or their numerical scores. On the same line, frame frequencies will not be reported since the FF-ICF score weighs the frequency of individual frames for each sub-corpus against their frequency in the remaining sub-corpora, making frame frequency values rather uninformative for the interpretation of their typicality ranks. Based on the use of FF-ICF in previous studies (cf. Remijnse et al., 2021 and Vossen et al., 2020), the analyses presented in Chapters Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 focus on the 15 most typical frames of each sub-corpus.

Instantiations of each typical frame are explored and analyzed through the aid of a CSV file containing a random 10% sample of the annotated corpus (cf. 2.2.2). During this phase, a few recurrent irrelevant strings – that had been overlooked during corpus cleaning (cf. Section 2.1.2) – were found. Since overlooked strings had been parsed with SocioFillmore, they led to the identification of frames: for instance, the string *ritaglio stampa* 'press clipping' activates the frames CONTAINERS (*ritaglio* 'clipping') and TEXT_CREATION (*stampa* 'press'). Whenever the exploration of lexical triggers of a frame revealed that the frame was predominantly activated by an overlooked irrelevant string, such frame was excluded from the analysis.

Before delving into the analysis, a final remark must be made: SocioFillmore uses LOME to map unseen (potentially infinite) data onto the ones contained in the (closed) database of Berkeley FrameNet. Unlike Berkeley FrameNet, however, lexical activators individuated by SocioFillmore for each frame are not a relatively small set of a few lexemes (or, for some frames, a few dozens), but rather a wide assortment of activators, normally in the hundreds for each frame, with a few very

frequent ones and a long tail of infrequent lexemes. For this reason, the analysis will only consider lexical activators making up to minimum 20% of occurrences of each frame. For instance, in the National newspapers sub-corpus, SocioFillmore detects 4,140 instantiations of the frame STIMULUS_FOCUS, with 847 different lexical triggers. Of these, 20% of occurrences is made up by the most frequent eight activators: the lexemes *terribile* (194), *drammatico* (121), *preoccupante* (115), *triste* (115), *inquietante* (101), *sorprendente* (73), *incredibile* (63), and *impressionante* (62) sum up to 844 occurrences, corresponding to 20.39% of the total (4,140).

Chapter 3.   Corpus exploration: a list of its 30 most frequent frames

As anticipated in the previous chapter, the purpose of this research is to assess any variation in the frames that characterize press migration discourse across different years (from 2014 to 2021), as well as across newspapers with different features (i.e., ideological orientation, periodicity, and diffusion). Nevertheless, before delving into the analysis of frames characterizing each sub-corpus (in the next two chapters), this brief chapter explores the overall most frequent frames in the corpus.

Table 8 shows the 30 most frequent frames in the whole corpus, together with their main lexical activators and frequencies. Throughout the analytical chapters, lexical activators of frames are indicated as lemmas unless they are predominantly used in a specific inflected from. In Table 8, for instance, the most frequent lexical activator indicated for the frame REQUEST is the inflected form *richiedenti*, since this is predominantly found in the expression *richiedenti asilo* 'asylum seekers'.

The frames contained in Table 8 are not commented upon here, but rather in the next section, in which they are also analyzed together with the most frequent frames found in a comparable corpus of news headlines (from Coschignano et al., 2023). Before proceeding with the comparison, one fundamental remark on the current corpus must be made: with only a few exceptions, the same 30 most frequent frames are found in both the whole corpus and each of its sub-corpora. For this reason, variation in frequent frames across sub-corpora is deemed dismissible and it is not addressed here. Indeed, since the analysis of most frequent frames is inefficient for highlighting differences between sub-corpora, the present chapter only serves illustrative purposes and deals with the corpus as a whole.

Table 8. Most frequent frames in the whole corpus.

Rank	Frame	Most frequent activator	Frequency
1	CALENDRIC_UNIT	*oggi* 'today'	516,572
2	STATEMENT	*dire* 'say.V'	466,193
3	LEADERSHIP	*ministro* 'minister'	444,030
4	POLITICAL_LOCALES	*città* 'city'	397,481
5	INTERIOR_PROFILE_RELATION	*in* 'in'	315,494
6	CARDINAL_NUMBERS	*milioni* 'millions'	283,183
7	QUANTIFIED_MASS	*numero* 'number'	248,386
8	ARRIVING	*arrivare* 'arrive'	248,215
9	PEOPLE	*persone* 'people'	240,595
10	QUITTING_A_PLACE	*immigrati* 'immigrants'	209,707
11	LOCALE_BY_USE	*porto* 'port'	199,609
12	BUILDINGS	*casa* 'house'	181,602
13	TEMPORAL_COLLOCATION	*quando* 'when'	175,375
14	INCREMENT	*altri* 'additional (pl.)'	164,850
15	VEHICLE	*nave* 'ship'	154,322
16	INTENTIONALLY_ACT	*fare* 'do'	144,756
17	REQUEST	*richiedenti* 'seekers'	139,297
18	EXISTENCE	*essere* 'be'	139,184
19	MEASURE_DURATION	*anni* 'years'	134,678
20	PEOPLE_BY_AGE	*giovane* 'young'	131,837
21	NATURAL_FEATURES	*mare* 'sea'	131,517
22	AGGREGATE	*popolazione* 'polulation'	129,840
23	KINSHIP	*famiglia* 'family'	126,012
24	DESIRING	*volere* 'want.V'	125,854
25	PEOPLE_BY_ORIGIN	*straniero* 'foreigner'	122,362
26	ORDINAL_NUMBERS	*primo* 'first'	122,360
27	TIME_VECTOR	*dopo* 'after'	122,360
28	FREQUENCY	*sempre* 'always'	120,604
29	ORIGIN	*italiano* 'Italian'	114,577
30	REQUIRED_EVENT	*dovere* 'must.V'	107,289

3.1. Comparison with a comparable corpus of news headlines

In this section, the most frequent frames activated in the corpus of news articles built for the present research are analyzed together with the most frequent frames activated in a comparable corpus, i.e., the corpus of news headlines analyzed in Coschignano et al. (2023).

The two corpora are comparable for several reasons:

- the texts that compose them are taken from the same source: the online *Carta di Roma* press review repository (see Chapter Chapter 2);
- they contain a similar number of texts: 100,224 in the corpus of articles, 105,175 in the corpus of headlines;
- they cover approximately the same time span: the corpus of articles spans from 2014 to 2021, the corpus of headlines from 2013 to 2021;
- their annotation procedure was analogous: they are both manually annotated for ideological stance of newspapers (with the same annotation scheme) and automatically processed through SocioFillmore – cf. Chapter Chapter 2;
- additionally, given all the above conditions it is possible to assess that the proportion of texts published by newspapers with different ideological positionings is similar in the two corpora: out of 100 texts, in the corpus of articles the proportion of those published by left-wing/non-partisan/Christian/right-wing newspapers is 30/30/11/29, while in the corpus of headlines it is 31/31/10/28.

On the other hand, the two corpora contain different text types, in reason of which they also present differences. In particular, the two corpora are similar in size in terms of number of texts, but different in terms of number of tokens: the corpus of articles contains ~77 million tokens, while they are ~900,000 in the corpus of headlines. Of course, the difference reflects the average length characterizing the two different text types. The difference between articles and headlines is not limited to text size, but rather pertains to different linguistic levels, especially syntax and information structure. For instance, the use of nominalization, topicalization, and punctuation is different between headlines and articles.[33] It is out of the scope of this work to deal with textual differences in the two corpora under investigation, which could nevertheless be used for such purpose.

Furthermore, the analysis presented in Coschignano et al. (2023) follows a different methodology than the present one: their main focus is individuating contextual fluctuations in a set of informative semantic clusters (i.e., Administration, Quantification, Journey, Crime, Hostility, and

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[33] For a comprehensive analysis of contemporary Italian in newspapers see, for instance, Bonomi (2003).

Humanizing) that include both frequent and infrequent frames. Therefore, their analysis excludes "corpus-defining" frames, whose presence is trivial with respect to press migration discourse and which, in turn, would not be informative for the purpose of their study. The frames that they exclude are the following: QUITTING_A_PLACE, INTERIOR_PROFILE_RELATION, BUILDINGS, NATURAL_FEATURES, LOCALE_BY_USE, CONTAINERS, PEOPLE_BY_ORIGIN, CALENDRIC_UNIT, POLITICAL_LOCALES, PEOPLE_BY_AGE, and VEHICLE. Coschignano et al. (2023: 114) motivate the exclusion of these frames as follows:

> QUITTING_A_PLACE is activated by words such as *immigrati* "immigrants", *migranti* "migrants", and *rifugiati* "refugees", which are very frequent in our corpus as they identify the actors of migrations. The same applies to PEOPLE_BY_ORIGIN, whose most frequent activator is *stranieri* "foreigners", and to VEHICLE, which is mostly triggered by LUs that can be translated into English with "boat". For the same reason, we excluded CONTAINERS, which is often activated by *gommone* "dinghy". Connected to the latter FF [(Fillmorean Frame)] is INTERIOR_PROFILE_RELATION, activated by spatial prepositions co-occurring with words denoting entities conceptualized as CONTAINERS, thus having an Interior, an Exterior, and a Boundary. BUILDINGS, LOCALE_BY_USE, and POLITICAL_LOCALES indicate the locations where the reported events take place, which is relevant information for news reports. BUILDINGS is mainly activated by LUs indicating various housing types and religious buildings. LOCALE_BY_USE contains LUs that profile the use to which a location is deputed (Italian words for, e.g., "school", "port"), whereas POLITICAL_LOCALES is evoked by politically or administratively defined geographical entities (e.g., "city", "municipality"). The same principle led to the exclusion of NATURAL_FEATURES, activated by LUs referring to geographical entities (e.g., "isles" and "beaches", but also "Malta" and "the Balkans"). CALENDRIC_UNIT and PEOPLE_BY_AGE were excluded as reflecting other features of our corpus of news report headlines: CALENDRIC_UNIT specifies the temporal coordinates of events (LUs such as *domani* "tomorrow" and *giugno* "June"). PEOPLE_BY_AGE provides anagraphic information on people involved in the events (LUs such as *giovani* "young", *minori* "underaged", and *anziani* "elderly").

In order to compare the results of the study by Coschignano et al. (2023) with those of the present work, the corpus of articles was also inspected to identify and exclude any corpus-defining frames. Beside frames that were also excluded by Coschignano et al. (2023), an additional set of uninformative frames was identified and excluded. One criterion for excluding additional frames is based on the commonness of their most frequent lexical activators, which were collated with the list

of 100 most frequent frames in the corpora of Italian itTenTen2020[34] and Repubblica[35]. Moreover, another criterion for the exclusion of frames is their activation through lexemes that provide temporal, locative, or quantitative reference points to recounted events, as it can be expected in a journalistic report.

Excluded frames are: EXISTENCE (mainly activated by *essere* 'be'), POSSESSION (*avere* 'have'), CAPABILITY (*potere* 'be able to'), INTENTIONALLY_ACT (*fare* 'do'), REQUIRED_EVENT (*dovere* 'must.V'), DESIRING (*volere* 'want.V'), AWARENESS (*sapere* 'know'), CAUSATION (*perché* 'because'), PEOPLE (*persone* 'people'), TEMPORAL_COLLOCATION (*quando* 'when'), MEASURE_DURATION (*anni* 'years'), TIME_VECTOR (*dopo* 'after'), RELATIVE_TIME (*poi* 'then'), FREQUENCY (*sempre* 'always'), LOCALE (*zona* 'zone'), LOCATIVE_RELATION (*dove* 'where'), ORIGIN (*italiano* 'Italian), CARDINAL_NUMBERS (*milioni* 'millions'), QUANTIFIED_MASS (*numero* 'number'), INCREMENT (altri 'additional (pl.)'), CHANGE_POSITION_ON_A_SCALE (*aumentare* 'increase.V'),[36] AGE (*nuovo* 'new'), and ORDINAL_NUMBERS (*primo* 'first'). Additionally, the frame REQUEST was excluded since it is frequently activated by *richiedenti* in the multi-word expression *richiedenti asilo* 'asylum seekers', while the frames STATEMENT (*dire* 'say.V') and TEXT (*lettera* 'letter') were excluded since they denote mention of external epistemic sources, another typical feature of news articles.

Note that an elevate number of frames was manually excluded before reaching a list of 10 non-trivial ones. Such method was deemed not ideal for reaching the main goal of the present research, which is highlighting differences between newspapers with varying characteristics in terms of their ideological positioning, periodicity, and territorial diffusion, as well as analyzing variation in press migration discourse over the eight-year period covered by the corpus. This further motivates the choice to build the core analysis, in Chapters Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, on the statistical measure of frame typicality.

As a side remark, it is also interesting to comment upon the fact that the number of excluded frames is lower in the corpus of headlines. This can be attributed to the textual conciseness of headlines: headlines are semantically richer than articles because they need to condense essential information in a limited space and, thus, they tend to rely on a simplified syntax and on specific content words. Moreover, the availability of more space in articles allows for the use of complete sentences,

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[34] Available at https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fittenten20_fl1 (accessed on 10/11/2023).

[35] Available at https://bellatrix.sslmit.unibo.it/noske/public/#dashboard?corpname=repubblica (accessed on 10/11/2023).

[36] CARDINAL_NUMBERS, QUANTIFIED_MASS, INCREMENT, and CHANGE_POSITION_ON_A_SCALE were not excluded from Coschignano et al. (2023)'s work, among whose aims was also studying discursive patterns around the quantification of migrants' arrivals.

which contain both generic content words (e.g., *fare* 'do') as well as function words that signal complex syntactic relations (e.g., *dove* 'where', *quando* 'when'). As a result, with respect to the present analysis, obtaining a list of 10 non-trivial frequent frames for the corpus of articles required excluding a higher number of frames as compared to the corpus of headlines.

Table 9 shows the most common frames activated in the corpus of headlines from Coschignano et al. (2023) and in the corpus of articles built for the present research, excluding trivial frames as detailed above. Frames shared by the two corpora are highlighted in bold. As anticipated, the following paragraphs only provide a brief illustration of frequent frames in the two global corpora, while the core of the analysis, provided in Chapters Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, focuses on the interpretation of their typicality across sub-corpora of the corpus of articles.

Table 9. List of the 10 most frequent frames of interest in Coschignano et al. (2023)'s corpus of headlines and in the corpus of articles introduced in the present research.

	HEADLINES		ARTICLES	
Rank	Frame	Most frequent lexical trigger	Frame	Most frequent lexical trigger
1	**LEADERSHIP**	*ministro* 'minister'	**LEADERSHIP**	*ministro* 'minister'
2	**ARRIVING**	*arrivare* 'arrive'	**ARRIVING**	*arrivare* 'arrive'
3	EDUCATION_TEACHING	*studenti* 'students'	AGGREGATE	*popolazione* 'population'
4	**KINSHIP**	*famiglia* 'family'	**KINSHIP**	*famiglia* 'family'
5	SELF_MOTION	*andarsene* 'go away'	BODY_PARTS	*occhi* 'eyes'
6	**ASSISTANCE**	*aiutare* 'help.V'	USING	*sfruttare* 'exploit'
7	HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER	*guerra* 'war'	**ASSISTANCE**	*aiutare* 'help.V'
8	KILLING	*uccidere* 'kill.V'	DISCUSSION	*trattativa* 'negotiation'
9	ATTACK	*attacco* 'attack.N'	EMOTION_DIRECTED	*preoccupare* 'preoccupy'
10	REMOVING	*espellere* 'expell'	RESIDENCE	*vivere* 'live.V'

In both corpora, the most frequent frame is LEADERSHIP: this reflects politicization of migration discourse in both text types, which is further signaled in the corpus of articles by the frame DISCUSSION. The two corpora also share their second most frequent frame, ARRIVING: among the most frequent frames in the corpus of articles, this is the only one denoting a motion event, while in the corpus of headlines we also find SELF_MOTION.

Another frame shared by the two corpora is KINSHIP: through this frame, which is triggered by lexemes pertaining to the semantic sphere of family relations, recounted events are proximized – i.e.,

made relatable – to readers, which are provided with a humanizing, every-day depiction of event participants. Event participants are also mentioned in the two different frames ranking third in the two corpora: these are the more specialized EDUCATION_TEACHING (in the corpus of headlines) and the more general AGGREGATE (in the corpus of articles). Additionally, a proximizing effect is obtained, in the corpus of articles, through the frame BODY_PARTS.

The last frame shared by the two corpora is the positively oriented ASSISTANCE, in which migrants are normally assigned the discursive role of passive event participants. Migrants are undergoers also in the objectifying USING, which appears in news on exploitation.

Considering the remaining frames, a distinctively negative orientation can be traced in the corpus of headlines: HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER, KILLING, and ATTACK are activated by lexemes pertaining to the semantic sphere of dangerousness, while REMOVING pictures migrants as undergoers of an expulsion event. In the corpus of articles, an unsettling tone is conveyed by the frame EMOTION_DIRECTED, while RESIDENCE is more neutral and gives a personalized dimension to recounted events.

Despite the aforementioned discrepancies determined by different textual features of headlines and articles, it is interesting to note that the two corpora share four out of their ten most frequent non-trivial frames (LEADERSHIP, ARRIVING, KINSHIP, and ASSISTANCE), beside also presenting two different frames both indicating event participants (EDUCATION_TEACHING and AGGREGATE). As regards their differences, the more negative orientation observed in the corpus of headlines can be attributed to news providers' attempt to catch readers' attention by picking the most dramatic elements of recounted events. As Chapters Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 will show, diverse ways of employing dramatizing tones can also be traced among typical frames of different sub-corpora.

A more extensive analysis of what frames distinguish newspapers with different features from each other will be provided in the following chapters. Specifically, Chapter Chapter 4 will be dedicated to the analysis of frames that are distinctive for each of the years of the considered time span 2014-2021, while Chapter Chapter 5 deals with typical frames of newspapers with different ideological positionings (according to the four categories left-winged, non-partisan, Christian, and right-winged), territorial diffusion (distinguishing between national and local), and periodicity (namely, daily or periodical). Finally, a comprehensive discussion of the results presented in Chapters Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5 is provided in Chapter **Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.**.

Chapter 4.   Analysis of typical frames by year

This chapter and the following one are devoted to the analysis of the most typical frames for each section of the corpus. The analysis is based on the automatic frame detection performed with SocioFillmore (cf. 2.2.2) and is articulated into four analytical parameters. The present chapter is dedicated to the analysis of frames that characterize each of the years of publication of news articles represented in the corpus. The remaining analytical parameters – namely, ideological orientation of news providers, their territorial diffusion, and periodicity – will be addressed in Chapter Chapter 5.

For each sub-corpus, the 15 most typical frames are provided together with their most frequent lexical activators, for which an English translation is provided. When the part of speech of a lexical activator or of its English translation is ambiguous (as in 'work', which can be either a noun or a verb), this is specified in the table.[37] Frames are ranked in the tables according to their typicality score within each sub-corpus.

To better understand the context in which news articles on migration appeared, it is useful to provide a brief background of migratory phenomena in Europe in the considered time span (2014-2021). Since 2010, Europe has witnessed an increase in the number of refugees and migrants arriving as a result of a convergence of conflicts and lack of economic prospects in various parts of the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe. These included wars in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, terrorist insurgencies in Nigeria and Pakistan, as well as long-standing human rights abuses in Eritrea and precarious economic conditions in the Balkans. In addition, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt stopped accepting Syrian asylum seekers in 2014, leading to a sharp increase in the number of people fleeing to Europe between 2015 and 2016.[38] As for Italy, an immigration peak occurred between 2015 and 2017, after which the number of people arriving started to decline[39] and had a significant drop in 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic.[40]

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[37] N stands for noun, V stands for verb, and Adj stands for adjective.

[38] https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/38226/RSCAS_2015_95.pdf?sequence=1;
https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34173252 (accessed on 07/08/2023).

[39] The decrease is partly due to the bilateral agreement of 2017 between Italy and Libya, in which the former agreed to give financial and technical support to the latter for reducing migration flows in the Mediterranean; https://www.osservatoriosullefonti.it/archivi/archivio-rubriche/archivio-rubriche-2017/419-fonti-dell-unione-europea-e-internazionali/1840-osf-3-2017-int-3 (accessed on 08/08/2023).

[40] Data taken from https://www.istat.it/it/files//2023/02/REPORT_MIGRAZIONI_2021.pdf and https://www.ismu.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Report-sbarchiI-e-accoglienza-1997-2022.pdf (accessed on 07/08/2023).

Tables 10 to 17 show the top 15 highest ranked frames according to their FF-ICF score for years 2014-2021. For each frame, the third column reports the most frequent lexical activators, ordered alphabetically.

4.1. 2014

Table 10. Typical frames of 2014.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	MEDICAL_CONDITIONS	*ammalato* 'sick', *benessere* 'wellness', *ebola* 'ebola', *febbre* 'fever', *gastroenterite* 'gastroenteritis', *invalido* 'invalid', *malaria, malore* 'sickness', *scabbia* 'scabies', *tubercolosi* 'tuberculosis', *salute* 'health';
2	PROTEST	*contestare* 'dispute.V', *manifestante* 'demonstrator', *manifestazione* 'demonstration', *protestare* 'protest.V', *protesta* 'protest.N';
3	EXPENSIVENESS	*costare* 'cost (V)', *costoso* 'expensive', *gratuito* 'free', *sborsare* 'shell out', *spendere* 'spend', *spesa* 'expense';
4	BUILDING_SUBPARTS	*appartamento* 'apartment', *ambulatorio* 'clinic', *aula* '(class)room', *camera* '(bed)room', *cortile* 'courtyard', *cucina* 'kitchen', *mensa* 'canteen', *reparto* 'ward', *ufficio* 'office', *sala* 'room, hall';
5	TRAVEL	*giro* 'tour', *missione* 'mission', *peregrinare* 'wander', *viaggiatore* 'traveler', *viaggiare* 'travel.V', *viaggio* 'journey';
6	VISITING	*ospite* 'guest', *tornare* 'return', *turista* 'tourist', *visita* 'visit.N', *visitare* 'visit.V', *visitatore* 'visitor';
7	RITE	*Benedizione* 'blessing', *celebrare* 'celebrate', *celebrazione* 'celebration', *cerimonia* 'ceremony', *convertirsi* 'convert', *culto* 'worship', *funerale* 'funeral', *rito* 'rite', *pregare* 'pray', *preghiera* 'prayer';
8	PROPORTIONAL_QUANTITY	*alcuni* 'some', *almeno* 'at least', *circa* 'about', *molti* 'many', *oltre* 'over', *quasi* 'almost';
9	RELATIONAL_NATURAL_FEATURES	*costa* 'coast', *costiero* 'coastal', *litorale* 'shoreline', *riva* 'shore';
10	CLOTHING	*indumento* 'clothing', *maglia* 'shirt', *scarpe* 'shoes', *vestiti* 'clothes';
11	MILITARY	*esercito* 'army', *forze dell'ordine* 'law enforcement', *militare.Adj* 'military', *militare.N* 'soldier';
12	BUSINESSES	*cooperativa* 'cooperative', *fabbrica* 'factory', *imprenditore* 'entrepreneur', *impresa* 'enterprise', *negozio* 'store', *società* 'company';
13	DEAD_OR_ALIVE	*morte* 'death', *sopravvissuti* 'survivors', *vita* 'life';
14	FOOD	*bevande* 'drinks.N', *caffè* 'coffee', *cibo* 'food', *pasti* 'meals';
15	COTHEME	*accompagnare* 'accompany', *condurre* 'lead.V', *guidare* 'guide.V', *(in)seguire* 'follow'.

In 2014, news reports on migrations amount to ~13,000 (cf. Table 1 in Chapter Chapter 2), which is almost one third less than in 2015, when they peak to over 19,000.

Preoccupation with migrants' health is more prominent in 2014 compared to the following years. This is evident because of the typicality of the frames MEDICAL_CONDITIONS,[41] DEAD_OR_ALIVE, and VISITING. The use of the latter frame in the medical scenario is exemplified in (1),[42] but it is also activated in the context of non-medical visits (cf. example (7), later in this section).

1. *I profughi, alla fine, sono stati **visitati** sul posto, in strada.* (Il Giorno)
    'The refugees were eventually **examined** on the spot, in the street.'

The concern is not exclusively on migrants' health: sometimes MEDICAL_CONDITIONS and VISITING are found in news about (the risk of) contagion from newcomers to locals – for example, with ebola or scabies, as in (2).

2. Due poliziotti, di cui uno che opera all'interno della Digos, nelle ultime ore avrebbero contratto la **scabbia**. (Il Gazzettino)
    'Two police officers, including one working within the Digos, have reportedly contracted **scabies** in recent hours.'

In the broad scenario concerning the well-being of migrants, we find the frame MILITARY (in the context of rescues, as in (3)) and COTHEME (4). These frames shed a humanizing light on migrations because they entail migrants as primary event participants, although they are not assigned an active/agentive role in the event in which they are portrayed.

3. *Lo sbarco dalla Fregata Espero al porto di Trapani dei 424 immigrati soccorsi a largo di Lampedusa dalla **Marina militare** lo scorso primo maggio.* (Libero)
    'The disembarking from the Frigate Espero at the port of Trapani of the 424 immigrants rescued off Lampedusa by the **Navy** last May 1st.'

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[41] MEDICAL_CONDITIONS is also typical of 2020, in the context of Covid-19 – see Section 4.7.

[42] As specified in 2.2.2, all examples are taken from a spreadsheet containing a random 10% portion of the annotated corpus. In all examples, frame activators are highlighted in bold.

4. *Ad essere stati **accompagnati** negli ambulatori medici sono stati ieri dieci persone tutte di origine eritrea (di cui 8 donne e 2 bambini) della struttura di Battaglia Terme e 9 uomini della struttura di Montagnana.* (Corriere del Veneto)

   'Ten people all of Eritrean origin (including 8 women and 2 children) from the Battaglia Terme facility and 9 men from the Montagnana facility were **taken** to medical clinics yesterday.'

Additionally, the humanizing framing found in news reports on migrations of 2014 is also observable from the typicality of frames evoking daily life elements (BUILDING_SUBPARTS, CLOTHING, FOOD), as exemplified in (5).

5. *Sono visibilmente affaticati, disorientati, scossi, molti non hanno neppure le **scarpe** e alcuni di loro hanno un numero attaccato ai **vestiti**.* (Il Manifesto)

   'They are visibly fatigued, disoriented, shaken, many do not even have **shoes**, and some of them have a number attached to their **clothes**.'

Furthermore, the fact that RITE emerges among most typical frames shows that the perspective of the religious (essentially, Christian Catholic) press is more prominent in 2014 than in subsequent years within the considered time span.

As we will see in the following sections (4.2 to 4.8), migrations are enclosed in a more critical scenario in following years. As compared to the following years, in 2014 migrations are not portrayed in a negative light, although there are a few exceptions. Specifically, the presence of EXPENSIVENESS and BUSINESSES among the most typical ones reflect the emergence of a prominent and controversial topic in migration discourse, as exemplified in (6). Another negatively oriented frame is PROTEST, whose agents are Italians – and especially right-winged politicians – protesting against migrants' reception. Reception is the other main context in which the frame VISITING is activated, when reporting about (and, often, criticizing) lodging facilities reserving rooms for refugees (7).

6. *Nel Trapanese la macchina dell'ospitalità ha creato nuovi posti di lavoro. In palio fondi per cinquecento milioni l'anno da spartire fra **associazioni, società** e colossi del settore. Hotel a 5 stelle, coop, opere pie e la Chiesa: […] un affare da 35 milioni di euro l'anno e da 500 posti di lavoro da spartire alle **imprese** vicine al centrodestra come al centrosinistra.* (La Repubblica)

   'In the Trapanese area, the hospitality machine has created new jobs. Up for grabs are funds worth five hundred million a year to be shared among **associations**, **companies**,

and industry giants. Five-star hotels, coops, pious works and the Church: [...] a 35-million-euro-a-year, 500-job deal to be shared among **companies** close to the center-right as well as the center-left.'

7. *Tutto ha funzionato molto meglio del primo luglio, quando al molo scesero in mille e ci fu qualche problema, con **albergatori** delle zone interne venuti a reclutare clienti a spese dello Stato.* (Il Mattino)

'Everything worked much better than July 1st, when a thousand people came down to the pier and there were some troubles, with **hotelkeepers** from inland areas coming to recruit customers at the expense of the State.'

The daily chronicle of arrivals and the constant updates on migrants' quantification have not begun yet in 2014: as captured by the frame PROPORTIONAL_QUANTITY (activated by *alcuni* 'some', *almeno* 'at least', *circa* 'about', *molti* 'many', *oltre* 'over', and *quasi* 'almost'), the narration around the scale of the migratory phenomenon is conveyed in vague terms. Attention is given to migratory routes (cf. the frame TRAVEL) and, more specifically, the typicality of the frame RELATIONAL_NATURAL_FEATURES (activated by *costa* 'coast', *costiero* 'coastal', *litorale* 'shoreline', and *riva* 'shore') shows that migration discourse in this period is strongly focused on immigration by sea. This is also true for the following years, at least until 2019 (cf. *Associazione Carta di Roma*, 2019), but this frame only emerges as highly typical in 2014 and 2015. Although other topics also gain prominence in the following years (e.g., terrorism and receptive policies), the attention given by the Italian press to immigration by sea is still detectable: for example, between 2017 and 2020 we find RESCUING, TRANSPORTATION_STATUS, and DISEMBARKING.

4.2. 2015

Table 11. Typical frames of 2015.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	TERRORISM	*islamista* 'Islamist', *jihadista* 'jihadist', *terrorista* 'terrorist', *terrorismo* 'terrorism', *terroristico* 'terroristic';
2	KILLING	*assassinare* 'murder.V, *letale* 'lethal', *massacrare* 'slaughter', *omicidio* 'murder.N', *strage* 'massacre', *uccidere* 'kill';
3	FLEEING	*fuga* 'escape.N', *fuggire* 'flee', *scappare* 'run away';
4	PEOPLE_BY_RELIGION	*cattolico* 'Catholic', *convertito* 'converted', *cristiano* 'Christian', *islamico* 'Islamic', *laico* 'lay', *musulmano* 'Muslim';

5	TRAVERSING	*attraversare* 'cross.V', *passare* 'pass.V', *solcare* 'sail', *transitare* 'transit.V', *traversata* 'crossing';
6	INTENTIONAL_TRAVERSING	*confine* 'border', *frontiera* 'frontier';
7	DISPERSAL	*diffondere* 'spread.V', *distribuzione* 'distribution', *(re/ri)distribuire* '(re)distribute', *piazzare* 'place.V', *spargere* 'scatter';
8	ARREST	*arrestare* 'arrest.V', *arresto* 'arrest.N', *cattura* 'capture.N', *fermare* 'stop.V';
9	TRAVEL	*viaggiare* 'travel.V', *viaggiatore* 'traveler', *viaggio* 'travel.N';
10	LOCATING	*localizzare* 'locate', *(ri)trovare* 'find (again)';
11	MILITARY	*esercito* 'army', *forze dell'ordine* 'law enforcement', *militare.Adj* 'military', *militare.N* 'soldier';
12	DEATH	*annegare* 'drown', *decedere* 'pass away', *morire* 'die', *morte* 'death', *scomparire* 'be gone';
13	RECEIVING	accettare, accogliere, ospitare, ricevere
14	RELATIONAL_NATURAL_FEATURES	*costa* 'coast', *costiero* 'coastal', *litorale* 'shoreline', *riva* 'shore';
15	DEAD_OR_ALIVE	*morte* 'death', *sopravvissuti* 'survivors', *vita* 'life'.

In the corpus, 2015 is the year with the highest number of articles: as shown in Table 1 of the previous Chapter, over 19,000 news reports were published in 2015, while in 2014 they were around 13,000. The raise in newsworthiness of the topic of migrations follows several different paths.

The prominence of the frames TERRORISM, KILLING, PEOPLE_BY_RELIGION, and ARREST in 2015 is explained with the atmosphere of concern caused by a series of terrorist attacks within and around Europe throughout 2015. The preoccupation for the connection between immigration of Muslims and the establishment in Europe of terroristic cells connected to ISIS or other Islamic fundamentalist groups like Al-Qaeda was especially triggered by attacks in France, with the Charlie Hebdo shooting in January and a series of coordinated attacks in November.[43] In this respect, note the presence of *islamista* 'Islamistic' as a trigger of the frame TERRORISM. ARREST is found in news about smugglers, as in (8), but also note that events like people stopped with irregular documents (9) became newsworthy because of the said preoccupation on terroristic infiltrations.

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[43] https://www.wsj.com/articles/france-honors-victims-of-paris-terrorist-attacks-1448635450 (accessed on 04/08/2023).

8. *Sempre a Pozzallo la polizia di Ragusa **ha fermato** tre scafisti ritenuti alla guida dei quattro gommoni con a bordo 453 i migranti che sono sbarcati due giorni fa nel porto di Pozzallo*. (Il Fatto Quotidiano)

   'Also in Pozzallo, Ragusa police **detained** three smugglers believed to have been driving the four dinghies carrying 453 migrants who disembarked two days ago in the port of Pozzallo.'

9. ***Sono stati arrestati** dalla Polizia Ferroviaria di Ancona tre cittadini siriani: erano in possesso di documenti d'identità falsi*. (Il Giornale)

   'Three Syrian citizens **were arrested** by the Railway Police in Ancona: they were holding fake identity documents.'

MILITARY is found in news on borders' surveillance (10), but also in the context of rescuing operations, as in 2014, together with RELATIONAL_NATURAL_FEATURES, DEATH, and DEAD_OR_ALIVE. Indeed, another widely reported event that, in a way, counterbalanced the anti-immigration rhetoric of 2015 is the death of the two-year-old Syrian boy Alan Kurdi. The photo of his dead body rapidly spread globally and had an impact on both political discourse and public opinion on the so-called refugee crisis.[44]

10. *L'Ungheria intanto continua la sua politica muscolare e ieri le **forze armate** hanno iniziato le esercitazioni **militari** per prepararsi ad andare a dare man forte alla polizia nella sorveglianza del confine della Serbia da cui arrivano i profughi.* (L'Unità)

    'Meanwhile, Hungary continues its muscular policy, and yesterday the **armed forces** began **military** drills to prepare to go in and reinforce the police in guarding the border of Serbia from which refugees are arriving.'

In fact, 2015 is the only year in which we see a prominent attention to migratory push factors, as shown by the presence of FLEEING among most typical frames (11).

11. ***Scappati** dal Mali in cerca di un futuro. «Tra un mese siamo per strada», sintetizza in perfetto italiano Diadje Miakaté, un gigante di due metri e 23 anni.* (La Repubblica)

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[44]   https://globalnews.ca/news/2204006/these-images-changed-public-opinion-has-alan-kurdis-photo-done-the-same/ (accessed on 04/08/2023). Also see Hellmueller & Zhang (2019).

'(They) **fled** Mali in search for a future. «In a month we'll be out on the street», summarizes Diadje Miakaté, a 2-meter, 23-year-old giant, in perfect Italian.'

DISPERSAL is a frame pertaining to the administration of the migratory phenomenon in terms of where and according to which criteria to accommodate people who arrive in the national/communitarian territory. As we see in (12), the lexeme *distribuzione* 'distribution' triggers a highly objectifying discourse scenario, in which refugees and asylum seekers are referred to as inanimate, homogeneous entities: they are counted and sorted in specialized centers and, even more dehumanizingly, it is said that they can appear in high concentrations.

12. *Il criterio di **distribuzione** dei profughi sul territorio trentino «rispetterà il rapporto di 2 richiedenti asilo ogni 1.000 abitanti» ricorda l'assessore, il quale non nega, tuttavia, che a Trento e Rovereto «per via della presenza di centri di smistamento si avrà una concentrazione maggiore, ma temporanea, di migranti».* (Corriere del Trentino)
    'The criterion for the **distribution** of refugees in the territory of Trentino «will respect the ratio of 2 asylum seekers for every 1,000 inhabitants» recalls the councilor, who does not deny, however, that in Trento and Rovereto «due to the presence of sorting centers there will be a greater, but temporary, concentration of migrants».'

The presence of LOCATING among the most typical frames of 2015 reflects that a significative share of the public debate on migrations in this year is occupied by the search for solutions in response to the migration peak, both at national and supranational level. The frame is especially triggered by the verb *trovare* 'to find' and among its direct objects, which correspond to the frame-specific role of SOUGHT ENTITY, we find: *soluzione* 'solution', *intesa* 'agreement', *accordo* 'agreement', *equilibrio* 'balance', *accoglienza* 'reception', *posto* 'place', *sistemazione* 'accommodation', *alloggio* 'lodging', and *struttura* 'facility'.

RECEIVING often appears when the perspective of hosting countries or municipalities is given (13).

13. *Si è poi però diffusa la sensazione che la Germania potesse **accogliere** un numero illimitato di richiedenti asilo per un tempo illimitato, e questo è evidente che non può funzionare.* (La Stampa)
    'However, it then became widely assumed that Germany could **accommodate** an unlimited number of asylum seekers for an unlimited amount of time, and this clearly cannot work.'

Finally, the frames TRAVERSING, INTENTIONAL_TRAVERSING, and TRAVEL show that migratory routes are given discursive prominence, especially in the recounting of (attempts to) sea-crossing (14) and border-crossing (15). Borders, in particular, gained discursive relevance when the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán announced the construction of a fence to prevent immigration from the Serbian border: the barrier not only served a practical purpose, but also became a strong political symbol for anti-immigration advocates.[45]

14. *Circa 650.000 migranti, spesso provenienti da Iraq e Siria, hanno cercato di **attraversare** il Mar Egeo quest'anno in cerca di una vita migliore nell'Unione europea.* 'About 650,000 migrants, many from Iraq and Syria, have tried to **cross** the Aegean Sea this year in search of a better life in the European Union.' (QN)

15. *Ma l'Ungheria, porta d'ingresso all'Europa lungo la rotta balcanica, conferma la sua politica di respingimenti ai **confini**: è stato completato infatti nei tempi previsti il "muro" di filo spinato lungo 175 chilometri eretto a difesa della **frontiera** con la Serbia.* 'But Hungary, the gateway to Europe along the Balkan route, confirms its **border** rejection policy: indeed, the 175-kilometer-long barbed-wire "wall" erected to defend its **border** with Serbia was completed on schedule.' (Messaggero Veneto - Giornale del Friuli)

4.3. 2016

Table 12. Typical frames of 2016.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	TERRORISM	*islamista* 'Islamist', *jihadista* 'jihadist', *terrorista* 'terrorist', *terrorismo* 'terrorism', *terroristico* 'terroristic';
2	PEOPLE_BY_RELIGION	*cattolico* 'Catholic', *convertito* 'converted', *cristiano* 'Christian', *islamico* 'Islamic', *laico* 'lay', *musulmano* 'Muslim';
3	INTENTIONAL_TRAVERSING	*confine* 'border', *frontiera* 'frontier';
4	BEING_IN_CONTROL	*controllare* 'control.V', *controllo* 'control.N';
5	RITE	*benedizione* 'blessing', *celebrare* 'celebrate', *celebrazione* 'celebration', *cerimonia* 'ceremony', *convertirsi* 'convert',

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[45] https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/how-the-hungarian-border-fence-remains-a-political-symbol-1.5476964 (accessed on 08/08/2023).

6	PROJECT	*culto* 'worship', *funerale* 'funeral', *rito* 'rite', *pregare* 'pray', *preghiera* 'prayer';
		piano 'plan', *progetto* 'project', *programma* 'program';
7	PART_INNER_OUTER	*centrale* 'central', *esterno* 'external', *interno* 'internal';
8	TRAVERSING	*attraversare* 'cross.V', *passare* 'pass.V', *solcare* 'sail', *transitare* 'transit.V', *traversata* 'crossing';
9	CLOTHING	*burkini* 'burkini', *burka/burqa* 'burka/burqa', *indumento* 'clothing', *maglia* 'shirt', *scarpe* 'shoes', *velo* 'veil', *vestiti* 'clothes';
10	FAMILIARITY	*conoscere* 'know', *nuovo* 'new', *sconosciuto* 'unknown';
11	RECEIVING	*accettare* 'accept', *accogliere* 'welcome', *ospitare* 'host', *ricevere* 'receive';
12	ARCHITECTURAL_PART	*colonna* 'column', *muro* 'wall', *parete* 'side wall';
13	BECOMING	*divenire* 'become', *diventare* 'become', *tornare* 'return';
14	PROTEST	*contestare* 'dispute.V', *manifestante* 'demonstrator', *manifestazione* 'demonstration', *protestare* 'protest.V', *protesta* 'protest.N';
15	BUILDING	*costruire* 'build', *costruzione* 'construction', *erigere* 'erect.V'.

In 2016, Italian press gives migrations less coverage than in 2015 (~16,000 and ~19,000 articles, respectively). This year, after the attacks in the neighboring France and new bombings in Brussels,[46] the preoccupation towards Islamic terrorism is still very high in Italy. Thus, the framing of migrations under the lens of religion often intersects with discourses on terrorism (16) and/or integration (17) – cf. TERRORISM and PEOPLE_BY_RELIGION, but also RITE.[47]

16. *In queste circostanze è fin troppo facile per gli estremisti e i populisti additare il generico nemico* **islamico** *senza fare distinzioni, senza realizzare che tra i primi obiettivi del* **terrore** *c'è proprio indurci a discriminare le minoranze* **musulmane** *di casa nostra, per radicalizzarle e renderle permeabili alla propaganda* **fondamentalista**. (Corriere della Sera)

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[46] https://www.rainews.it/archivio-rainews/articoli/Attacchi-Bruxelles-testo-della-rivendicazione-Isis-0c8f2ac8-8ca9-4b6b-80a5-cf81aa354847.html (accessed on 08/08/2023).

[47] Note that the contexts in which RITE is found in 2016 are more diverse than in 2014, when it almost exclusively appeared in relation to Christianity, reflecting the in-group (i.e., us, the traditionally Christian Italians) perspective of news discourse on migration.

'Under these circumstances, it is just too easy for extremists and populists to point to a generic **Islamic** enemy without making any distinctions, without realizing that among the first goals of **terror** is precisely to induce us to discriminate against our own **Muslim** minorities in order to radicalize them and make them permeable to **fundamentalist** propaganda.'

17. *Ma il presidente della Comunità **islamica** di Bologna è serissimo quando mostra le condizioni dei luoghi di **culto** riservate ai **musulmani** sotto le Torri: «**Preghiamo** in scantinati, garage e capannoni, in situazioni precarie: chiediamo invece luoghi dignitosi». Ma sulla costruzione del **tempio** il Comune frena: l'argomento non è all'ordine del giorno.* (La Repubblica)

'But the president of the **Islamic** Community of Bologna is very serious when he shows the conditions of the places of **worship** reserved to **Muslims** under the Towers: «We **pray** in basements, garages and warehouses, in precarious situations: instead, we ask for decent places». But on the construction of the **temple** the Municipality holds back: the topic is not on the daily agenda.'

In the same discourse scenario we find CLOTHING, which is frequently activated in news about cultural differences with a religious matrix: in particular, a hot topic of 2016 is women's faith-based fashion, especially burkini, which at the time had been banned from several beaches in France, as reported in (18).

18. *Dal 28 luglio, da quando il sindaco conservatore di Cannes David Lisnard ha emesso il suo decreto sulle misure dei **costumi** da bagno, le interdizioni di **burkini** si sono estese su molti litorali: in Costa Azzurra, oltre a Cannes, il bagno è ormai consentito solo se debitamente scoperti anche a Mandelieu-La Napoule, Villeneuve-Loubet, Cap-d'Ail.*

'Since July 28, when Cannes' conservative mayor David Lisnard issued his decree on **swimsuit** measurements, **burkini** bans have spread to many shorelines: on the Côte d'Azur, in addition to Cannes, bathing is now permitted only when properly uncovered in Mandelieu-La Napoule, Villeneuve-Loubet, Cap-d'Ail.' (Il Messaggero)

After the spotlight provided by the construction of the so-called Hungarian wall in 2015 – which draws attention also in 2016, as we see with the high typicality rank of ARCHITECTURAL_PART, mostly activated by *muro* 'wall', and BUILDING, often activated by *costruzione* 'construction' – the events of border-crossing and border-controls remain newsworthy in the following year, as captured in the

frames INTENTIONAL_TRAVERSING, TRAVERSING, and BEING_IN_CONTROL, exemplified in (19). The topics fit in the wave of preoccupation towards terrorism, but they are also connected to the public debate on the administrative implications of a high number of incoming people. Interestingly, and possibly at least partially influenced by the symbolic power of the Hungarian wall for reinforcing the in-group/out-group opposition between Europeans and non-Europeans, typical of 2016 are the expressions *frontiere interne* 'inner frontiers' and *frontiere esterne* 'outer frontiers' for referring to the Schengen area, as captured in the frame PART_INNER_OUTER. Furthermore, the divisiveness of the topic of borders openness/closedness becomes the focus of protests, as shown in (20).

19. *Sembravano tornati a distendersi i toni tra Italia e Austria sulla questione del Brennero dopo che, appena una settimana fa, i ministri degli Interni Angelino Alfano e Wolfgang Sobotka avevano comunicato, al termine di un incontro, che non ci sarebbero stati per il momento **controlli** alle **frontiere**.*
'Tensions seemed to be easing again between Italy and Austria on the Brenner Pass issue after Interior Ministers Angelino Alfano and Wolfgang Sobotka announced at the end of a meeting just a week ago that there would be no **border controls** for the time being.' (Il Secolo XIX)

20. *Venerdì scorso i migranti di Ventimiglia hanno inscenato una **protesta** lungo il confine italo-francese. Sabato alcuni di loro hanno raggiunto a nuoto la costa francese.*
'Last Friday, migrants from Ventimiglia staged a **protest** along the French-Italian border. On Saturday, some of them swam up to the French coast.' (Corriere della Sera)

Although quantification of people arriving is very frequent throughout the whole corpus (as shown by the high frequency of the frame CARDINAL_NUMBERS, presented in Table 8 of the previous chapter), in 2016, more than in other years, (im)migration is portrayed as an ongoing and increasing phenomenon. We see this through the prominence of the frame FAMILIARITY, which is frequently activated by *nuovo* 'new' used as a scalar quantifier with the meaning of 'additional'. The emergence of this topic actually reflects immigration trends: in the year span 2014-2021, the highest number of people arriving to Italy is registered in 2016 (cf. the sources provided in note 40).

The stabilization (and evolution) of migrations as a matter of public interest is also captured by PROJECT (activated by *piano* 'plan', *progetto* 'project', and *programma* 'program') and BECOMING (most often activated by *diventare* 'become'). The prominence of these frames signals the heatedness of discourses on policies for administering migratory flows: for example, (21) is an excerpt of a report

on the need to improve the current system for asylum seekers and refugees' reception (SPRAR)[48] – the discursive relevance of reception is also captured in Receiving.

21. *Occorre considerare che la rete Sprar, in tutto il 2015, ha contato in Liguria su sei Comuni [...]. È una goccia nel mare in relazione agli ospiti e ai flussi. Il resto è stato gestito con le strutture temporanee, le cui presenze tendono a **diventare** semi-definitive.*

'It should be considered that the Sprar network, during the whole of 2015, counted on six municipalities in Liguria [...]. It is a drop in the ocean in relation to guests and flows. The rest has been managed with temporary facilities, whose attendances tend to **become** semi-definitive.' (Il Secolo XIX)

4.4.   2017

Table 13. Typical frames of 2017.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	Sign_agreement	*aderire* 'join', *firmare* 'sign.V', *siglare* 'seal.V', *sottoscrivere* 'subscribe', *stipulare* 'stipulate';
2	Organization	*associazione* 'association', *coop(erativa)* 'coop(erative)', *ente* 'body', *istituzione* 'institution', *ong* 'ngo', *organizzazione* 'organization';
3	Project	*piano* 'plan', *progetto* 'project', *programma* 'program';
4	Presence	*assenza* 'absence', *presente* 'present', *presenza* 'presence';
5	Collaboration	*collaborare* 'collaborate', *collaboratore* 'collaborator', *collaborazione* 'collaboration', *cooperazione* 'cooperation', *partner* 'partner';
6	Participation	*coinvolgere* 'involve', *impegnarsi* 'engage', *partecipare* 'participate';
7	Rescuing	*salvare* 'rescue.V', *salvataggio* 'rescue.N';
8	Type	*forma* 'form', *genere* 'kind', *sorta* 'sort', *tipo* 'type';
9	Cotheme	*accompagnare* 'accompany', *condurre* 'lead.V', *guidare* 'guide.V', *(in)seguire* 'follow';
10	Scrutiny	*investigare* 'investigate', *investigatore* 'investigator';
11	Foreign_or_domestic_country	*extracomunitario* 'non-EU citizen', *foreign* 'foreign', *straniero* 'foreigner';

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[48] I.e., *Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati* (Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees).

12	TAKING_SIDES	*appoggiare* 'endorse', *approvare* 'approve', *contrario* 'against', *favorevole* 'supportive', *opporsi* 'oppose', *opposizione* 'opposition', *sostenere* 'support';
13	TERRORISM	*islamista* 'Islamist', *jihadista* 'jihadist', *terrorista* 'terrorist', *terrorismo* 'terrorism', *terroristico* 'terroristic';
14	PURPOSE	*finalità* 'purpose', *intenzione* 'intention', *obiettivo* 'goal', *scopo* 'aim';
15	WORK	*lavorare* 'work.V', *occuparsi* 'deal with', *operare* 'operate'.

The amount of Italian news on migrations published in 2017 is analogous to 2016, i.e., ~16,000.

Broadly speaking, the most distinctive discursive scenario of 2017 is represented by negotiations on migration policies, both at local and at international level. Ongoing discussions on the need to update current agreements and regulations for improving the receptive system are captured in several frames. For instance, the frame TYPE is often found in articles reporting on the assessment (and urgency for updating) of various elements of the current "migration system": this is shown in (22), that is an excerpt of an article on the so-called *Centri di Identificazione ed Espulsione* 'Identification and Expulsion Centers', whose acronym is CIE. On the same line, we find the frame PURPOSE (whose most common activator is *obiettivo* 'goal'), PROJECT (activated by *piano* 'plan', *progetto* 'project', *programma* 'program'), COLLABORATION (*collaborare* 'cooperate', *cooperazione* 'cooperation', *partner*), PARTICIPATION (*coinvolgere* 'involve', *impegnarsi* 'commit', *partecipare* 'attend'), WORK (*lavorare* 'work.V', *occuparsi* 'deal with', *operare* 'operate'), and SIGN_AGREEMENT (*firmare* 'sign', *siglare* 'sign'). The scenario, respectively in its international and local levels, is well represented in (23) and (24).

22. *«E resto convinta che i Cie – spiega Serracchiani – non siano l'unica soluzione, anzi, nella **forma** che abbiamo conosciuto non hanno funzionato per niente, motivo per cui ne abbiamo convintamente chiesto la chiusura».*
'«And I remain convinced that CIEs – Serracchiani explains – are not the only solution; in fact, in the **form** in which we have known them, they have not worked at all, which is why we have wholeheartedly called for their closing»'. (Messaggero Veneto - Giornale del Friuli)

23. *Il governo di Sarraj non ha mai nascosto il suo **obiettivo** finale: far ripartire l'accordo che l'Italia ha **siglato** nel 2009 con Gheddafi, formalmente mai interrotto, che prevedeva un **programma** di investimenti italiani in infrastrutture per complessivi cinque miliardi di euro e nel quale la Libia **si impegnava** a limitare le partenze e a gestire centri di detenzione per i migranti economici.*

'Sarraj's government has never hidden its ultimate **goal**: to restart the agreement Italy **signed** in 2009 with Qaddafi, formally never interrupted, which involved a planned **program** of Italian infrastructural investments totaling five billion euros and in which Libya **committed** to restricting departures and running detention centers for economic migrants.' (Il Messaggero)

24. *Il sindaco spiega che questa proposta, rispetto a quella presentata pochi giorni fa, è ancora più forte in quanto arriva un tavolo cui hanno **partecipato** tutti i sindaci della provincia, con il supporto del prefetto Alessio Giuffrida.*
'The mayor explains that this proposal, compared to the one presented a few days ago, is even stronger because it comes from a roundtable **attended** by all the mayors of the province, with the support of Prefect Alessio Giuffrida.' (La Nazione)

In the same broad scenario, we also find the assessment of migrants' current situation within the receptive system, as identified in the frame PRESENCE. It may seem surprising that a frame activated by such generic lexemes as *presenza* 'presence' occupies a high rank (4th position) among typical frames of 2017. Its prominence, however, reflects the stability of the presence – both factual and discursive – of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Nominal expressions such as *la presenza di migranti* 'the presence of migrants' trigger an existential presupposition that relies on a widely shared common ground, because migrations have become an everyday topic in Italian press and, consequently, a relevant piece of reality for news readers. Among this type of news, in 2017 we find a wide coverage of situations involving unaccompanied foreign minors (in Italian, *minori stranieri non accompagnati*, in which *accompagnati* triggers the frame COTHEME; cf. example (25)). Their discursive prominence is justified by the peak in arrivals of unaccompanied foreign minors reached in 2016, when their number doubled compared to 2014 and 2015.[49]

25. *Le somme spettanti ai Comuni sono assegnate calcolando le **presenze**, anche di minori stranieri non **accompagnati**, in tutte le diverse tipologie di centri di accoglienza alla data del 24 ottobre scorso.*
'Allocations to municipalities are assigned by calculating **attendances**, including of **unaccompanied** foreign minors, in all the different types of reception centers as of last October 24.' (Il Gazzettino)

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[49] Source: https://www.ismu.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Report-sbarchiI-e-accoglienza-1997-2022.pdf (accessed on 10/08/2023).

TERRORISM is still discursively relevant in 2017, but less than in the previous two years.[50] Nonetheless, news reflect an atmosphere of fear and suspicion towards foreigners. This is shown by the emergence of SCRUTINY, most commonly activated by *investigatori* 'investigators', a frame that falls within the broader scenario of criminal investigations. The main spotlight of investigations lies on crimes perpetrated by foreigners – cf. the heated rhetoric in (26) – but the frame SCRUTINTY is also found in reports on events in which migrants are victims, like in (27). Additionally, in 2017 a wide coverage was given to the alleged collusion between smugglers and NGOs – *ONG* and *organizzazione* 'organization' are the most frequent lexical activators of ORGANIZATION, with the latter lexeme mostly pointing to the same referent as the former, as in (28), where we also find the frame RESCUING activated by *salvataggi* 'rescues'.

26. *I soldati di Allah non si vincono schierando psicologi, assistenti sociali e sociologi, ma mettendo al lavoro la polizia, dando mano libera agli* **investigatori** *e fornendo loro leggi speciali.*

    'Allah's soldiers will not be defeated by deploying psychologists, social workers and sociologists, but rather by getting the police to work, giving **investigators** a free rein and granting them special laws.' (La Verità)

27. *Gli* **investigatori** *dell'Onu hanno raccolto prove sull'uso sistematico della tortura da parte del personale che dovrebbe prendersi cura dei profughi.* (Avvenire)

    'U.N. **investigators** have gathered evidence on the systematic use of torture by the staff who are supposed to take care of refugees.'

28. *Tre procure aprono fascicoli sui presunti contatti con i trafficanti. Sotto accusa le navi delle* **Ong** *«Usate come taxi dagli scafisti». Il 40% dei* **salvataggi** *in mare è effettuato da* **organizzazioni** *umanitarie.*

    'Three public prosecutors open files on alleged contacts with traffickers. Under indictment **NGO** ships «Used as cabs by smugglers». 40% of sea **rescues** are carried out by humanitarian **organizations**.' (Il Secolo XIX)

The polarization of the debate around events in which migrants are involved and the relevance of their "otherness" to the Italian society are captured, respectively, by the frames TAKING_SIDES,

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[50] But see below on the use of the expression *foreign fighter(s)*.

exemplified in (29), and FOREIGN_OR_DOMESTIC_COUNTRY. Interestingly, the latter is most commonly activated by *stranieri* 'foreigners' and *extracomunitari* 'non-EU citizens', but also by the English adjective *foreign*, in the fixed expression *foreign fighter(s)*, used to refer to European residents who joined islamic-fundamentalist forces like ISIS.[51]

29. *Dopo i commenti **pro**-violenza sui social la politica impazzisce. La destra **contro** i migranti e la Boldrini. E lei attacca: «Dibattito agghiacciante». Il dibattito politico intorno agli stupri di Rimini degenera.*

'After **pro**-violence comments on social media, politics goes crazy. The right **against** migrants and Boldrini. And she attacks: «Spine-chilling debate». The political debate around the rapes in Rimini degenerates.' (il Fatto Quotidiano)

4.5.   2018

Table 14. Typical frames of 2018.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	CAUSE_CHANGE_OF_POSITION_ON_A_SCALE	*alzare* 'raise.V', *aumentare* 'increase.V', *diminuire* 'decrease.V', *ridurre* 'reduce.V', *riduzione* 'reduction';
2	COMPLIANCE	*aderire* 'adhere', *infrazione* 'infraction', *irregolare* 'irregular', *rispettare* 'comply', *rispetto* 'respect', *violare* 'violate', *violazione* 'violation';
3	COLOR	*bianco* 'white', *blu* 'blue', *colore* 'color.N', *nero* 'black', *rosso* 'red', *verde* 'green';
4	PROTECTING	*proteggere* 'protect', protezione 'protection', tutela 'safeguard.N', tutelare 'safeguard.V';
5	RESCUING	*salvare* 'rescue.V', *salvataggio* 'rescue.N';
6	MAKE_AGREEMENT_ON_ACTION	*accordo* 'agreement', *concordare* 'agree', *intesa* 'accord', *soluzione* 'solution';
7	CAUSE_CHANGE	cambiare 'change', modificare 'modify', rendere 'make', trasformare 'transform';
8	TAKING_SIDES	*appoggiare* 'endorse', *approvare* 'approve', *contrario* 'against', *favorevole* 'supportive', *opporsi* 'oppose', *opposizione* 'opposition', *sostenere* 'support';
9	DENY_OR_GRANT_PERMISSION	*autorizzare* 'authorize', *autorizzazione* 'permission, *consentire* 'allow', *divieto* 'prohibition', *permettere* 'allow', *via libera* 'go-ahead';

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[51] *Foreign fighter* is registered in Treccani as an Italian neologism since 2015 (https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/foreign-fighter_%28Neologismi%29/). For a brief and updated contextualization of the phenomenon to which the expression refers, see https://www.osmed.it/2022/06/24/i-foreign-fighters-una-lenta-rinascita/ (accessed on 10/08/2023).

10	LEGALITY	illegale 'illegal', illegalmente 'illegally', illecito 'illicit', irregolare 'irregular', legale 'legal', legittimo 'legitimate', regolare 'regular';
11	EXPERIENCER_FOCUS	amare 'love.V', gradire 'appreciate', odio 'hate.N', paura 'fear.N', temere 'fear.V';
12	DETAINING	bloccare 'block', detenuto 'detained', detenzione 'detention', sequestro 'seizure', trattenere 'detain';
13	CHANGE_OF_LEADERSHIP	eleggere 'elect', elettore 'elector', elezione 'election', votare 'vote.V';
14	KILLING	assassino 'murderer', killer, strage 'slaughter', uccidere 'kill', uccisione 'killing';
15	TYPE	forma 'form', genere 'kind', sorta 'sort', tipo 'type';

In 2018, the attention given by the press to the topic of migrations is in decline: after peaking in 2015, articles on the topic amount to ~16,000 in 2016-2017 and drop to ~11,000 in 2018-2019. The decreased press coverage of migrations partially follows the decrease in people arriving to Italy (see the statistics provided in Chapter 4).

In 2018, the topic of migrations became inextricably intertwined with politics, both domestic and foreign. In Italy, this was the first election year after the recent immigration peak. As testified by the presence of CHANGE_OF_LEADERSHIP among typical frames (see (33) below), migrations have been a key theme of pre-election political campaigns and they also remained central to political debate after the new government formation. The emerging scenario is that of an evolving situation, as driven by political transformations: in (30) and (31), for example, the frames CAUSE_CHANGE AND TYPE are used to comment upon the new dispositions on migrations introduced with the so-called Security Decree.[52]

30. *Indagini, leggi, decreti, ordinanze, circolari, un piccolo esercito di magistrati, prefetti, sindaci, amministratori, tutti più realisti del re, a caccia di un cavillo per erigere muri e* **rendere** *più difficile la vita agli immigrati ma anche a chi vuole soccorrerli e accoglierli.* 'Investigations, laws, decrees, ordinances, circulars, a small army of magistrates, prefects, mayors, administrators, all more realistic than the king, hunting for a loophole to erect walls and **make** life more difficult for immigrants but also for those who want to rescue and welcome them.' (Il Sole 24 ore)

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[52] It is also interesting to note that regulating migrations and international protection with a legislative act named "Security Decree" itself contributes to a negative framing of the matter. For the full text of the decree, see https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2018/10/04/18G00140/sg (accessed on 14/08/2023).

31. *Dunque, questo **tipo** di permesso non verrà più concesso in maniera discrezionale, ma sarà normato con sei fattispecie specifiche che non lasciano nulla alla libera interpretazione del caso.*

   'So, this **type** of permission will no longer be granted on a discretional basis, but it will rather be regulated with six specific cases that leave no space for open interpretation of individual cases.' (Il Giornale)

Possible strategies to control and reduce undocumented, i.e., "illegal", immigration have been particularly discussed, especially but not exclusively by right-wing parties (cf. example 32). Polarization in migration discourse within the political campaigns of right-wing parties (and press outlets) is determined by allegations on the fraudulent nature of the receptive system for asylum seekers, as exemplified in (33) and (34), both taken from the right-wing newspaper Libero. Subsequently, residence permits (may they be for humanitarian or work-related motivations) became a prominent discursive topic: example (34) also contains instances of the frames DENY_OR_GRANT_PERMISSION (activated by *permessi* 'permits' and *concessi* 'granted') and PROTECTING (*protezione* 'protection').[53] The same textual fragment is an exemplary illustration of the so-called number-game strategy, which consists in exploiting numbers and statistics to lend greater credibility to arguments (van Dijk, 1998; KhosraviNik, 2009). In this case, statistics are used to reinforce the right-wing narration according to which the former center-left government (lead by *Partito Democratico* 'Democratic Party', in the text shortened as *Pd*) administered the receptive system in a fraudulent manner, unfair and unfavorable to Italians. Notably, in this specific narration, agency in the alleged unmasking of Pd is assigned to the Italian National Institute of Statistics.

32. *Tutti questi elementi, incluso il paradosso giudiziario del ministro dell'Interno indagato mentre clandestini e scafisti chiudono la loro avventura con successo, contribuiscono a imporre un salto di qualità nella lotta all'immigrazione **illegale**.*

   'All these elements, including the judicial paradox of the minister of the interior being investigated while illegal immigrants and smugglers successfully complete their adventure, contribute to forcing a breakthrough in the fight against **illegal** immigration.' (Il Messaggero)

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[53] DENY_OR_GRANT_PERMISSION is also activated with reference to more contingent situations, as shown below in (38).

33. *In attesa di conoscere il vincitore delle prossime **elezioni** politiche - se mai ci sarà uno schieramento in grado di conquistare una maggioranza chiara il 4 marzo - la **farsa** dell'accoglienza dei richiedenti asilo ha già ipotecato i prossimi mesi.*

   'As we wait to know the winner of the upcoming general **elections** - if there is ever a side that can secure a clear majority on the 4th of March - the **charade** of asylum seekers' reception has already mortgaged the coming months.' (Libero)

34. *L'Istituto di statistica, attraverso i numeri, ha smascherato il governo del Pd: nel 2017 i **permessi concessi** per motivo di asilo e **protezione** umanitaria hanno toccato «un nuovo record storico», arrivando a superare quota «19mila nuovi rilasci». Il grosso del flusso ha riguardato gli arrivi per cause familiari - i ricongiungimenti, oltre il 43% del totale - e, appunto, i **permessi** di soggiorno per motivi di «asilo e umanitari», che lo scorso anno sono stati 23.138 in più rispetto al 2016, arrivando a toccare quota 101.065.*

   'The Institute of Statistics, through numbers, exposed the PD government: in 2017, **permits granted** for asylum and humanitarian **protection** reasons touched «a new historical record», reaching over «19 thousand new releases». Most of the flow involved arrivals for family reasons - reunifications, more than 43 percent of the total - and, indeed, residence **permits** for «asylum and humanitarian» reasons, which last year were 23,138 more than in 2016, reaching 101,065.' (Libero)

Furthermore, Italian press reported extensively on political programs proposing to reduce the number of immigrants and refugees arriving to Italy, as testified by the high typicality of the frame CAUSE_CHANGE_OF_POSITION_ON_A_SCALE, which is most frequently activated by the lexeme *ridurre* 'reduce'.

Another immigration-related topic of 2018 political campaign is *ius soli*, which was only supported by left-wing parties. Unsurprisingly, unlike the more transversally discussed topic of undocumented immigration reduction, the debate on *ius soli* does not emerge as salient for this year. This is nevertheless interesting, because it reflects a tendency of the Italian migration system, in which the importance of integration policies has long been neglected, together with the general idea of regularizations (cf. Ambrosini, 2022: 315).

The lack of social inclusion of people with migratory background is an important theme in Italy in 2018. The main slogan of the political campaign of the right-wing party Lega was *"Prima gli italiani!"* 'Italians first!", through which rights and interests of Italians were counterposed to those of "non-

Italians".[54] Crucially, the discursive construction of social antagonisms – that, of course, existed prior to the 2018 political campaign and is not exclusive to Italy – is not without factual consequences on public opinion: as for testify, the alarming increase in racist behaviors in Italy triggered an inspection by the UN Human Rights Office OHCHR.[55] In the corpus, the new wave of racism is especially captured with reference to two separate attacks with a racist matrix, in Macerata and in Florence, in which black people were shot by Italians. News coverage of these events explains the high typicality of the frames COLOR and KILLING, both present in (35), but the latter is also found in news stories with foreign perpetrators. One of these is a person of Nigerian origins murdering an Italian woman, whose vengeance was brought as a motivation by the perpetrator of the racist attack in Macerata.[56] The unsettling atmosphere that characterizes the narration of migrations in 2018 is captured in the frame EXPERIENCER_FOCUS, activated by lexemes belonging to the emotions vocabulary: the most common activators of this frame are *paura* 'fear.N' and *temere* 'fear.V', followed by *odio* 'hate.N'.

35. *Firenze. Diecimila in corteo per Idy. La comunità senegalese sfila in memoria del connazionale **ucciso** a colpi di pistola. «È stato scelto: gli hanno sparato per il **colore della pelle».**

   'Florence. Ten thousand people in procession for Idy. The Senegalese community marches in memory of the compatriot shot **dead**. «He was chosen: he was shot because of the **color** of his skin».' (Il Tirreno)

As regards the discourse scenario of national and international consultations on migration policies – already prominent in 2017 –, this moves one step forward in 2018, i.e., towards reaching agreements. This is captured by the frame MAKE_AGREEMENT_ON_ACTION, found in news articles reporting on accords and exemplified in (36) – may they be already finalized or still under negotiation – but also by TAKING_SIDES, activated by lexemes such as *appoggiare* 'endorse', *approvare* 'approve', *contrario* 'against', *favorevole* 'supportive', *opporsi* 'oppose', *opposizione* 'opposition', and *sostenere* 'support'). Extensive coverage was given to the EU immigration summit held in June (also referred to

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[54] The problematic nature of the dichotomy implied by this slogan is addressed by Filippi (2021).

[55] The report of the inspection is available here:

https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Countries/IT/ItalyMissionReport.pdf (accessed on 16/08/2023).

[56] The mediatic representation of the attack has been widely analyzed in Maneri & Quassoli (2021).

in (36)): the summit resulted in the outline of a framework for current and future EU action on immigration, incorporating conclusions of previous meetings held from 2015 onwards.[57]

36. *E il ministro Salvini prosegue il suo braccio di ferro con l'Europa, che stenta a trovare un **accordo** nonostante il vertice di oggi, e le procure siciliane.*
   'And Minister Salvini continues his standoff with Europe, which is struggling to reach an **agreement** despite today's summit, and Sicilian prosecutors.' (La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno)

The frame RESCUING gained prominence in the context of measures for contrasting irregular immigration, with the disembarkation ban instituted in June by the new interior minister Matteo Salvini. Initially, the ban has been reported on as a political move directly intended to influence the EU immigration summit, as already seen in (36) and further shown in (39). The frame DENY_OR_GRANT_PERMISSION – most commonly activated by *permesso* 'permit', as already seen in (34), and *via libera* 'green light; go ahead', as in (38) – captures the European "tug-of-war"[58] played through disembarkation bans, whose news coverage peaked in August. At that time, the Italian coast guard ship Diciotti rescued 190 people in international waters offshore Malta, that refused to rescue or disembark them based on international agreements. People were disembarked in Catania only ten days after their rescue – as reported in (37) –, during which Matteo Salvini instructed local authorities against disembarkation while insisting that Malta should have taken care of it instead. The Diciotti incident stayed in the press in the following months, when the interior minister was investigated for his action: we see this in example (39), containing the frame DETAINING, whose most frequent activator is *bloccare* 'block.V'.

37. *I migranti **salvati** dalla Guardia costiera sono rimasti in mare 10 giorni sulla nave Diciotti prima di poter sbarcare nel porto di Catania.*

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[57] For further details, see the conclusive document of the summit (https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/35947/28-euco-final-conclusions-it.pdf) and, just as an example among many others, the following analysis thereof: http://www.sidiblog.org/2018/07/09/unione-europea-e-flussi-migratori-o-del-tramonto-dello-spirito-comunitario-considerazioni-a-margine-del-consiglio-europeo-del-28-29-giugno-2018/ (both accessed on 11/08/2023).

[58] In the corpus, the expression *braccio di ferro*, which translates to 'arm wrestling' and, metaphorically, to 'confrontation', is often found in articles reporting on international negotiations.

'The migrants **rescued** by the Coast Guard remained at sea 10 days on the Diciotti ship before they were allowed to disembark at the port of Catania.' (il Fatto Quotidiano)

38. *Un destino diverso rispetto ai 40 della Sarost 5, che non hanno avuto il **via libera** all'attracco né dall'Italia, né da Malta, né dalla Francia e da domenica scorsa attendono in mare.*
    'That is a different fate than the 40 from Sarost 5, which were not given the **green light** for docking by either Italy, Malta or France and have been waiting at sea since last Sunday.' (Il Messaggero)

39. *E le attenzioni sono tutte concentrate sul reato più grave, il sequestro a scopo di coazione, previsto dall'articolo 289 ter del codice penale: secondo il procuratore di Agrigento Luigi Patronaggio, i 177 migranti sarebbero stati **bloccati** per dieci giorni sulla nave della Marina Militare per costringere l'Unione Europea a una redistribuzione contro la convenzione di Dublino.*
    'And all attentions are on the most serious crime, kidnapping for coercion under Article 289b of the Penal Code: according to Agrigento prosecutor Luigi Patronaggio, the 177 migrants were allegedly **stranded** for ten days on the navy ship to force the European Union to redistribute them in violation of the Dublin Convention.' (La Repubblica)

Moreover, the two topics of (lack of) respect for human rights and international agreements are often connected: this is visible in (40), in which the frame COMPLIANCE is activated in a news article that focuses on life threats that migrants face in Libia, while also mentioning violation of international law.

40. *«Oggi ci troviamo davanti a una grave **infrazione** del diritto internazionale che impedisce di respingere i migranti in un Paese in cui il rischio di **violazione** dei diritti umani è molto concreto e il diritto d'asilo non è garantito», sottolinea padre Camillo Ripamonti.*
    '«Today we are faced with a serious **infraction** of international law that prevents the repatriation of migrants to a country where there is a very real risk of human rights **violations** and where the right to asylum is not assured», stresses Father Camillo Ripamonti.' (Avvenire)

4.6.   2019

Table 15. Typical frames of 2019.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	TRANSPORTATION_STATUS	*a bordo* 'on board';
2	DISEMBARKING	*sbarcare* 'disembark', *sbarco* 'disembarkation';
3	DENY_OR_GRANT_PERMISSION	*autorizzare* 'authorize', *autorizzazione* 'permission', *consentire* 'allow', *divieto* 'prohibition', *permettere* 'allow', *via libera* 'go-ahead';
4	RESCUING	*salvare* 'rescue.V', *salvataggio* 'rescue.N';
5	COMPETITION	*giocare* 'play.V', *giocatore* 'player', *gioco* 'game', *partita* 'match';
6	CHANGE_OF_LEADERSHIP	*eleggere* 'elect', *elettore* 'elector', *elezione* 'election', *votare* 'vote.V';
7	COMPLIANCE	*aderire* 'adhere', *infrazione* 'infraction', *irregolare* 'irregular', *rispettare* 'comply', *rispetto* 'respect', *violare* 'violate', *violazione* 'violation';
8	BEING_AT_RISK	*pericolo* 'danger', *rischio* 'risk.N', *sicurezza* 'safety', *sicuro* 'safe';
9	NEGATION	*mai* 'never', *nessuno* 'no.Adj; nobody', *no*, *non* 'not';
10	COMMUNICATION_RESPONSE	*replicare* 'reply.V', *ribadire* 'reiterate', *rispondere* 'answer.V', *risposta* 'reply.N';
11	TAKING_SIDES	*appoggiare* 'endorse', *approvare* 'approve', *contrario* 'against', *favorevole* 'supportive', *opporsi* 'oppose', *opposizione* 'opposition', *sostenere* 'support';
12	STATE_CONTINUE	*restare* 'stay.V', *rimanere* 'remain', *stare* 'stay.V';
13	CAUSE_CHANGE	*cambiare* 'change', *modificare* 'modify', *rendere* 'make', *trasformare* 'transform';
14	PART_WHOLE	*metà* 'half', *parte* 'part';
15	DEFENDING	*difendere* 'defend', *difesa* 'defense'.

In 2019, the number of articles in the corpus is analogous to 2018, i.e., ~11,000.

 After emerging in 2018, the topic of disembarkation bans is still prominent in press migration discourse in 2019. This is partly due to the extensive press coverage of the "Sea Watch 3 incident". In June, after saving 53 shipwrecked people, the Sea Watch 3 rescue ship tried to reach the closest safe harbor, Lampedusa, but was not permitted disembarking. After two weeks of European negotiations on how the rescued passengers should have been scattered around different countries, ship captain Carola Rakete decided to force the ban, entering Italian territorial waters and disembarking

passengers. Similarly, in July and August the rescue ships Gregoretti and Open Arms, were not allowed disembarking for several days despite the precarious health conditions of people on board.

In the corpus, the attention received by disembarkation bans is evident from the four most typical frames of this year: DISEMBARKING, DENY_OR_GRANT_PERMISSION, RESCUING, and TRANSPORTATION_STATUS. The former three frames were also typical for 2018, while TRANSPORTATION_STATUS is only found among most typical frames of 2019. The frame is almost exclusively activated by the expression *a bordo* 'on board', which puts in foreground the (positional) perspective of people who experience the consequences of disembarkation bans. In (41), for example, refugees are introduced as a discursive referent with the propositional phrase *con a bordo i profughi* 'with refugees on board', which is selected, among other possible options, as a relevant piece of information on ships that could be affected by a new law decree. Proof of press attention for the living and travelling conditions of migrants and refugees is also found in the presence of COMPLIANCE among typical frames of 2019. As in 2018 (cf. example 40), this frame is used to report on human rights violations, as well as on non-compliance to international treaties.

41. *Prima che il contestato decreto sicurezza bis venga modificato secondo le indicazioni del presidente Mattarella, è difficile che dal Viminale arrivino altri divieti di ingresso per le navi con **a bordo** i profughi.*

'Before the controversial security decree bis is amended according to President Mattarella's instructions, it is unlikely that more entry bans for ships with refugees **on board** will come from the Viminale.' (Il Messaggero)

Both during its initial stages and in the following months, the Sea Watch 3 incident was often narrated in terms of a confrontation between two individuals, namely Matteo Salvini and Carola Rakete. The discursive construction of polarized standpoints and competing interests is not exclusive to this event: on the contrary, distinctive for the scenario of political debates in 2019 are the frames DEFENDING (activated by *difendere* 'defend' and *difesa* 'defense'), PART_WHOLE (most commonly activated by *parte* 'part', as in (42)), and COMPETITION (triggered by *partita* 'match'). Again, it is reasonable to say that the discursive polarization found in press discourse is profoundly influenced by political discourse and that both, in turn, contribute to modelling and consolidating the perception of migrations as an alarming phenomenon. Relatedly, even though the excerpt given in (42) does not concern migrants, it acknowledges the *ad hoc* creation of antagonists for political interests.

42. *Perché Salvini è stato molto abile e coerente nell'orientare i suoi messaggi (spesso ingiuriosi nei confronti di nemici veri o presunti) verso quella **parte** della popolazione*

che più conta elettoralmente ed economicamente: quella anziana, mediamente più conservatrice, impaurita dal futuro, nostalgica delle sicurezze perdute, desiderosa di ritrovarle nell'immediato, anche a scapito del debito pubblico, percepito più come problema creato dalle banche che non come onere trasferito alle generazioni giovani e future.

'Because Salvini has been very clever and consistent in directing his messages (often injurious against real or alleged enemies) toward the **part** of the population that matters the most electorally and economically: the elderly, on average more conservative, afraid of the future, nostalgic for lost certainties, eager to find them again in the immediate future, even at the expense of public debt, perceived more as a problem created by banks than as a burden transferred to younger and future generations.' (Il Foglio)

This relates with the typicality of the frame COMPETITION, which, indeed, frames event participants as mutual competitors: exemplified in (43) we see countries metaphorically mapped to (football) players in an international competition. Furthermore, the typicality of COMPETITION also depends on discourses on racism and, specifically, on racism in sports. After several occasions during which football players who are not (perceived as) Italian were insulted with racist slurs, Italian press covers different voices in the debate on what measure should be introduced in response to such behaviors: for instance, (44) contains a statement by the president of FIGC, the association of sporting organizations that promotes football in Italy.

43. *La presenza a Roma di Serraj e Macron non sarà però l'occasione per un incontro a tre, anche se la Francia gioca nel nord Africa una **partita** importante e ha contribuito non poco a destabilizzare la Libia.*
'However, Serraj and Macron's presence in Rome will not be the occasion for a three-way meeting, even though France plays an important **game** in North Africa and has made no small contribution to destabilizing Libya.' (Il Gazzettino)

44. *«Purtroppo sospendere una **partita** è qualcosa che punisce eccessivamente».*
'«Unfortunately, suspending a **match** is something excessively punishing»' (Il Mattino)

In 2019 two newsworthy and related political events took place. More specifically, results of European Parliament election, in May, overturned power relations between Italian governing parties in favor of Lega and prompted a cabinet reshuffle. Migrations are a key topic in Lega's political

propaganda: this explains, at least partially, the strong politicization of press migration discourse. It should be noted, however, that the composition of typical frames of 2019 shows that political confrontations on migrations are followed even more closely than in the previous election year: of the 15 most typical frames of this year, eight cannot be ascribed to any real-world event other than political debates. Beside the already described DEFENDING and PART_WHOLE, the remaining six frames that testify politicization of migration discourse are: CHANGE_OF_LEADERSHIP, TAKING_SIDES, STATE_CONTINUE, CAUSE_CHANGE, COMMUNICATION_RESPONSE, and NEGATION.

As anticipated, in 2019 news on migrations often appear in the context of domestic and European political confrontations. In the corpus, this is captured in the frames CHANGE_OF_LEADERSHIP, exemplified in (45), and TAKING_SIDES, shown in (46).

45. *In altre parole, l'Italia prima delle* **elezioni** *Europee non accetterà nessun compromesso, anche «virtuoso»: Matteo Salvini intende tenere carica l'arma propagandistica*.
'In other words, before the European **elections**, Italy will not accept any compromise, not even a «virtuous» one: Matteo Salvini intends to keep the propagandistic gun loaded.' (La Stampa)

46. *Il patto sui migranti spacca i 5 Stelle e sconfessa la linea di Conte. Un voto* **contro** *Giuseppe Conte,* **contro** *l'impegno che aveva preso all'Onu, e ribadito a Buenos Aires, durante il G20, a novembre, quando emersero le prime divergenze tra Lega ed MSS*.
'The pact on migrants splits the 5 Stars and debunks Conte's line. A vote **against** Giuseppe Conte, **against** the commitment he made at the UN, and reaffirmed in Buenos Aires, during the G20, in November, when the first disagreements between Lega and MSS emerged.' (La Stampa)

The heatedness and polarization of the political debate on migrants and migrations is reflected in the combined presence of NEGATION and COMMUNICATION_RESPONSE among typical frames of 2019. Both frames are present in (47), which exemplifies how the space of politics in press news on migrations is inflated with opinions and counter-opinions, in a constant back-and-forth between parties.

47. *La collega Trenta* **risponde** *a brutto muso al titolare del Viminale: «Mettiamo fine a questa storia ridicola,* **non** *ho* **mai** *detto di aprire i porti, ho evidenziato quel che può succedere con l'inasprimento del conflitto»*.

'His colleague Trenta **replies** curtly to the head of Viminale: «Let's put an end to this ridiculous story, I **never** said we should open ports, I pointed out what can happen with the escalation of the conflict».' (Corriere della Sera)

On a daily basis, press coverage of the topic of migrations is concerned with the evolution – or, often, rather the stagnation – of national and international consultations on receptive policies. The close eye on political confrontations is shown by the typicality of the frames STATE_CONTINUE (mainly activated by *restare* 'remain', as in (48)) and CAUSE_CHANGE (found in (49) together with another instance of STATE_CONTINUE).

48. *Parigi **resta** intransigente sui migranti economici: «La vera soluzione è accelerare l'identificazione e il rimpatrio»*.
'Paris **remains** intransigent on economic migrants: «The real solution is speeding up identification and repatriation».' (Avvenire)

49. *E mentre **si continua** a tenere in ostaggio migranti in mare, confermando che questa sarà un'altra estate lunga e dolorosa, la politica non lavora per **cambiare** le regole europee sui paesi di primo approdo*.
'And while migrants **continue** to be held hostage at sea, confirming that this will be another long and painful summer, politicians are not working to **change** European rules on first arrival countries.' (L'Espresso)

Finally, the preoccupation for the topic of migrations (but, unlike 2014, not as much for the well-being of its main actors; cf. the frames MEDICAL_CONDITIONS and DEAD_OR_ALIVE) is captured by BEING_AT_RISK, that is most commonly activated by *pericolo* 'danger', *rischio* 'risk.N', and sicurezza 'safety'. This reflects a continuity with the discursive creation of an unsettling scenario found in 2018 with the frame EXPERIENCER_FOCUS (triggered, for example, by *paura* 'fear.N' and *odio* 'hate.N' in 2018). Notably, an important contribution to the scenario is given by the constant activation of BEING_AT_RISK with the expression *Decreti Sicurezza* 'Safety Decrees', the name given to a series of law decrees concerning immigration.

4.7. 2020

Table 16. Typical frames of 2020.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	MEDICAL_CONDITIONS	*malato* 'sick', *malattia* 'disease', *salute* 'health', *virus*;
2	EMPLOYING	*dipendente* 'employee', *lavoratore* 'worker', *personale* 'personnel';
3	INSTANCE	*caso* 'case';
4	NEGATION	*mai* 'never', *nessuno* 'no.Adj; nobody', *no*, *non* 'not';
5	DENY_OR_GRANT_PERMISSION	*autorizzare* 'authorize', *autorizzazione* 'permission', *divieto* 'prohibition', *permesso* 'permit', *via libera* 'go-ahead';
6	MEDICAL_PROFESSIONALS	*dottore* 'doctor', *infermiere* 'nurse', *medico* 'medical doctor', *sanitario* 'healthcare professional', *virologo* 'virologist';
7	TRIAL	*processo* 'trial.N', *caso* 'case', *processare* 'prosecute';
8	FOOD	*alimentari* 'groceries', *alimenti* 'food', *caffè* 'coffee', *cibo* 'food', *frumento* 'wheat', *frutta* 'fruit', *latte* 'milk', *ortaggi* 'vegetables', *orzo* 'barley', *pomodoro* 'tomato';
9	PART_WHOLE	*metà* 'half', *parte* 'part';
10	DISEMBARKING	*sbarcare* 'disembark', *sbarco* 'disembarkation';
11	BUSINESSES	*azienda* 'business', *impresa* 'enterprise', *società* 'company';
12	DETAINING	*quarantena* 'quarantine', *sequestro* 'abduction';
13	PROTECTING	*garantire*, 'grant.V' *proteggere* 'protect', protezione 'protection', tutela 'safeguard.N', tutelare 'safeguard.V';
14	DOCUMENTS	*contratto* 'contract', *documento* 'document', *passaporto* 'passport', *permesso* 'permit';
15	CAUSE_CHANGE	*cambiare* 'change', *convertire* 'convert', *modificare* 'modify', *rendere* 'make', *trasformare* 'transform'.

In 2020, newsworthiness of the topic of migrations was supplanted by the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic: this year, articles on migrations amount to ~7,000.

Unsurprisingly, among the most typical frames of 2020 we find MEDICAL_CONDITIONS (activated by *malato* 'sick', *malattia* 'disease', *salute* 'health', and *virus*), MEDICAL_PROFESSIONALS (*dottore* 'doctor', *infermiere* 'nurse', *medico* 'medical doctor', *sanitario* 'healthcare professional', and *virologo* 'virologist'), and INSTANCE (activated by *caso* 'case', mostly found in its plural form *casi* 'cases' to refer to people found positive to Covid-19). The pandemic scenario also explains the typicality of DETAINING, most commonly activated by the lexeme *quarantena* 'quarantine'. DETAINING is further activated by

sequestro 'abduction', the charge that Matteo Salvini was then facing for the Open Arms and Gregoretti incidents (cf. 4.6). In the same context, we find the frames TRIAL and DISEMBARKING, both exemplified in (50), as well as DENY_OR_GRANT_PERMISSION, as in (51).

50. *Il leader del Carroccio è convinto di essere nel giusto: «Il barcone per cui vado a **processo** è un barcone spagnolo che ha raccolto immigrati in acque libiche e maltesi, ha rifiutato di **sbarcare** in Spagna e ha voluto venire in Italia».*
The leader of the Carroccio is convinced he is in the right: «The barge I am going to **trial** for is a Spanish barge that picked up migrants in Libyan and Maltese waters, refused to land in Spain and instead wanted to come to Italy». (Il Tempo)

51. *Da ministro dell'Interno, il leader leghista aveva negato l'**autorizzazione** allo sbarco dei migranti dalla nave dell'Ong.*
As minister of the interior, the Leghist leader had denied **permission** to disembark migrants from the NGO ship. (La Verità)

Press attention for migrants' arrivals by sea was already high in 2019, as testified by the two most typical frames of this year being DISEMBARKING and TRANSPORTATION_STATUS. DISEMBARKING is also typical for 2020: news coverage of disembarkations includes debates around the potential sanitary hazard of allowing migrants into the country due to the Covid-19 pandemic (see example (52)):

52. *Per l'Organizzazione internazionale per le migrazioni, l'epidemia di Covid-19 non giustifica la chiusura dei porti: «Gli stati devono continuare a fare **sbarcare** le persone in linea con il diritto internazionale», diceva una nota rilasciata ieri.*
For the International Organization for Migration, the Covid-19 epidemic does not justify closing ports: «States must continue to let people **disembark** in line with international law», a note released yesterday said. (Il Foglio)

In 2020, PROTECTING is not only found in the context of international regulations on human right (as it was in 2018; see 4.5). Together with *protezione* 'protection' (often found within the expression *dispositivi di protezione* 'protective equipment', such as face masks), the most common trigger of the frame PROTECTING is *garantire* 'grant.V'. The emergence of this frame reflects the sense of uncertainty and fear caused by the outbreak of Covid-19: the pandemic has predominantly been framed within a war scenario (as noted, among others, by Wicke & Bolognesi, 2020), in which governing institutions (are expected to) assume the role of protectors, as exemplified in (53). In the same scenario, the frame

DENY_OR_GRANT_PERMISSION is frequently activated by the expression *divieto di assembramento* 'ban on gathering'.

53. *Il sindaco di Lampedusa Totò Martello ha scritto al premier Giuseppe Conte una lettera dai toni drammatici: «In queste condizioni il suo governo non è in grado di **garantire** le norme di sicurezza, non solo sanitarie, sull'isola».*
   Lampedusa Mayor Totò Martello wrote a dramatically-worded letter to Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte: «Under these circumstances, your government is unable to **guarantee** safety standards, and not just sanitary, on the island». (La Verità)

Among most typical frames of 2020 also appears CAUSE_CHANGE: this year, its presence is due to news reports on changes caused by new political regulations, not necessarily related to the Covid-19 pandemic. This is the case for news on the consequences of the enforcement of Salvini's "safety decrees", as exemplified in (54). The frame CAUSE_CHANGE is also found in articles reporting on receptive policies and the necessity to change attitude towards integration, as in (55).

54. *Tutte le procedure di approvazione sono state rallentate, con disposizioni che avevano come obiettivo **rendere** più arduo l'ingresso nel paese.*
   All approval procedures have been slowed down, with regulations aimed at **making** it more difficult to get into the country. (Il Foglio)

55. *Serve **cambiare** prospettiva. Lo deve fare chi arriva e anche chi "accoglie", perché considerare l'altro come un proprio pari è il più importante passo per costruire un mondo migliore.*
   A **change** of perspective is needed. This must be done by those who arrive and also by those who "welcome", because considering the other as one's peer is the most important step in building a better world. (Domani)

Another key topic of 2020 is regularization of foreign workers, partly due to the lack of seasonal fieldworkers from abroad caused by travel restrictions aimed at containing the Covid-19 pandemic.[59] This is observable in the typicality of the frames FOOD (exemplified in (56)), DOCUMENTS (mostly activated by *contratto* 'contract' and *permesso* 'permit', as in (56)), BUSINESSES (mainly activated by

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[59] See https://www.internazionale.it/notizie/stefano-liberti/2020/03/20/coronavirus-agricoltura-lavoratori (accessed on 06/09/2023).

azienda 'business' and *impresa* 'enterprise', as in (58)), and Eᴍᴘʟᴏʏɪɴɢ (*dipendente* 'employee', *lavoratore* 'worker', and *personale* 'personnel'). The excerpt in (58) is taken from the catholic newspaper Avvenire: note that, despite its benevolent intent of portraying foreign workers under a positive light, its reasoning is rooted in the conception of migrants as members of an outgroup, as opposed to *i nostri anziani* 'our elders'.

56. *In estate in effetti si rischia di dover rinunciare alla raccolta di **frutta, pomodoro, frumento, orzo** e **ortaggi** dai campi per via dell'assenza di manodopera solitamente fornita da immigrati, lavoratori stagionali*.
    In the summer, we actually may have to give up harvesting **fruits**, **tomatoes**, **wheat**, **barley** and **vegetables** from the fields due to the absence of labor usually provided by immigrants, seasonal workers. (Il Foglio)

57. *Nel frattempo, i braccianti irregolari otterrebbero un **permesso** temporaneo. Una dichiarazione interpretabile come un'apertura. Ma che potrebbe trovare addirittura l'ok della Lega: Matteo Salvini, ieri sera a «Porta a Porta», ha infatti detto che «se viene prolungato a tempo il **permesso** di soggiorno per coloro che avevano già un **contratto** di lavoro, è un conto»; mentre «se qualcuno al governo pensa di usare il virus per regolarizzare centinaia di migliaia di migranti clandestini» allora è un'altra cosa e non va bene*.
    In the meantime, undocumented farmworkers would get a temporary **permit**. A statement that can be interpreted as an opening. But one that could even find approval from Lega: Matteo Salvini, last night on "Porta a Porta", indeed said that «if residence **permits** are extended temporarily for those who already had a work **contract**, that's one thing»; while «if someone in the government thinks of using the virus to regularize hundreds of thousands of illegal migrants» then it's another thing and it's not okay. (Il Giornale)

58. *Persone che, per altro, lavorano nei campi e curano i nostri anziani, impegnati nelle **imprese** e nelle **aziende***.
    People who, by the way, work in the fields and care for our elders, engaged in **businesses** and **enterprises**. (Avvenire)

As in the previous year, despite the shift in debated topics, typicality of the frames Pᴀʀᴛ_ᴡʜᴏʟᴇ and Nᴇɢᴀᴛɪᴏɴ in 2020 shows that political confrontations are widely covered in news dealing with

migrations. For example, Part_whole is activated in (59), which is taken from an article reporting on a debate within the Five Star Movement over the duration of extraordinary stay permits for foreign workers. Example (60), exemplifying the frame Negation, contains a political statement on the same issue.

59. *Crimi e la **parte** meno governista del Movimento partono di nuovo alla guerra*.

Crimi and the less governist part of the Movement go off to war again. (Il Gazzettino)

60. *«**Non** è una sanatoria e **non** riguarda affatto 600.000 persone» ha spiegato [Lamorgese] «discutiamo di un provvedimento di emersione del lavoro nero solo delle persone di cui c'è bisogno».*

«It is **not** an amnesty and it does **not** at all affect 600,000 people» [Lamorgese] explained «we are discussing a measure for bringing to light undeclared work of only the people who are needed». (La Repubblica)

4.8. 2021

Table 17. Typical frames of 2021.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	INTENTIONAL_TRAVERSING	*confine* 'border', *frontiera* 'frontier';
2	DEFENDING	*difendere* 'defend', *difesa* 'defense';
3	EMPLOYING	*dipendente* 'employee', *lavoratore* 'worker', *personale* 'personnel';
4	COLLABORATION	*collaborare* 'collaborate', *collaboratore* 'collaborator', *collaborazione* 'collaboration', *cooperazione* 'cooperation', *partner* 'partner';
5	PART_WHOLE	*metà* 'half', *parte* 'part';
6	STIMULUS_FOCUS	*doloroso* 'painful', *drammatico* 'dramatic', *incredibile* 'incredible', *terribile* 'terrible';
7	DEAD_OR_ALIVE	*morte* 'death', *sopravvissuti* 'survivors', *vita* 'life';
8	TRIAL	*processo* 'trial.N', *giudizio* 'judgement';
9	DEATH	*morire* 'die', *morte* 'death', *perdere la vita* 'lose one's life';
10	LEVEL_OF_FORCE_EXERTION	*debole* 'weak', *forte* 'strong', *forza* 'strenght', *potere* 'power';
11	ACTIVITY_ONGOING	*continuare* 'continue', *mantenere* 'maintain', *proseguire* 'continue';

12	SUCCESS_OR_FAILURE	fallire 'fail.V', riuscire 'succeed', successo 'success';
13	FOOD	*alimentari* 'groceries', *alimenti* 'food', *caffè* 'coffee', *cibo* 'food', *frumento* 'wheat', *frutta* 'fruit', *latte* 'milk', *ortaggi* 'vegetables', *orzo* 'barley', *pomodoro* 'tomato';
14	PERCEPTION_ACTIVE	*ascoltare* 'listen', *guardare* 'look.V';
15	PROTECTING	*assicurare* 'ensure', *garantire* 'guarantee.V', *proteggere* 'protect', *protezione* 'protection', *tutela* 'safeguard.N', *tutelare* 'safeguard.V'.

In 2021, political confrontations on migrations are not as widely covered as they used to be in the past three years. Consequently, given the strong politicization of migration discourse, other discursive topics gain prominence, but we also see a significant drop in the number of news concerning migrations. Specifically, 2021 is the year with the lowest news coverage of migrations in the considered time span – i.e., less than 5,000 articles.[60] To give a better idea of the difference in the newsworthiness of migrations compared to previous years, the ratio between the number of headlines on migrations and the number of migrants entering Italy by sea is 1:1 in 2018-2019, while in 2021 it drops to one article for every 13 people arriving by sea (*Associazione Carta di Roma*, 2021).

A frame that in 2021 appears among the most typical ones for the first time is PERCEPTION_ACTIVE. This frame is mostly activated by the perception verbs *guardare* 'look' and *ascoltare* 'listen' and its typicality can be interpreted as a signal of the discursive foregrounding of an active search for perceptual (or, when used metaphorically, cognitive) sources of information. As exemplified in (61), the frame falls into an emerging scenario on the (ongoing change of) perspective on the migratory phenomenon. Indeed, a call for change in press migration discourse comes from journalists themselves – on this, see also example (55), from 2020: in a recent study, Arcila-Calderón and colleagues interviewed Italian, Greek and Spanish journalists, and, as they synthesize, "professionals covering this information demand more individualized and deeper coverage, giving the migrants' condition greater visibility, and giving voice to the migrants themselves, as they are the protagonists of the stories" (Arcila-Calderón et al., 2021: 24).

61. *Le ricerche svolte in epoca precedente al Covid a livello europeo e italiano mettevano in luce come le popolazioni **guardassero** ai migranti con un misto di timore e paura e, nello stesso tempo, di solidarietà.*

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[60] The corpus stops to 2021 for time constraint reasons; however, it is interesting to see how many articles are published in 2022 and 2023 at the time of writing. Browsing the source used for data collection (cf. Chapter Chapter 2), 7,525 articles are published in 2022 and 10,317 in 2023.

Research conducted in pre-Covid times at the European and Italian levels highlighted that populations **looked** at migrants with a mixed sense of fear and dread and, at the same time, solidarity. (Il Sole 24 Ore)

In 2021 we see a scenario of renewed[61] empathy towards migrants and, for the first time since 2016 (cf. 4.3), overland migratory routes – especially the so-called Balkan Trail – become relevant again. The compassionate scenario is further influenced by the Afghan crisis.[62] The burdensome conditions of people undertaking migratory routes (by sea or by land) in the attempt to reach Europe are emphasized: this is well illustrated in (62), in which the frames STIMULUS_FOCUS (*drammatiche* 'dramatic'), FOOD (*acqua* 'water' and *cibo* 'food'), and INTENTIONAL_TRAVERSING (*frontiera* 'frontier') are all activated. Additionally, the frames DEAD_OR_ALIVE and DEATH are often found in the same type of news – cf. (63), which also contains the frames INTENTIONAL_TRAVERSING (*confine* 'border') and SUCCESS_OR_FAILURE (*riesce* 'succeed') – but they are also used to represent push factors forcing people to leave their countries. This is exemplified in (63), in which we can also note a trivial juxtaposition between war victims in Syria and people who died of Covid-19 worldwide, framing the two events as comparable to each other.

62. *Temperature glaciali, mancano **acqua** e **cibo**. Donne e bambini tra i disperati. Scene **drammatiche** di migliaia di profughi in marcia verso la **frontiera** polacca dalla Bielorussia*.
    Freezing temperatures, lack of **water** and **food**. Women and children among the desperate. **Dramatic** scenes of thousands of refugees marching toward the Polish **frontier** from Belarus. (Quotidiano Nazionale)

63. *Qualche migliaio **riesce** a passare il confine, e prova a sopravvivere nella foresta a zero gradi, sfidando neve e pioggia e a volte andando incontro alla **morte***.
    A few thousand **succeed** in crossing the border, and try to survive in the forest at zero degrees, braving snow and rain and sometimes facing **death**. (Avvenire)

64. *La Siria dei 400mila **morti**. Una guerra simbolo del disordine mondiale. Il Paese è diventato il crogiolo dell'instabilità internazionale e del «risiko» mediorientale. I cinici*

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[61] Solidarity towards migrants also characterizes 2014, as described in Section 4.1.

[62] See https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/war-afghanistan (accessed on 13/09/2023).

*obbietteranno che i 400mila **morti** della guerra di Siria sono ormai poca cosa rispetto ai 2 milioni 600mila **morti** (oltre centomila in Italia) mietuti dal Covid in un solo anno.*
The 400,000-**dead** Syria. A war symbolizing the global turmoil. The country has become the melting pot of international instability and Middle East «Risk». Cynics will object that the 400,000 **dead** of the Syrian war are now a minor thing compared to the 2 million 600 thousand **dead** (over a hundred thousand in Italy) reaped by Covid in a single year. (Il Giornale)

Hence, in 2021 Italian press addresses living conditions of the primary actors of migrations at different stages of their routes. For instance, the frame PROTECTING (aside from being activated within the expression *dispositivi di protezione* 'protective equipment', as it was in 2020; cf. 4.7) is found in news about the (lack of) respect of human rights (65), but it is also employed in the context of foreigners' labor exploitation (66). Already registered in 2020, newsworthiness of working conditions of exploited foreign workers and actions for their regularization is further testified by the presence of EMPLOYING among the most typical frames of 2021 (see (67)).

65. *È fondamentale che tutti gli Stati, che siano Paesi di accoglienza e di transito, o Paesi d'origine, adottino misure per **garantire** che i rifugiati e i migranti siano trattati nel rispetto della loro sicurezza e dignità.*
It is essential that all countries, whether they are welcoming and transit countries, or countries of origin, take measures to **ensure** that refugees and migrants are treated respecting their safety and dignity. (Il Secolo XIX)

66. *Strettamente legata è «l'adozione di un sistema di misure volte ad **assicurare** la **protezione** e la prima assistenza delle vittime dello sfruttamento» non solo per*

«incentivare e premiare la denuncia, ma anche per organizzare servizi sociali in grado di assistere i lavoratori».

Closely related is «the adoption of a system of measures aimed at **ensuring protection** and first assistance for victims of exploitation» not only to «incentivize and reward reporting, but also to organize social services that can assist workers». (Avvenire)

67. *Un primo passo è stato quindi compiuto, in attesa di una soluzione definitiva per questi **lavoratori**, fondamentali per il sistema economico dell'area e da più di venti anni in condizioni di vita precarie e indegne.*

    A first step has thus been taken, pending a final solution for these **workers**, who are crucial to the area's economic system and have been in precarious and unworthy living conditions for more than twenty years. (Avvenire)

At the international level, in 2021 political confrontations are not as discursively prominent as they had been since 2017 (cf. 4.4). More than reporting on political declarations on migration policies, Italian press is concerned with assessing the relative stability of migrants' precarious conditions in various international settings (cf. the frame ACTIVITY_ONGOING in (68)), as well as with ongoing and prospective actions for international cooperation, as registered by the typicality of COLLABORATION. The prominence of this frame for this year also depends on press coverage of the Afghan crisis: shortly after the Taliban took control of the Afghan capital, Italy opened special humanitarian corridors for its *collaboratori* 'cooperators', an action that was widely reported on, as in (69).

68. *Di fronte a questo problema, che vuol dire un cimitero di morti sempre aperto (dal bombardamento in Siria al barcone rovesciato che ha chiamato tutti i porti del mare senza risposta), l'Europa, che vuol dire l'Italia e tutto il resto dell'Unione, ha adottato una decisione che sarà studiata a scuola come esempio di "errore a grappolo", ovvero errore che **continua** a produrre errori.*

    Confronted with this problem, which means an ever-open graveyard of dead (from the bombing in Syria to the capsized barge that called all ports across the sea with no response), Europe, which means Italy and all the rest of the Union, took a decision that

will be studied in schools as an example of "cluster mistake", that is, mistake that **keeps** producing mistakes. (il Fatto Quotidiano)

69. *Gli afghani arrivati a Fiumicino sono spesso **collaboratori** dello Stato italiano da anni, numerosi con un'istruzione superiore, famiglie al completo.*
   Afghans who arrived at Fiumicino are often longtime **collaborators** for the Italian state, many with higher education, whole families. (Il Sole 24 Ore)

If, on the one hand, we note lesser politicization of migration news and increased empathy towards migrants, on the other hand among typical frames of 2021 we find DEFENDING (activated by *difendere* 'defend' and *difesa* 'defense') and PART_WHOLE (most commonly activated by *parte* 'part'). Both frames were also typical of 2019 (see 4.6) and, together with LEVEL_OF_FORCE_EXERTION (exemplified in (70)), they reflect the discursive portrayal of polarized viewpoints of social and political actors expressing conflicting interests. The prominence of these frames can be interpreted as a signal of the political consolidation of far-right parties in Italy, like future prime minister Giorgia Meloni's Fratelli d'Italia.[63]

70. *«La partecipazione a questo importante forum rafforza il ruolo internazionale di Giorgia Meloni: […] gli incontri con i primi ministri Jansa e Morawiecki, che fanno seguito a quello con Orban, confermano il nostro protagonismo nella costruzione di una più **forte** alternativa alla sinistra in Europa».*
   «Participation in this important forum reinforces Giorgia Meloni's international role: [...] the meetings with Prime Ministers Jansa and Morawiecki, which follow the one with Orban, confirm our leading role in building an alternative **stronger** than the left in Europe». (Libero)

Finally, following a discursive topic initiated in 2019, in 2021 Italian press follows further steps in the legal prosecution of Matteo Salvini for the Open Arms and Gregoretti cases: this year, the most common activators of the frame TRIAL are *processo* 'trial' and *giudizio* 'judgement'.

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[63] See the political analysis provided here: https://www.agi.it/politica/news/2021-12-31/sondaggi-media-partiti-anno-2021-15070830/ (accessed on 12/09/2023).

Chapter 5. Analysis of typical frames across sub-corpora individuated through manual mark-up

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of the most typical frames for each section of the corpus as individuated through manual mark-up (cf. Chapter Chapter 2). The following sections deal with frames characterizing sub-corpora according to political and religious orientation of news providers (5.1), their territorial diffusion (5.2), and periodicity (5.3).

Before delving into the analysis, it is worth recalling the quantitative composition of the corpus. The vast majority of the corpus (~ 96%) is constituted by daily news articles and the same proportion is roughly maintained in all sub-corpora, meaning that the greatest share of articles therein included is represented by daily news. For example, the corpus contains 82,578 news articles from national press, 78,665 of which (95%) from daily newspapers. As regards the parameter of territorial diffusion, a slightly lower, yet considerable, portion of articles in the corpus belong to national newspapers (~ 82%), whose presence in other sub-corpora is more variable: the proportion of articles from national press range from 67% in non-partisan providers to 98% in Christian ones. Finally, the share of articles by newspapers of different ideological positioning is more balanced and even more variable across other sub-corpora: articles from left-wing, non-partisan, and right-wing newspapers each represent ~ 30% of the corpus, while ~ 10% belong to Christian newspapers. Despite any overlaps between sub-corpora defined through different parameters, the analysis of typical frames remains informative within each parameter. In fact, typicality of frames in each sub-corpus is assessed against sub-corpora individuated within the same parameter: for each parameter – i.e., ideological orientation, territorial diffusion, and periodicity – frame frequency in a sub-corpus is weighted against its frequency in the remaining of the corpus.

As detailed in the introductory section of the previous chapter, the 15 most typical frames of each sub-corpus are provided together with their most frequent lexical activators.

5.1. Typical frames by ideological orientation of newspapers

This section is devoted to comparing frames that are typical of newspapers with different ideological orientations, identified according to their political and religious positioning. As anticipated in the methodological chapter (Section 2.2.1), political and religious positioning are not fully independent to each other: almost all religious news providers in the sample are also politically non-partisan. Given this constraint, the following analysis unfolds in four sections, namely: left-winged (non-religious), non-partisan (non-religious), Christian (non-partisan), and right-winged (non-religious).

Tables 18 to 21 show the top 15 highest ranked frames according to their FF-ICF score for political and religious orientation of news providers. For each frame, in the third column are reported its most frequent lexical activator, ordered alphabetically.

5.1.1. Left-wing

Table 18. Typical frames of left-wing, non-religious news providers.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	COLOR	*bianco* 'white', *blu* 'blue', *colore* 'color', *nero* 'black', *rosso* 'red', *verde* 'green';
2	PERCEPTION_EXPERIENCE	*sentire* 'hear', *vedere* 'see';
3	MOTION	*andare* 'go', *muoversi* 'move';
4	EXPERIENCER_FOCUS	*amare* 'love.V', *odio* 'hate.N', *paura* 'fear.N', *piacere* 'like.V', *temere* 'fear.V', *timore* 'concern.N';
5	SELF_MOTION	*camminare* 'walk.V', *corsa* 'run.N', *marcia* 'march.N', *passo* 'step.N';
6	BUILDING_SUBPARTS	*appartamento* 'flat', *aula* '(class)room', *bagno* 'bathroom', *camera* '(bed)room', *cortile* 'courtyard', *cucina* 'kitchen', *mensa* 'canteen', *piano* 'floor', *sala* 'room, hall', *stanza* 'room', *ufficio* 'office';
7	DEPARTING	*lasciare* 'leave', *partire* 'leave', *uscire* 'exit';
8	NON-GRADABLE_PROXIMITY	*davanti* 'in front of', *di fronte* 'opposite', *dietro* 'behind', *sotto* 'under', *in*, *accanto* 'beside';
9	TRAVERSING	*attraversare* 'cross.V', *passare* 'pass.V', *percorso* 'path', *solcare* 'sail', *transitare* 'transit.V', *traversata* 'crossing', *varcare* 'cross.V';
10	PERSONAL_RELATIONSHIP	*amico* 'friend', *coppia* 'couple', *marito* 'husband', *moglie* 'wife';
11	HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER	*battaglia* 'battle.N', *combattere* 'fight.V', *conflitto* 'conflict', *guerra* 'war', *lotta* 'fight.N', *scontrarsi* 'clash.V', *scontro* 'clash.N';
12	SIMILARITY	*differenza* 'difference', *diverso* 'different', *simile* 'similar', *somigliare* 'resemble', *uguale* 'same, equal';
13	BEING_EMPLOYED	*lavorare* 'work.V', lavoro 'work.N';
14	BRINGING	*portare* 'take', *riportare* 'take back', *trasportare* 'carry';
15	CLOTHING	*abiti* 'clothes', *camicia* 'shirt', *giacca* 'jacket', *maglia* 'shirt', *maglietta* 'T-shirt', *scarpe* 'shoes', *vestiti* 'clothes'.

The analysis of frames that distinguish left-wing (non-religious) press from news sources of other ideological positioning shows several indicators of its tendency to focus on relatable details and personal experiences. For example, typical of this sub-corpus is the humanizing frame

PERSONAL_RELATIONSHIP: activated in instances such as (71), this frame serves for making migrants relatable, highlighting their personal stories and connections with other people. Relatedly, the frame BUILDING_SUBPARTS – also typical of 2014 (cf. 4.1) and activated by lexemes such as *appartamento* 'flat', *bagno* 'bathroom', *cortile* 'courtyard', *cucina* 'kitchen', *mensa* 'canteen', and *stanza* 'room') constructs images of everyday life in which news stories are situated.

71. *Sono stati alcuni di loro a rivelare che nella stiva c'erano altre persone, i loro **amici**, i loro familiari.*

It was some of them who revealed that there were other people in the hold, their **friends**, their family members. (La Repubblica)

The most typical frame of this sub-corpus is COLOR, which is not only activated in texts about skin color, but also when referring to any color term. The frequent use of color terms highlights a discursive strategy in which the events reported are vividly detailed, assumably with the purpose of fostering their emotionally touching depiction. The excerpt in (72), for example, is taken from a report about the conviction of a man who murdered a woman and her son: a strong emotional hook in the news story is the identity of the key witness, the son of the convicted, with his description of his father's blood-stained shirt.

72. *Il piccolo oggi usa immagini prese in prestito da un libro - vista l'età, probabilmente a fumetti – per ricordare come il padre fosse uscito da quella casa, «con la camicia sporca di un **colore rosso** come il sangue della tigre», come è scritto nell'ordinanza di convalida del fermo firmata dal gip Elisabetta Meyer.*

The little boy today uses images borrowed from a book - given his age, probably a comic book - to recall how his father walked out of that house, «with his shirt stained with a **color** as **red** as tiger's blood», as it is written in the order validating the detention signed by Judge Elisabetta Meyer. (La Repubblica)

The dramatic tones of left-wing press are further attested by the high typicality of the frame EXPERIENCER_FOCUS, whose main activators are *paura* 'fear.N' and *temere* 'fear.V'. The frame is activated in articles recounting troublesome experiences of individual migrants, where we also see the frame PERCEPTION_EXPERIENCE, activated in (73) by *hanno visto* 'have seen', used in metaphorical sense. Similarly, an up close and humanizing narration of the migratory experience is constructed through the frame CLOTHING (cf. 74), which is also found in articles about charity collection and distribution of basic commodities. Additionally, the frame EXPERIENCER_FOCUS is activated in news reflecting what can be

identified as the "*topos* of burden" (Hart 2010: 67),[64] i.e., that "the out-group need to be supported by the in-group". In these articles, the focus is on the concerns of hosting countries for the need to provide for migrants, who, in such cases, are represented as an abstract, homogeneous category.

73. *E poi le madri e i padri con bambini piccoli o adolescenti che **hanno visto** franare progetti scolastici, sportivi, educativi sui quali avevano investito molto.*
And then the mothers and fathers with young children or teenagers who **have seen** school, sports, and educational projects in which they had invested so much come crashing down. (La Stampa)

74. *Poi l'operatrice dell'hotspot di Pozzallo prende tutti con sé e si allontano verso il centro: "Ora una bella doccia", dice a ragazzi e bambini, dai **vestiti** logori e sporchi.*
Then the Pozzallo hotspot worker takes everyone with her and they walk away toward the center: "Now let's take a good shower", she says to the boys and children, whose **clothes** are worn and dirty. (il Fatto Quotidiano)

Interestingly, among the most typical frames of left-wing press appears SIMILARITY, which is mainly activated by the adjective *diverso* 'different', especially in its plural forms.[65] The presence of this frame shows that left-wing press does not only focus on the mutual differences between immigrants and the Italian in-group, but it also deals with the internal complexity of the category of migrants, contrarily to the observed tendency to treat them as a homogeneous group, which is a dehumanizing form of representation (as noted, for instance, by Coschignano & Zanchi, 2023: 67). SIMILARITY is often found in news with a positive attitude towards migrants, as we see in (75).

75. *"Musica insieme", questo il titolo del concerto, racconterà come sia fruttuoso incontrare storie e culture **diverse** dalla nostra e come la musica si proponga quale linguaggio universale, capace di parlare con i cuori e con le teste di tutti.*
"Music Together", this is the title of the concert, will recount how fruitful it is to meet stories and cultures **different** from our own, and how music stands as a universal language, capable of speaking to the hearts and minds of everyone. (La Stampa)

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[64] Social *topoi* can be defined as "standard argumentation schemas which represent the common-sense reasoning typical for specific issues in the public space" (Cap, 2013: 34).

[65] In its plural forms *diverse/i* 'various (fem./masc. plur.)', the lexeme is also used as an indefinite quantifier.

If compared to newspapers with other ideological positionings, left-wing ones give greater attention to migrants' motion. The frame MOTION, mainly activated by *andare* 'go', is found in a variety of contexts (e.g., *andare a lavorare* 'go to work', *andare a votare* 'go vote', and, figuratively, *andare verso gli Stati Uniti d'Europa* 'go towards the United States of Europe), but, together with DEPARTING and TRAVERSING, it mainly describes motion of migrants over migratory routes, as in (76).

76. *«E abbiamo dovuto decidere in fretta cosa fare, se restare o **andare** via, e siamo partiti», racconta ora Abdul, seduto insieme a Souzan su un vecchio divano in una casa alla periferia di Tripoli, presa in affitto insieme ad altre tre famiglie di profughi siriani.*
«And we had to decide quickly what to do, whether to stay or **go**, and we left» recounts Abdul now, sitting with Souzan on an old sofa in a house on the outskirts of Tripoli, rented with three other Syrian refugee families. (Il Manifesto)

Furthermore, within the scenario of migrants' motion we find BRINGING, activated by *portare* 'take', *riportare* 'take back' and *trasportare* 'carry'. When this frame is not used metaphorically (as in *portare un tema al tavolo delle negoziazioni* 'to bring a topic to the negotiation table'), its event participants are usually migrants, who take the semantic role of Theme. In such cases, the frame does not highlight migrants' active participation in their journeys, but rather their lack of control over their own motion and/or destination, which are managed by others (cf. 77). Lastly, NON-GRADABLE_PROXIMITY, whose most frequent activator is *davanti* 'in front of', is used to spatially locate the reported events. In particular, the frame is an indicator of the attention dedicated to migratory routes across the Mediterranean, since it is especially found in the expression *davanti alle coste/alla costa* 'in front of the coast/coasts', usually Italian of Libyan.

77. *Hanno preso me e altre cinquanta persone con la forza e ci hanno **portato** in un capannone dove siamo rimasti per settimane.*
They forcibly took me and fifty other people and **took** us to a warehouse where we stood for weeks. (L'Espresso)

The frame HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER is mainly activated by the lexeme *guerra* 'war' and it is found in news dealing with conflicts as push factors for migrations. Additionally, the frame is activated by *lotta* 'fight', used metaphorically to refer to institutional actions or intents involving issues with varying degrees of abstractness (e.g. *lotta per la libertà/alla povertà/per l'accoglienza/all'immigrazione*

illegale/ai trafficanti di esseri umani 'fight for freedom/against poverty/for hospitality/against illegal immigration/against human traffickers).

SELF_MOTION is most commonly activated by *marcia* 'march.N', which is mostly used in its literal sense in reports about public demonstrations of solidarity (e.g., *marcia per l'accoglienza* 'march for hospitality') and, figuratively, in the context of political negotiations (as in *fare marcia indietro* 'back off').

Work performed by foreigners is captured in the frame BEING_EMPLOYED, which is found in articles whose focus is either exploitation of foreign workers (78) or their participation in the civil society (79).

78. *Le tende blu della Protezione civile sono raddoppiate nel tempo, con nuove baracche costruite per contenere le centinaia di migranti che nella Piana di Gioia Tauro **lavorano** nei campi per pochi euro al giorno*.

    Over time, Civil Defense's blue tents have doubled in number, with new shacks built to contain the hundreds of migrants in the Gioia Tauro Plain who **work** in the fields for a few euros a day. (L'unità)

79. *Molti bengalesi hanno cominciato a **lavorare** nel cantiere navale di Monfalcone per investire sul futuro dei propri figli*.

    Many Bengalis started **working** in the Monfalcone shipyard to invest in their children's future. (Il Piccolo)

5.1.2. Non-partisan

Table 19. Typical frames of non-partisan, non-religious news providers.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	PROJECT	*piano* 'plan', *progetto* 'project', *programma* 'program';
2	DECIDING	*decidere* 'decide', *decisione* 'decision', *scelta* 'choice';
3	BEING_NECESSARY	*necessario* 'necessary', *necessità* 'necessity';
4	FAMILIARITY	*conoscere* 'know', *nuovo* 'new';
5	LOCATING	*trovare* 'find';
6	COMPLIANCE	*aderire* 'adhere', *rispettare* 'respect.V', *rispetto* 'respect.N', *violare* 'violate', *violazione* 'violation';

7	PARTICIPATION	*coinvolgere* 'involve', *coinvolgimento* 'involvement', *impegnarsi* 'commit', *partecipare* 'participate', *partecipazione* 'participation';
8	BUSINESSES	*azienda* 'business', *business, cooperativa* 'cooperative', *imprenditore* 'enterpreneur', *impresa* 'enterprise', *società* 'company';
9	BEING_EMPLOYED	*lavorare* 'work.V', lavoro 'work.N';
10	INTENTIONALLY_CREATE	*creare* 'create', *creazione* 'creation', *fondare* 'found', *istituire* 'institute.V', *realizzare* 'make', *realizzazione* 'making';
11	PURPOSE	*intendere* 'intend', *intenzione* 'intention', *obiettivo* 'goal', *scopo* 'purpose';
12	DURATION_DESCRIPTION	*breve* 'brief', *durata* 'duration', *lungo* 'long.Adj', *temporaneo* 'temporary';
13	DIFFICULTY	*difficile* 'difficult', *difficoltà* 'difficulty', *facile* 'easy', *impossibile* 'impossible', *semplice* 'simple', *complicato* 'complex';
14	TYPE	*forma* 'form.N', *genere* 'kind', *sorta* 'sort.N', *tipo* 'type.N';
15	DOCUMENTS	*contratto* 'contract.N', *documento* 'document.N', *passaporto* 'passport', *permesso* 'permit.N', *trattato* 'treaty'.

This section deals with frames that differentiate non-partisan (non-religious) newspapers from newspapers with other ideological stance. What characterizes this sub-corpus is the attention devoted to immigration and integration policies: compared to left-wing press, the orientation expressed towards migrants is also positive (or neutral), but the migratory phenomenon is portrayed from a greater distance and with a higher degree of abstraction from its primary actors. In other words, the narration of non-partisan non-religious press deals with actions performed for migrants' benefit, but the point of view of individuals themselves is less commonly taken if compared to left-wing press. In (80), for example, the frame PROJECT is activated in the context of a series of activities run for migrants "growth and inclusion", but in which they are portrayed as passive beneficiaries rather than active participants.

80. *«Il **progetto** è centrato sui bambini, i soggetti più vulnerabili, ma attraverso loro arriviamo anche ai genitori e promuoviamo così un processo generale di crescita e inclusione».*

«The project focuses on children, the most vulnerable, but through them we also reach parents and thus promote an overall process of growth and inclusion». (Corriere della Sera)

More generally, attention to immigration policies is testified by a group of frames typical of this sub-corpus: beside PROJECT, we find DECIDING (activated by *decidere* 'decide', *decisione* 'decision', and *scelta* 'choice'), PURPOSE (*intendere* 'intend', *intenzione* 'intention', *obiettivo* 'goal', and *scopo* 'purpose'), PARTICIPATION, and INTENTIONALLY_CREATE (the latter two are exemplified in (81)). These frames are rarely activated in contexts in which migrants are active participants, creators, or decision-makers: on the contrary, they are commonly found in news reporting on actions performed by political subjects and institutions.

81. *Tre aree pubbliche saranno messe entro ottobre a bando per la **realizzazione** di luoghi di culto. Potranno **partecipare** alla gara solo soggetti iscritti all'Albo delle religioni, e dovranno sottoscrivere un «Patto» con l'amministrazione fondato sul rispetto della Costituzione.*

By October, three public spaces will be put up for bids to **build** places of worship. Only subjects registered in the Register of Religions will be able to **participate** in the call for bids, and they will have to subscribe with the administration a " Pact" grounded on respecting the Constitution. (Corriere della Sera)

Furthermore, prominence of the topic of foreign labor in non-partisan non-religious newspapers is testified by the high typicality of two frames: BUSINESSES – activated by *azienda* 'business', *business, cooperativa* 'cooperative', *imprenditore* 'enterpreneur', *impresa* 'enterprise', and *società* 'company' – and BEING_EMPLOYED – *lavorare* 'work.V', lavoro 'work.N'. If compared with left-wing press, which is more focused on recounting foreign labor from the perspective of people's working conditions (see 5.1.1), non-partisan non-religious press deals with the topic from a variety of angles. For instance, both frames appear in reports criticizing the stereotype according to which foreign people (i.e., "they", the out-group) would "steal our jobs" (i.e., "us", Italians, the in-group) and, consequently, deconstructing the narration that sees immigrants as social antagonists of Italians (cf. (82)). In addition, a part of the articles containing the frames BUSINESSES and BEING_EMPLOYED deals with jobs – often precarious and undocumented – held by people with migratory background and/or with

institutional actions for their regularization. As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, the latter topics emerged as distinctive of 2020 and 2021 (see Sections 4.7 and 4.8), but they characterize the non-partisan non-religious sub-corpus along the whole considered time span (2014-2021). The excerpt in (83), for example, is from a news report of 2014.

82. *Quanto a chi pensa che gli stranieri «rubino il **lavoro** agli italiani», Ianeselli risponde: «Non si rendono conto che il mercato del **lavoro** è internazionale».*

    As for those who think foreigners are «stealing **jobs** from Italians», Ianeselli replies: «They don't realize that the **labor** market is international». (Corriere del Trentino)

83. *Da allora hanno dovuto vivere alla giornata, con **lavori** saltuari come badanti, braccianti, soprattutto nel Foggiano; c'è chi ha una bancarella, chi **lavora** in qualche locale come lavapiatti con paghe irrisorie, due o tre euro l'ora.*

    Since then they have had to live by the day, with occasional **jobs** as caregivers, farm workers, especially in the Foggia area; some have a market stall, some **work** at some clubs as dishwashers with derisory wages, two or three euros per hour. (Corriere del Mezzogiorno)

Typicality of some frames depends on their use in multiple newsworthy topics. For instance, analogously to what observed for 2018 and 2019 (cf. Sections 4.5 and 4.6), the frame COMPLIANCE is found both in news concerned with violation of human rights and in articles on (non-)compliance to international agreements. Similarly, BEING_NECESSARY (*necessario* 'necessary', *necessità* 'necessity') is activated either with reference to migrants' necessities, or when reporting on the need for effective migratory policies. Another ambivalent frame is DOCUMENTS: it appears in news reporting on the regular/irregular status of migrants (for example, referring to their passports and residence permits), but also with reference to administrative proceedings and to the outputs of political negotiations (as in (84), in which COMPLIANCE is also exemplified). To this miscellaneous category also belongs the frame MEASURE_DURATION (most frequently activated by *lungo* 'long'), which is activated in news referring on the duration of residence permits, the length of migratory journeys and the scope (i.e., *a lungo termine* 'long-term') of migration policies.

84. *Ma se la situazione dovesse precipitare, gli austriaci non esiterebbero già a maggio, giugno prossimi a militarizzare le frontiere. Il ministro dell'interno austriaco lo ha comunicato al ministro Alfano, anche se alla fine dell'incontro la firma congiunta del*

*documento finale è stata come la sigla di una tregua a partire dal **rispetto** dell'accordo di Schengen*.

But if the situation should precipitate, the Austrians would not hesitate as early as next May-June to militarize the borders. The Austrian interior minister told this to Minister Alfano, although at the end of the meeting the joint signing of the final **document** was like the signing of a truce beginning with **compliance** to the Schengen Agreement. (Il Mattino)

Surprisingly, on the other hand, the frame DIFFICULTY is almost exclusively used with reference to political and administrative complications, while it rarely refers to migrants' experiences. DIFFICULTY is exemplified in (85) together with LOCATING (activated by *trovare* 'to find'), which, similarly, is found in news reporting on the search for adequate resolutions.

85. *A conferma della visione espressa da Moavero, anche le parole dell'Alto rappresentante Ue, Federica Mogherini: «Ho registrato un forte impegno da parte degli Stati membri ad andare avanti con la missione e a lavorare insieme per **trovare** soluzioni pratiche sulla questione dei porti. È un lavoro **difficile**, ma sono ottimista che potremo **trovare** soluzioni nelle prossime settimane».*

Also corroborating the vision expressed by Moavero are the words of EU High Representative Federica Mogherini: «I have registered a strong commitment from member states to move forward with the mission and to work together to **find** practical solutions on the issue of ports. It is a **difficult** job, but I am optimistic that we can **find** solutions in the coming weeks». (Il Gazzettino)

Another typical frame of the non-partisan non-religious sub-corpus is TYPE. Although it is activated by less specific lexemes than other frames (i.e., *forma* 'form.N', *genere* 'kind', *sorta* 'sort.N', and *tipo* 'type.N'), its prominence can be interpreted as a signal that politically "neutral" press is attempting, more than others, to take a broader view on the migratory phenomenon, bringing into discourse the clarification of the boundaries (i.e., the categorization) of several of the topics with which it is connected. An example of this phenomenon in given in (86), containing a comment on Italian political resolutions involving immigrants.

86. *E nulla può far escludere che una volta varate le azioni di **tipo** securitario invocate da Minniti, in un futuro ravvicinato - ma non certo a breve scadenza - il governo delinei anche un'ipotesi di emersione dei migranti dal lavoro irregolare.*

And there is nothing suggesting that once the actions of securitarian **type** invoked by Minniti are enacted, in the near future - but certainly not in the short term - the government will also outline a hypothesis of migrants' emersion from irregular employment (Il Sole 24 Ore)

Routinization and stability of discursive topics are testified by the typicality of the frame FAMILIARITY. The use of *nuovo* 'new' as a scalar quantifier is possible because the corresponding previous entities (may they be arrivals, debates, or resolutions, as in (87)) are assumed to be an active part of readers' background knowledge. This use has also been observed in an of newspaper headlines on migrations (see Coschignano and Zanchi, 2023; Coschignano et al., 2023).

87. *Ma soprattutto sarà importante il sostegno che da Parigi i quattro leader europei daranno per la stabilizzazione della Libia di Serraj. […] Una linea che ieri ha fatto un **nuovo** passo in avanti con l'incontro organizzato dal ministro dell'Interno Marco Minniti al Viminale con i sindaci delle comunità libiche.*

But above all, the support from Paris that the four European leaders will give for the stabilization of Serraj's Libya will be important. [...] A route that took a **new** step forward yesterday with the meeting organized by Interior Minister Marco Minniti at the Viminale with the mayors of Libyan communities. (Il Messaggero)

5.1.3. Christian

Table 20. Typical frames of non-partisan religious news providers.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	RESCUING	*salvare* 'rescue.V', *salvataggio* 'rescue.N';
2	COTHEME	*accompagnare* 'accompany', *condurre* 'conduct.V';
3	EMPLOYING	*dipendente* 'employee', *impiegato* 'employee', *lavoratore* 'worker', *operatore* 'operator', *staff*;
4	PROPORTIONAL_QUANTITY	*alcuni/e* 'some (masc./fem. plur.), *almeno* 'at least', *circa* 'about', *oltre* 'over', *quasi* 'almost';
5	SYSTEM	*circuito* 'network', *meccanismo* 'mechanism', *sistema* 'system';

6	PARTICIPATION	*coinvolgere* 'involve', *coinvolgimento* 'involvement', *impegnarsi* 'engage', *partecipare* 'participate', *partecipazione* 'participation';
7	COLLABORATION	*collaborare* 'collaborate', *collaboratore* 'collaborator', *collaborazione* 'collaboration', *cooperazione* 'cooperation', *insieme* 'together', *partner*;
8	ORGANIZATION	*associazione* 'association', *ente* 'body', *istituzione* 'institution', *ong* 'ngo', *organizzazione* 'organization';
9	DEATH	*morire* 'die', *morte* 'death', *perdere la vita* 'lose one's life';
10	DEAD_OR_ALIVE	*morto* 'dead', *sopravvivere* 'survive', *vita* 'life';
11	PRESENCE	*presente* 'present', *presenza* 'presence', *assente* 'absent', *assenza* 'absence';
12	RELATIONAL_NATURAL_FEATURES	
13	CATASTROPHE	*crisi* 'crisis', *dramma* 'tragedy', *naufragio* 'shipwreck', *tragedia* 'tragedy', *vittima* 'victim';
14	APPELLATIONS	*don* 'Father', *monsignor* 'Monsignor', *padre* 'Father', *papa* 'Pope', *suor* 'Sister';
15	PROTECTING	*garantire*, 'grant.V' *proteggere* 'protect', protezione 'protection', tutela 'safeguard.N', tutelare 'safeguard.V';

This section is devoted to the analysis of frames characterizing Italian non-partisan religious press. As specified in the methodological Chapter (Section 2.2.1), religious news providers in the corpus are all of Christian inspiration. On this premise, for the sake of clarity, from now on the non-partisan religious sub-corpus will be referred to as Christian.

Following appeals from pope Francis, Christian environments promote the so-called *cultura dell'incontro* "culture of encounter", which advocates for the promotion of intercultural and interreligious dialogue.[66] In spite of this, what emerges from the analysis of typical frames of Christian press is often a monodirectional communication: in most of the events reported through the 15 top typical frames, migrants do not take an active role, but they are rather undergoers of charitable actions performed for them. Specifically, the attention devoted to associations involved in the receptive system is testified by the typicality of the frames ORGANIZATION and SYSTEM. In addition, among typical frames of this sub-corpus we expectedly find APPELLATIONS, which is activated by epithets such as *don* 'Father', *monsignor* 'Monsignor', *padre* 'Father', *papa* 'Pope', and *suor* 'Sister', that usually accompany the name members of the clergy.

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[66] See, for example, https://www.osservatoreromano.va/it/news/2021-11/quo-251/cultura-dell-incontro.html (accessed on 22/09/2023).

In some news, however, migrants do appear as active event participants. This is mainly observed in articles reporting on activities administered by local associations, such as refugee centers – as in (88), in which the frame COLLABORATION is activated – while initiatives of participation to the civil society fully taken by people with migratory background are rarely found. The latter case is exemplified in (89), which contains the frames PARTICIPATION (activated by *ha partecipato* 'partecipated') and ORGANIZATION (*associazione* 'association'). Furthermore, agentivity of foreign people appears through the activation of the frame EMPLOYING, which is found in news addressing the topic of foreign labor.

88. *«In **collaborazione** con la direzione didattica del liceo, è stata organizzata una serie d'incontri, appuntamenti sportivi e musicali dove si mescoleranno i giovani migranti con i liceali».*
    «In **cooperation** with the high school's educational board, a series of meetings, sports and music events where young migrants will intermingle with high school students has been organized». (Famiglia Cristiana)

89. *L'ultimo segnale è arrivato in serata da Torino, dove Brahim Baya, a nome dell'**associazione** islamica delle Alpi, **ha partecipato** ieri al presidio contro la strage di Parigi insieme a una rappresentanza della comunità musulmana locale.*
    The latest sign came in the evening from Turin, where Brahim Baya, on behalf of the Islamic **association** of the Alps, **participated** yesterday in the garrison against the Paris massacre together with a representation of the local Muslim community. (Avvenire)

In the scenario of actions performed for migrants' benefit, we also find RESCUING (mainly activated by *salvare* 'rescue.V') – which is the most typical frame of this sub-corpus – and PROTECTING (*garantire*, 'grant.V' *proteggere* 'protect', protezione 'protection', tutela 'safeguard.N', tutelare 'safeguard.V'). In addition, Christian newspapers focus more than others on unaccompanied foreign minors: in the expression *minori stranieri non accompagnati*, the lexeme *accompagnati* activates the frame COTHEME (also typical of 2017; cf. 4.4), which is the second most typical frame in this sub-corpus.

Prominent in the Christian sub-corpus is also the frame PROPORTIONAL_QUANTITY, activated by vague quantifiers such as *alcuni/e* 'some (masc./fem. plur.), *almeno* 'at least', *circa* 'about', *oltre* 'over', and *quasi* 'almost'. This frame is found in a variety of news: from the quantification of migrants' presence in Italy (as in (90), which also contains the frame PRESENCE), to the number of people who are rescued (RESCUE), lose their lives (DEATH and DEAD_OR_ALIVE), or are stuck (cf. (91), exemplifying RELATIONAL_NATURAL_FEATURES) at different steps of their migratory routes, as well as to the number of people affected by catastrophic events in countries of emigration (CATASTROPHE).

90. *Degli **oltre** 11.300 minori stranieri non accompagnati **presenti** attualmente nel nostro Paese, inoltre, quasi 6 su 10 (59,9%) compiranno 18 anni nel corso del 2019, in molti casi già dal 1 gennaio.*

Of the **more than** 11,300 unaccompanied foreign minors currently **present** in our country, moreover, nearly 6 out of 10 (59.9%) will turn 18 during 2019, in many cases as early as January 1. (Avvenire)

91. *In totale sono **circa** quattromila i profughi bloccati sul **confine** tra Bielorussia e Polonia.*

In total, there are **about** four thousand refugees who are stuck on the **border** between Belarus and Poland. (Popotus)

The co-occurrence of PROPORTIONAL_QUANTITY with such frames testifies the attempt of Christian press to proximize migrations: mentioning the high number of people involved in an event, especially if this is life-threatening, is a strategy employed to move the feelings of news readers (cf. Ungerer, 1997). However, it has been observed that, especially when reporting on events that involve many people, the use of quantifiers shifts the focus of the information away from real people and their life stories (cf. Santa Ana, 2002; Lazović, 2017, 2021). This communicative choice presents people who are individually involved in the reported events as an indistinct mass and can trigger a sense of detachment – rather than empathetic proximity – in news readers.

5.1.4. Right-wing

Table 21. Typical frames of right-wing, non-religious news providers.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	ARREST	*arrestare* 'arrest.V', *arresto* 'arrest.N', *fermare* 'arrest';
2	MONEY	*denaro* 'money', *euro*, *fondi* 'funds', *soldi* 'money';
3	PEOPLE_ALONG_POLITICAL_SPECTRUM	*centrodestra* 'center-right', *centrosinistra* 'center-left', *destra* 'right', *sinistra* 'left';
4	GIVE_IMPRESSION	*apparire* 'appear', *parere.V* 'appear', *risultare* 'result.V', *sembrare* 'seem';
5	TAKING_SIDES	*appoggiare* 'endorse', *contrario* 'against', *contro* 'against', *favorevole* 'supportive', *opporsi* 'oppose', *sostenere* 'support';
6	TERRORISM	*islamista* 'Islamist', *jihadista* 'jihadist', *terrorismo* 'terrorism', *terrorista* 'terrorist', *terroristico* 'terroristic';
7	PEOPLE_BY_JURISDICTION	*cittadinanza* 'citizenship', *cittadino* 'citizen';

8	INSTANCE	*caso* 'case', *esempio* 'example';
9	JUDGMENT_COMMUNICATION	*accusa* 'accusation', *accusare* 'accuse', *condanna* 'conviction', *condannare* 'convict', *denuncia* 'report.N', *denunciare* 'report.V';
10	ATTACK	*aggredire* 'assault.V', *attaccare* 'attack.V', *attacco* 'attack.N', *attentato* 'attack.N', *colpire* 'hit.V';
11	REMOVING	*cancellare* 'cancel', *eliminare* 'eliminate', *espellere* 'expel', *togliere* 'remove';
12	PLACING	*collocare* 'place.V', *inserire* 'insert', *mettere* 'put', *sistemare* 'arrange';
13	PREDICAMENT	*difficoltà* 'difficulty', *problema* 'problem';
14	PEOPLE_BY_VOCATION	*agente* 'agent', *avvocato* 'attorney', *carabiniere* 'Carabiniere', *giudice* 'judge', *magistrato* 'magistrate', *poliziotto* 'policeman';
15	STIMULUS_FOCUS	*incredibile* 'incredible', *impressionante* 'shocking', *inquietante* 'disturbing', *preoccupante* 'alarming', *terribile* 'terrible';

This section is dedicated to the analysis of frames characterizing right-wing (non-religious) newspapers. With respect to providers with different political orientation, right-wing ones focus more on the problematic aspects of immigration: notably, this is the only sub-corpus in which PREDICAMENT – almost exclusively activated by *problema* 'problem' – appears among the most typical frames.

In addition, a tendency of shedding a negative light on migrants is observed in this sub-corpus: its most typical frame is ARREST, but we also find TERRORISM, and ATTACK. The prominence of these frames signals that in right-wing newspapers the topic of migrations is intertwined with criminality and danger. On the one hand, as a consequence of their criminalization – i.e., their discursive portrayal as actors of criminal offences – this is the sub-corpus in which migrants' agentivity emerges the most. On the other hand, right-wing press also gives prominence to other social actors involved in the judicial system, as testified by the typicality of the frames JUDGMENT_COMMUNICATION and PEOPLE_BY_VOCATION. The framing of matters related to migrations within the judicial system is further testified by the typicality of the frame INSTANCE, whose most frequent activator is *caso* 'case' (cf. (92)). Note also the vague attribution of migrants' responsibility – or, rather, their deceitful blaming – in the expression *si sono fatti strumentalizzare* 'allowed themselves to be exploited'.

Given the peculiar time span covered in the corpus, it must be considered that *caso* is often used with reference to instances of contagion from Covid-19. However, the interpretation according to which the typicality of the frame INSTANCE should be viewed within the described judiciary scenario is suggested by the absence of other frames recalling a medical scenario (as observed for 2020; cf. 4.7).

92. *141 migranti si sono fatti strumentalizzare dai soliti noti della politica che ha favorito il business dell'immigrazione. I migranti a bordo della nave Diciotti: un **caso** che tenne il Paese sospeso in un braccio di ferro con l'Europa per molti giorni e che fece esplodere forti polemiche.*

141 migrants allowed themselves to be exploited by the usual political insiders who favored the immigration business. The migrants aboard the Diciotti ship: a **case** that kept the country suspended in a tug-of-war with Europe for many days and set off strong controversies. QN (Quotidiano Nazionale)

In the same scenario concerned with criminality and justice are news reports on (factual or alleged) irregularities and inequalities in the welcoming system, with particular attention to fraudulent allocation of public resources. Such reports, often employing sensationalistic tones – cf. also typicality of STIMULUS_FOCUS, activated by *incredibile* 'incredible'*, impressionante* 'shocking'*, inquietante* 'disturbing'*, preoccupante* 'alarming'*,* and *terribile* 'terrible' –, are concerned with deceitful actions undertaken by either foreign people or Italians (especially non-right-wing politicians), who are discursively constructed as social antagonists to other Italians. For instance, (93) and (94) show two different contexts of activation of the frame MONEY. The excerpt in (93) is taken from an article reporting on investigations on illegitimate allocations of *reddito di cittadinanza* 'citizenship income':[67] note the reference to a foreign person among the so-called *furbetti* 'scoundrels', a term commonly used to refer to people who behave fraudulently by violating or circumventing rules.[68] In (94), the use of the term *pacchia* 'good time(s)' falls within the rhetoric according to which some people (typically foreigners) unjustly take advantage of the Italian welfare system. The antagonists are both foreigners and a political part generically referred to as *la sinistra* 'the left' (derogatorily described as "chic"). Interestingly, *sinistra* 'left' is the most common activator of the PEOPLE_ALONG_POLITICAL_SPECTRUM, ranking third among the most typical of the right-wing sub-corpus.

93. *Tra i furbetti c'era anche uno straniero che, forse con quei **soldi**, aveva acquistato hashish destinato allo spaccio.*

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[67] The citizenship income (2019-2023) has been an Italian social welfare measure that established the conditional provision of a minimum income; cf. https://www.redditodicittadinanza.gov.it/schede/dettaglio (accessed on 02/10/2023).

[68] Cf. the definition of *furbetto* in Treccani: https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/furbetto/ (accessed on 02/10/2023).

Among the scoundrels was a foreigner who, perhaps with that **money**, had purchased hashish for dealing. (La Verità)

94. *La pacchia non finisce mai. 3 milioni alla sinistra chic e più **soldi** a ogni migrante. La diaria aumenterà a 30-35 **euro** al giorno.*

   The good time never ends. 3 million to the chic left and more **money** to every migrant. The daily allowance will increase to 30-35 **euros** per day. (Il Giornale)

It has already been observed that right-wing political rhetoric draws on the *ad hoc* creation of antagonists for political interests (in the present work, see the analysis of the political slogan *Prima gli italiani!* 'Italians first!' in Section 4.5 and the comment of example (42) in Section 4.6; in previous works, see, for example, Filippi, 2021; Pietrandrea & Battaglia, 2022; Barotto & Zanchi, 2023; Combei & Reggi, 2023). The prominence of the frame TAKING_SIDES in this sub-corpus shows that the in-group vs. out-group rhetoric found in right-wing political discourse is also present in press discourse of the same ideological orientation. The most common activator of TAKING_SIDES is *contro* 'against', which is found in different types of expressions: for example, *contro* can accompany lexemes denoting particular events (often framed as undesirable for the in-group, as in the expression *contro l'invasione dei migranti* 'against the invasion of migrants', but also simply *contro l'immigrazione* 'against immigration') or social actors (including political parties – e.g., *contro i Cinque stelle* 'against Five stars'). Interestingly, in (95) *contro* is found in a context that serves the purpose of victimizing Matteo Salvini (initially, familiarly referred to with his first name only), thus triggering compassion in the readers. Additionally, with respect to the construction of migrants as undesirable, the typicality of REMOVING (mainly activated by *espellere* 'expel') captures the discursive prominence of the topic of expulsion from Italy of immigrants in the cases provided for by law.[69]

95. *Matteo alla prova del fango. Tutti **contro** Salvini, ma l'inchiesta su Morisi zoppica. La Bestia leghista è morta, è l'ora di altre bestie, che già si stanno avventando sulla sua carogna.*

   Matteo at the mud test. Everyone **against** Salvini, but the Morisi investigation is iffy. The Leghist Beast is dead, it's time for other beasts, which are already pouncing on his carcass. (Libero)

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[69] See the Consolidated Law on Immigration: https://www.brocardi.it/testo-unico-immigrazione/titolo-ii/capo-ii/art13.html (accessed on 03/10/2023).

What emerges is a scenario drawn upon the categorization of (members of) different social groups as mutual antagonists. This interpretation is further corroborated by the typicality of the frame Pᴇᴏᴘʟᴇ_ʙʏ_ᴊᴜʀɪѕᴅɪᴛɪᴏɴ — whose main activator is *cittadini* 'citizens' —, signaling the discursive prominence of group membership in right-wing press. It must be mentioned, however, that such utilitarian categorization is sometimes brought up and problematized. Example (96), for instance, is taken from an article that criticizes the iniquity of League's proposal to exclude non-Italian citizens from the allocation of the citizenship income; also note the synonymic use of the notions of citizenship and nationality.

96. *E ancor più iniqua ad ascoltare le parole del vicepremier Di Maio, che prospetta dalla Cina l'ipotesi che i beneficiari stranieri coperti oggi dal Rei vengano scavalcati da **cittadini** italiani più abbienti, per il solo criterio della nazionalità.*

    And even more inequitable according to the words of Vice-Premier Di Maio, who hypothesizes from China that foreign beneficiaries covered today by Rei will be bypassed by more wealthy Italian **citizens**, on the sole criterion of nationality. (Il Foglio)

Gɪᴠᴇ_ɪᴍᴘʀᴇѕѕɪᴏɴ, whose main trigger is *sembra* '(it) seems', is also typical of both the national and the daily sub-corpus (cf. 5.2.1 and 5.3.1). In the case of daily press, its prominence as opposed to news reports published in periodicals can be explained with the immediacy of the former media and its consequential necessity of providing a tentative depiction of facts whose outlines are often not clear from the beginning. Similarly, typicality of Gɪᴠᴇ_ɪᴍᴘʀᴇѕѕɪᴏɴ in national press can be motivated by the complexity of the events with which it deals as compared to sub-national news. Indeed, irrealis modality is a typical feature of journalistic prose (Bonomi, 2003), but it is often exploited also as a narrative expedient that adds suspense (as in (97)) and as a strategy to background the epistemic commitment of news writers when they include their personal opinions in their reports (98). The tendency of mixing "hard news" with opinion pieces, anyway, is not exclusive of right-wing press, but rather widespread across Italian newspapers (Bonomi, 2003).

97. *I cartellini rossi non placano gli animi, perché quando tutto **sembra** finito dall'altra parte del campo un altro ragazzo dello Sprar estraneo all'accaduto dà un calcio ben assestato a uno degli avversari, e scoppia una rissa.*

    Red cards do not calm down tempers, because when everything **seems** to be over on the other side of the field another unrelated guy from Sprar throws a well-aimed kick at one of the opponents, and a brawl breaks out. (Il Resto del Carlino)

98. In Egitto, dove aveva prevalso la fratellanza musulmana, al posto di Mubaral ha preso il potere Al-Sisi, che non ci **sembra** cavalcare la democrazia.

In Egypt, where the Muslim Brotherhood had prevailed, instead of Mubaral, Al-Sisi took power, and he does not **seem** to us to be riding democracy. (Libero)

Among typical frames of the right-wing sub-corpus we also find PLACING, an objectifying frame activated in the context of migratory policies. Specifically, this frame deals with migrants' distribution across Italy and Europe: considering its main lexical activators (*collocare* 'place.V', *inserire* 'insert', *mettere* 'put', *sistemare* 'arrange'), this frame is objectifying in that the patient-like its corresponding events is normally taken by inanimate objects, while in the analyzed news this role is often taken by migrants (as shown in (99)).

99. *«Fassino venga in aula a dirci dove ha intenzione di **mettere** i profughi destinati a Torino, dei 300 previsti per la Provincia», sbotta il leghista Fabrizio Ricca. Da febbraio 2014 ne ha **sistemati** 10 mila, di cui la metà ha lasciato il Paese*.

«Fassino should come to the courtroom and tell us where he intends to **put** the refugees destined for Turin, out of the 300 expected for the province», blurts out Leghist Fabrizio Ricca. Since February 2014 he has **arranged** 10,000, half of whom have left the country. (Il Giornale)

5.2. Typical frames by territorial diffusion of newspapers

This section is dedicated to the analysis of frames that are distinctive for newspapers with different territorial diffusion. Specifically, typical frames of national newspapers are individuated in comparison with newspapers with narrower diffusion (i.e., local, regional, and over-regional; cf. 2.2.1), which will be referred to as sub-national. Tables 22 and 23 show the top 15 highest ranked frames according to their FF-ICF score.

5.2.1. National

Table 22. Typical frames of national news providers.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	ATTACK	*aggredire* 'assault.V', *attaccare* 'attack.V', *attacco* 'attack.N', *attentato* 'attack.N', *colpire* 'hit.V';
2	HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER	*battaglia* 'battle.N', *combattere* 'fight.V', *conflitto* 'conflict', *guerra* 'war', *lotta* 'fight.N', *scontrarsi* 'clash.V', *scontro* 'clash.N';

3	KILLING	*strage* 'slaughter.N', *uccidere* 'kill.V';
4	GIVE_IMPRESSION	*apparire* 'appear', *parere* 'appear', *sembrare* 'seem';
5	CAUSE_CHANGE	*cambiare* 'change', *convertire* 'convert', *modificare* 'modify', *rendere* 'make', *trasformare* 'transform'
6	TAKING_SIDES	*appoggiare* 'endorse', *contrario* 'against', *contro* 'against', *favorevole* 'supportive', *opporsi* 'oppose', *sostenere* 'support';
7	STIMULUS_FOCUS	*drammatico* 'dramatic', *incredibile* 'incredible', *impressionante* 'shocking', *inquietante* 'disturbing', *preoccupante* 'alarming', *sorprendente* 'surprising', *terribile* 'terrible', *triste* 'sad';
8	COMPLIANCE	*aderire* 'adhere', *rispettare* 'respect.V', *rispetto* 'respect.N', *violare* 'violate', *violazione* 'violation';
9	DIFFICULTY	*difficile* 'difficult', *difficoltà* 'difficulty', *facile* 'easy', *impossibile* 'impossible', *semplice* 'simple', *complicato* 'complex';
10	PART_WHOLE	*parte* 'part, side', *metà* 'half';
11	BECOMING	*divenire* 'become', *diventare* 'become';
12	PERSONAL_RELATIONSHIP	*amico* 'friend', *coppia* 'couple', *marito* 'husband', *moglie* 'wife';
13	TERRORISM	*jihadista* 'jihadist', *terrorismo* 'terrorism', *terrorista* 'terrorist', *terroristico* 'terroristic';
14	STATE_CONTINUE	*restare* 'stay.V', *rimanere* 'remain';
15	DEPARTING	

From a first glimpse, frames that characterize national with respect to sub-national press convey a negative portrayal of the migratory phenomenon. Ranking at the highest position is the frame ATTACK, often found in combination with TERRORISM. The higher coverage of crime news – and, specifically, of terroristic attacks – in national press as opposed to more localized newspapers is not surprising, since it reflects the wider scope (i.e., also international) of the former with respect to the latter. An analogous explanation also applies to the high typicality of KILLING, which is found in news set either in Italy or abroad, and in which migrants may be either killers or victims, without a clear prevalence for either role. Nevertheless, the prominence of frames such as ATTACK, TERRORISM, and KILLING testifies the existence of a strong thematic association between migrations and criminality in national news.

The broader scope of national press with respect to sub-national newspapers can also explain the prominence of HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER – the second most typical frame of the present sub-corpus – although its diverse contexts of use require a deeper analysis. As already observed when dealing with left-wing press (5.1.1), the frame HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER is mainly activated by the lexemes *guerra* 'war'

and *lotta* 'fight', mainly used, respectively, in news reporting on conflicts in countries of emigration and in news dealing with institutional actions or intents about more or less abstract issues (e.g. *lotta per la libertà/alla povertà/per l'accoglienza/all'immigrazione illegale/ai trafficanti di esseri umani* 'fight for freedom/against poverty/for hospitality/against illegal immigration/against human traffickers). Additionally, common frame activators are *battaglia* 'battle', *scontrarsi* 'clash.V', and *combattere* 'fight.V', which are generally used metaphorically with reference to political negotiations, as exemplified in (100).

100. *L'Italia e la Francia **si sono scontrate** sul tema dei migranti la scorsa settimana, dopo il caso della nave Aquarius. L'Eliseo promuove una **battaglia** sui principi e polarizza le posizioni [...]: da un lato i Paesi che credono nell'Europa e nei suoi valori; dall'altro i populisti e i nazionalisti, che si inventano emergenze pur di conquistare il consenso.*
Italy and France **clashed** on the issue of migrants last week after the Aquarius ship incident. The Elysée promotes a **battle** over principles and polarizes positions [...]: on one side the countries that believe in Europe and its values; on the other side populists and nationalists, who fabricate emergencies in order to gain consensus. (Corriere della Sera)

Polarization of positions of the different political actors involved in the debate over migrations is also prominent in national press, as testified by typicality of the frames TAKING_SIDES (mainly activated by *contro* 'against' and *contrario* 'against') and PART_WHOLE (*parte* 'part, side'). Also note that TAKING_SIDES emerges as typical in 2017, 2018, and 2019, while PART_WHOLE is typical of 2019, 2020, and 2021, years in which press migration discourse becomes more and more politicized and, progressively, polarized (cf. Chapter Chapter 4).

Politicization of national press discourse on migrations is also testified by the typicality of the frames COMPLIANCE, DIFFICULTY (both distinctive of non-partisan press; cf. 5.1.2), and CAUSE_CHANGE. The latter, typical of the years 2018, 2019, and 2020, is found in news about institutional negotiations and implementation of approved policies. Furthermore, the frames STATE_CONTINUE (activated by *restare* 'stay.V' and *rimanere* 'remain', as exemplified in (101)) and BECOMING (*divenire* 'become' and *diventare* 'become'; cf. (102)) capture the continuity of migrations as a newsworthy topic in Italian national press: both frames are found in reports that broaden, update, and add details to previously introduced news stories. Also note the objectifying framing of migrants in (102), referring to the redistribution (*redistribuzione*) through shares (*quote*) of who is rescued at sea.

101. *Al contempo, Parigi **resta** intransigente sui migranti economici: «La vera soluzione è accelerare l'identificazione e il rimpatrio».*

At the same time, Paris **remains** intransigent on economic migrants: «The real solution is to speed up identification and repatriation». (Avvenire)

102. *In pratica significa occuparsi della redistribuzione di chi viene salvato in mare: che dovrebbe avvenire già prima dello sbarco, e **diventare** equa, obbligatoria, e con sanzioni per chi rifiuta di accettare le sue quote di migranti (questo è quello che chiedono i Paesi costieri).*

In practice, it means dealing with the redistribution of those rescued at sea: which should take place even before disembarkation, and **become** fair, compulsory, and with penalties for those who refuse to accept their shares of migrants (this is what the coastal countries are asking for). (La Repubblica)

In right-wing press, the frame Stimulus_focus is mainly activated by *incredibile* 'incredible', *impressionante* 'shocking', *inquietante* 'disturbing', *preoccupante* 'alarming', and *terribile* 'terrible', thus showing the preference for sensationalistic tones. The same lexemes are among the most frequent activators of this frame also in the national sub-corpus, where we additionally find *triste* 'sad', *sorprendente* 'surprising', and *drammatica* 'dramatic' adding an empathetic dimension to the spectrum of emotions triggered by right-wing press. A compassionate view is also conveyed through the frame Personal_relationship, which is also typical of the left-wing sub-corpus (5.1.1). Mainly activated by *moglie* 'wife', *marito* 'husband', and *amico* 'friend', this frame is generally activated in reports giving a humane dimension to news stories of migrants, although in right-wing press it is often found in articles denouncing foreigners who exploit the Italian welfare system to the detriment of Italian families.

As already noted in the analysis of frames typical of right-wing press (cf. section 5.1.4), Give_impression (*sembra* '(it) seems') expresses the typical journalistic feature of irrealis modality and its typicality in national press can be motivated by the complexity of events with which it deals as compared to sub-national news. Finally, Departing is the only frame concerned with migratory phenomena among the ones that characterize national newspapers with respect to sub-national ones. This result should be interpreted as a sign that migratory journeys are roughly covered in equal measure in the two sub-corpora, while the prominence of Departing in national press may, too, depend on the broader contextualization that generally characterizes this type of newspapers.

5.2.2. Sub-national

Table 23. Typical frames of sub-national news providers.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	PRESENCE	*presente* 'present', *presenza* 'presence', *assente* 'absent', *assenza* 'absence';
2	VISITING	*frequentare* 'attend', *ospite* 'guest', *turista* 'tourist', *visita* 'visit.N', *visitare* 'visit.V';
3	PROJECT	*piano* 'plan.N', *progetto* 'project.N', *programma* 'program.N';
4	PARTICIPATION	*coinvolgere* 'involve', *coinvolgimento* 'involvement', *impegnarsi* 'commit', *partecipante* 'participant', *partecipare* 'participate';
5	BUILDING_SUBPARTS	*appartamento* 'flat.N', *cucina* 'kitchen', *dormitorio* 'dorm', *piano* 'floor', *sala* 'room', *spazio* 'space', *stanza* 'room', *ufficio* 'office';
6	PEOPLE_BY_JURISDICTION	*cittadinanza* 'citizenship', *cittadino* 'citizen';
7	RECEIVING	*accogliere* 'receive', *accoglienza* 'reception', *ospitare* 'host.V', *ricevere* 'receive';
8	COTHEME	*accompagnare* 'accompany', *condurre* 'conduct.V';
9	ARREST	*arrestare* 'arrest.V', *arresto* 'arrest.N', *fermare* 'arrest';
10	FAMILIARITY	*conoscere* '(get to) know', *nuovo* 'new';
11	EDUCATION_TEACHING	*alunno* 'pupil', *corso* 'class', *docente* 'instructor', *formazione* 'education', *insegnante* 'teacher', *studente* 'student';
12	LOCATING	*ritrovamento* 'finding', *trovare* 'find';
13	VERIFICATION	*identificare* 'identify', *individuare* 'individuate';
14	BEING_EMPLOYED	*lavorare* 'work.V', lavoro 'work.N';
15	CONTAINING	*accogliere* 'accommodate', *contenere* 'contain', *ospitare* 'host'.

As compared to national press, the most typical frames in sub-national sub-corpus reflect its more localized focus: what emerges is a detail- and solution-oriented scenario.

For instance, the frame LOCATING (whose main trigger is *trovare* 'find') is activated in expressions such as *trovare una soluzione* 'to find a solution' and *trovare un accordo/un'intesa* 'to find an agreement', especially in the context of national and/or communitarian receptive policies. If compared with other frames dealing with negotiations on how to address the migratory phenomenon at the systemic level (for instance, SIGN_AGREEMENT and MAKE_AGREEMENT_ON_ACTION, respectively typical of 2017 – 4.4 – and 2018 – 4.5), the event perspective taken through this frame lies further in

the decision-making process and is more oriented towards its concrete implementation. With the exception of RECEIVING (exemplified in (103)), frames that foreground the involvement of political actors in the recounted events do not prevail over those that highlight the outcomes of institutional negotiations, while the contrary is observed in national press (see the prominence of the frames TAKING_SIDES and COMPLIANCE in 5.2.1).

103. *«Ho chiesto al Prefetto con una posta elettronica certificata di essere **ricevuto** già sabato mattina - dice - quando gli consegnerò personalmente la delibera che approveremo e le firme raccolte a sostegno».*

«I have asked the Prefect through certified mail to be **received** as early as Saturday morning - he says - when I will personally deliver to him the resolution we will approve and the signatures collected in support of it». (Il Gazzettino)

LOCATING is also activated in the context of even more concrete events, such as the ones portrayed in the expressions *trovare sistemazione/alloggio* 'find accommodation' and *trovare lavoro* 'find a job' (*lavoro* is also a trigger of the frame BEING_EMPLOYED). In both cases migrants may assume an agentive role, but they are typically assigned the role of beneficiaries (as exemplified in (104)). The local perspective of sub-national press also emerges from the typicality of BUILDING_SUBPARTS, which is activated by lexemes such as *appartamento* 'flat.N', *cucina* 'kitchen', *dormitorio* 'dorm', *piano* 'floor', *sala* 'room', *spazio* 'space', *stanza* 'room', and *ufficio* 'office'. The frame is also typical of left-wing press (cf. 5.1.1), which distinguishes itself from differently oriented press in that it situates events in an everyday setting.

104. *I commissari straordinari hanno deciso, visto che Augusta è ormai dall'inizio dell'anno impegnata nell'accoglienza dei minori, che è giunta l'ora di **trovare** un posto adeguato ad accoglierli.*

The special commissioners have decided, since Augusta has now been involved in the reception of minors since the beginning of the year, that the time has come to **find** a suitable place to accommodate them. (La Sicilia)

Within the same scenario that highlights the implementation of receptive policies, we find the frames PROJECT (activated by *piano* 'plan.N', *progetto* 'project.N', and *programma* 'program.N'), PARTICIPATION (triggered by *hanno participato* 'participated' in (105)), and RECEIVING (also exemplified in (105) with *accoglienza* 'reception'). Not unexpectedly, indeed, the topic of migrants' accommodation is prominent in this sub-corpus, as testified by the typicality of the frames CONTAINING (mainly activated

by *ospitare* 'host.V'), and VISITING (*ospiti* 'guests'). Interestingly, unaccompanied foreign minors (frame COTHEME, also typical of Christian press; cf. 5.1.3) are more newsworthy in sub-national than in national press.

> 105. *Ad oggi il servizio è affidato in proroga alle cooperative che **hanno partecipato** al bando 2016 e, negli anni scorsi, alla scadenza dei contratti, dopo un breve periodo in deroga veniva emanato un nuovo bando in primavera per gestire **l'accoglienza** con la durata di sei mesi (più proroga per altri sei), e pertanto in sostanza di un anno.*
> To date, the service is contracted on extension to the cooperatives that **participated** in the 2016 call for proposals and, in past years, when the contracts expired, after a short period of derogation a new call for proposals was issued in the spring to manage the **reception** with the duration of six months (plus extension for another six), and therefore substantially for one year. (Corriere del Veneto)

In the sub-national sub-corpus, the portrayal of (im)migration as an ongoing and increasing phenomenon is observed through the prominence of the frame FAMILIARITY, which is most commonly triggered by the scalar quantifier *nuovo* 'new'. This is also observed in the national sub-corpus, where instead we find the frame STATE_CONTINUE (see example (101) in 5.2.1). The discursive prominence of the assessment of migrants' presence in Italy is captured by the frame PRESENCE, which is also typical of Christian press (5.1.3).

As also observed in national press, the topic of criminality is prominent in sub-national newspapers, in which, however, it is portrayed in a more zoomed-in scale. See, for instance, typicality of the frame VERIFICATION (triggered by *identificare* 'identify' and *individuare* 'individuate'), which shares some contexts of use with LOCATING (e.g., in the expression *individuare un luogo adatto ad accogliere i migranti* 'to individuate a place that can accommodate migrants'), but it is especially found in articles reporting on criminal investigations (see (106), also exemplifying the frame ARREST). Additionally, terrorism is not discursively prominent in this sub-corpus.

> 106. *Il filmato ha poi permesso agli agenti di riconoscere e **arrestare** il 16enne bosniaco che si era nascosto all'interno del campo di via Germagnano. [...] Le indagini proseguono per **individuare** il suo complice, riuscito a dileguarsi tra le baracche del campo nomadi.*
> Il footage then allowed officers to recognize and **arrest** the 16-year-old Bosnian who had been hiding inside the camp on Via Germagnano. [...] Investigations are still continuing to **identify** his accomplice, who managed to escape through the shacks of the nomad camp. (Torino CronacaQui)

As already registered in the right-wing sub-corpus (cf. 5.1.4), typicality of the frame PEOPLE_BY_JURISDICTION signals the discursive prominence of a categorization of social actors by their citizenship. However, in this sub-corpus the activation of the frame takes milder tones than in right-wing press: the term *cittadini* 'citizens' is often used as a synonym of 'residents (of a certain municipality)', as exemplified in (107).

107. *«Una richiesta precisa per sollevare il nostro Poliambulatorio, appena sufficiente per i residenti, avanzata non dal sottoscritto, ma dagli stessi **cittadini** e ulteriormente rafforzata dal dibattito creatosi dopo la distribuzione del volantino dell'Azienda sanitaria per prevenire il contagio della scabbia»*.
«A specific request to raise our Polyclinic, which is barely sufficient for residents, made not by myself, but by the **citizens** themselves and further strengthened by the debate created after the distribution of the Health Authority's flyer to prevent scabies infection». (Messaggero Veneto - Giornale del Friuli)

Finally, two frames capture the newsworthiness of the participation of migrants to the civil society: these are BEING_EMPLOYED, which portrays them as workers – i.e., active event participants – and EDUCATION_TEACHING. The latter is mainly activated by lexeme *studenti* 'students', which is either used with reference to migrants who attend schooling programs or found in news stories about (generic) students involved in awareness-raising initiatives in which migrants are not attendants, but rather objects of discussion (as in (108)).

108. *Oltre 8mila **studenti** di 85 scuole arriveranno oggi (dalle 9 alle 13) da tutta la Toscana al Mandela Forum di Firenze, per il Meeting dei Diritti Umani*.
More than 8 thousand **students** from 85 schools will arrive today (from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m.) from all over Tuscany at the Mandela Forum in Florence for the Human Rights Meeting. (Corriere fiorentino)

5.3. Typical frames by periodicity of newspapers

In the present section frame distinctiveness is measured on the parameter of periodicity, comparing typical frames of daily newspapers against typical frames in press reports of different periodicity. As specified in the methodological chapter (Section 2.2.1), periodicals comprise biweekly, weekly, bimonthly, monthly, three-monthly, and four-monthly publications. Tables 24 and 25, respectively, contain the 15 most typical frames of daily newspapers and other periodicals.

5.3.1. Daily

Table 24. Typical frames of daily newspapers.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	COMPLIANCE	*aderire* 'adhere', *rispettare* 'respect.V', *rispetto* 'respect.N', *violare* 'violate', *violazione* 'violation';
2	PARTICIPATION	*coinvolgere* 'involve', *coinvolgimento* 'involvement', *impegnarsi* 'commit', *partecipante* 'participant', *partecipare* 'participate';
3	MILITARY	*forze dell'ordine* 'law enforcement', *militare.Adj* 'military', *militare.N* 'soldier';
4	COMMUNICATION_RESPONSE	*replicare* 'reply.V', *rispondere* 'answer.V', *risposta* 'reply.N';
5	DECIDING	*decidere* 'decide', *decisione* 'decision', *scelta* 'choice';
6	EXPECTATION	*aspettare* 'wait.V', *attendere* 'expect', *attesa* 'wait.N', *prevedere* 'foresee';
7	PURPOSE	*intendere* 'intend', *intenzione* 'intention', *obiettivo* 'goal', *scopo* 'purpose';
8	TAKING_SIDES	*appoggiare* 'endorse', *contrario* 'against', *contro* 'against', *favorevole* 'supportive', *opporsi* 'oppose', *sostenere* 'support';
9	ATTACK	*aggredire* 'assault.V', *attaccare* 'attack.V', *attacco* 'attack.N', *attentato* 'attack.N', *colpire* 'hit.V';
10	GIVE_IMPRESSION	*apparire* 'appear', *parere* 'appear', *sembrare* 'seem';
11	STATE_CONTINUE	*restare* 'stay.V', *rimanere* 'remain';
12	PROJECT	*piano* 'plan.N', *progetto* 'project.N', *programma* 'program.N';
13	PREDICAMENT	*difficoltà* 'difficulty', *problema* 'problem'
14	FAMILIARITY	*conoscere* '(get to) know', *nuovo* 'new';
15	REMOVING	*cancellare* 'cancel', *eliminare* 'eliminate', *espellere* 'expel', *togliere* 'remove';

Taking into account the 15 frames that mostly distinguish the sub-corpus of daily newspapers from the sub-corpus of periodicals, it can be noted that daily migration press discourse is dominated by politics.

Seven of the most typical frames of daily press can be interpreted within the already mentioned broad scenario of institutional negotiations and implementation of migration policies. These are, ordered by decreasing typicality rank, COMPLIANCE, PARTICIPATION, COMMUNICATION_RESPONSE, DECIDING, PURPOSE, TAKING_SIDES, and PROJECT. In the events pictured through these frames, migrants' participation is either backgrounded or non-agentive: they are directly affected by migration policies, but they do not take an active role either in their decision-making or in their application (of which they

are beneficiaries). The emergence of this scenario can be interpreted as a sign of the extensive presence of institutional voices in daily press, as compared to periodicals.

The frame ATTACK also belongs to the same scenario when it is used metaphorically: as exemplified in (109), with its main trigger is *attacco* 'attack.N', it is often found in news reporting on polarized positions of different social actors (typically, politicians of antagonist parties or representatives of different national states). With respect to discursive polarization on migrations in daily press, it is interesting to note the prominence of PREDICAMENT: mainly activated by *problema* 'problem', this frame characterizes – i.e., it is relatively more frequent in – right-wing press with respect to newspapers of other ideological positioning, in which it is also found. In other terms, the framing of migrations under a problematic lens is led by right-wing press, but it is not its exclusive prerogative.

109. *L'alleato Pd, però, prende posizione contro «l'**attacco**, scomposto e inappropriato, alla ministra Lamorgese che si traduce in un doppio **attacco** all'azione del premier e a una destabilizzazione inopportuna del quadro politico».*
The Pd ally, however, takes a stand against «the disjointed and inappropriate **attack** on Minister Lamorgese that results in a double **attack** on Prime Minister's office and an inappropriate destabilization of the political framework». (Corriere della Sera)

On the other hand, in its literal use ATTACK is mainly activated in news reports concerned with terroristic attacks, in which migrants' agentive role does emerge. As compared to periodical press, no sharp difference is registered with respect to this topic, which in the sub-corpus of periodicals is captured through the frame TERRORISM (see 5.3.2).

Another frame characterizing the daily sub-corpus is MILITARY: as already observed for 2014 and 2015 (see 4.1 and 4.2), this frame is used in the context of rescues and of border surveillance (cf. (110)). Notably, its typicality reflects that events carried out by military forces are given daily coverage in Italian news on migrations, while the same does not apply to reports given in periodicals.

110. *Ma ciò non cambia di una virgola l'attribuzione delle colpe fra chi, pur dotato di flotta **militare**, si macchia di omesso soccorso, e chi si mobilita per salvare il maggior numero possibile di migranti.*
But this does not change one bit of the attribution of blame between those who, although having a **military** fleet, commit failure to rescue, and those who rally to save as many migrants as possible. (il Fatto Quotidiano)

Further, the frame EXPECTATION, whose main activator is *attesa* 'wait.N', is generally found in news reporting on events in which migrants are stuck and lack any agentivity or control over their condition. This is the case, for example, with their permanence on ships affected by disembarkation bans, or in first reception centers waiting for the assessment of their legal status. Migrants' static condition is also captured by the frame STATE_CONTINUE (*restare* 'stay.V', *rimanere* 'remain'), exemplified in (111) together with EXPECTATION. Relatedly, wide coverage is given to migrants' expulsion, as testified by the typicality of REMOVING (mainly activated by *espellere* 'expel').

111. *Chi è in **attesa** dell'esame della domanda, **rimarrà** nei Centri di accoglienza straordinaria (di cui il dl [Decreto Legge] prevede la progressiva chiusura).*

Those who **are waiting** for their applications to be processed **will remain** in Extraordinary Reception Centers (of which the ld [Decree Law] stipulates a gradual shutdown). (La Repubblica)

As also observed for 2019 (cf. 4.6), the frame STATE_CONTINUE is also found in news concerned with the (lack of) evolution of national and international consultations on receptive policies: as noted earlier in this section, the typicality of STATE_CONTINUE further reflects the assiduous presence of this scenario in daily Italian migration news. Routinization of migration news is also testified by the typicality of the frame FAMILIARITY, which is also typical of non-partisan press and national press. FAMILIARITY is mainly activated by the scalar quantifier *nuovo* 'new', which implies the existence of previously introduced entities (e.g., arrivals, debates, consultations, or resolutions) which are assumed to be available to readers' background knowledge.

Finally, as already noted in previous sections of this chapter (cf. 5.1.4 and 5.2.1), typicality of the frame GIVE_IMPRESSION (*sembra* '(it) seems') in daily news can be explained with its immediacy and the subsequent necessity of providing a tentative depiction of facts whose outlines may not be clear from the beginning, whereas periodicals tend to report on less contingent events.

5.3.2. Periodicals

Table 25. Typical frames of periodicals.

Rank	Frame	Examples of lexical activators
1	BEING_EMPLOYED	*lavorare* 'work.V', *lavoro* 'work.N';
2	PHYSICAL_ARTWORKS	*foto(grafia)* 'photo(graph)', *immagine* 'image';
3	COLOR	*bianco* 'while', *blu* 'blue', *colore* 'color', *nero* 'black';

4	KILLING	*strage* 'slaughter.N', *uccidere* 'kill.V';
5	SIMILARITY	*differenza* 'difference', *diverso* 'different', *simile* 'similar', *somigliare* 'resemble';
6	HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER	*guerra* 'war', *lotta* 'fight.N', *battaglia* 'battle', *combattere* 'fight.V', *scontro* 'clash.N';
7	PERCEPTION_ACTIVE	*ascoltare* 'listen', *guardare* 'watch';
8	PART_WHOLE	*metà* 'half', *parte* 'part';
9	BECOMING	*diventare* 'become';
10	CLOTHING	*abiti* 'clothes', *giacca* 'jacket', *maglietta* 'shirt', *pantaloni* 'trousers', *scarpe* 'shoes', *vestiti* 'clothes';
11	PART_ORIENTATIONAL	*destra* 'right', *nord* 'north', *sinistra* 'left', *sud* 'south';
12	BEING_NAMED	*detto* 'named', *nome* 'name', *titolo* 'title';
13	BUSINESSES	*azienda* 'business', *business*, *imprenditore* 'enterpreneur', *impresa* 'enterprise', *negozio* 'shop', *società* 'company';
14	FOOD	*acqua* 'water', *caffè* 'coffee', *cibo* 'food', *latte* 'milk', *frutta* 'fruit';
15	TERRORISM	*islamista* 'Islamist', *jihadista* 'jihadist', *terrorismo* 'terrorism', *terrorista* 'terrorist', *terroristico* 'terroristic'.

Expectedly, a rather descriptive portrayal can be detected in the 15 frames that mostly differentiate migration discourse in periodicals from daily press. Firstly, this is the only sub-corpus in which the frame BEING_NAMED emerges: its main activator is *nome* 'name', which reflects the humanized depiction of people involved in the events reported by periodicals (cf. (112)). The personalized perspective provided in periodicals is also captured by the frames PERCEPTION_ACTIVE, triggered by the perception verbs *ascoltare* 'listen' and *guardare* 'watch' (113), and SIMILARITY, whose main trigger is *diverso* 'different' (especially found in its plural forms *diversi/diverse*, as in the excerpt given in (114)).

112. *C' è in particolare un ragazzo di **nome** Salu che ho assunto con regolare contratto.*

There is in particular a guy **named** Salu who I have hired on a regular contract. (L'Espresso)

113. *In pochi minuti regna il silenzio, grandi e piccoli sono sopraffatti dalla stanchezza. Qualcuno non dorme, dagli oblò **guarda** sotto, il Sahara, poi il Mediterraneo.*

In a few minutes silence reigns, adults and children alike are overcome with fatigue. Some do not sleep, from the portholes they **look** below, the Sahara, then the Mediterranean. (Famiglia Cristiana)

114. *Storie **diverse**, persone **diverse**, luoghi **diversi***.

Different stories, **different** people, **different** places. (Panorama)

The presence of vivid details in reports of this sub-corpus is also captured in other frames. For example, PHYSICAL_ARTWORKS (activated by *foto(grafia)* 'photo(graph)' and *imagine* 'image') emerges as typical in reason of the reliance on photographic sources that often characterizes articles in periodicals (cf. (115)). The descriptive (and often empathetic) perspective provided by these news sources is further testified by the frames CLOTHING (also activated in (115)) and FOOD, both triggered by concrete nouns pointing to everyday elements. Furthermore, the frame COLOR – which is the most typical of the left-wing sub-corpus (5.1.1) – may be triggered in the description of elements composing the physical context of the portrayed events (as in (115), with *verde* 'green'), but it is also activated with reference to skin color. Interestingly, blackness is mentioned in articles about national events, while whiteness is only brought into discourse when dealing with foreign countries, as in the article about institutionalized racism in Europe from which example (116) is taken.

115. *Il 4 maggio ha postato su Facebook una **foto** (a sinistra, in alto, **maglia verde**) in cui guida la preghiera fra i monti di Agordo di «un fratello italiano e due fratelli bosniaci, tra cui uno morto»: Mesinovic (**foto** a sinistra), su cui invoca la misericordia di Allah.*
On May 4, he posted a **photo** on Facebook (left, at the top, **green shirt**) in which he leads the prayer among the mountains of Agordo of «an Italian brother and two Bosnian brothers, one of whom is dead»: Mesinovic (left **photo**), on whom he invokes Allah's mercy. (Panorama)

116. Se poi oltre che giovane sei **nero**, le possibilità [di essere fermato dalla polizia] aumentano di sei volte rispetto a un coetaneo **bianco**, il che fa 66 volte in più rispetto a un anziano **bianco**.
If, in addition to being young, you are also **black**, the chances [of being stopped by the police] increase six times more than a **white** peer, that is 66 times more than an elderly **white** person. (Left)

As also noted in daily press, TERRORISM is discursively prominent in periodicals. Based on the presence of ATTACK and HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER among typical frames of this sub-corpus, a broad scenario of dreadful events can be identified. Specifically, HOSTILE_ENCOUNTER (exemplified in (117)) is generally found in reports providing socio-political to the narrated events, while KILLING (mainly activated by

ucciso 'killed') is also especially found reports on war and terrorism, in which foreigners – especially of Islamic faith – are either assigned the discursive role of killers (generally, terrorists) or victims (often of the police).

117. *Negli ultimi tempi il governo ha riacceso la **guerra** contro i curdi per ottenere il sostegno dei nazionalisti e ha schiacciato i suoi avversari con metodi da stato di polizia.*
Lately, the government has revived the **war** against the Kurds to gain support from nationalists and has crushed its opponents with police state methods. (Internazionale)

Despite the observed personalization of migration discourse, its contextualization through political voices is not absent from periodical press, as captured by the frames PART_WHOLE and PART_ORIENTATIONAL. Note, however, that triggers of latter frame PART_ORIENTATIONAL do not only point to different political parts (i.e., *destra* 'right', and *sinistra* 'left'): its activators are also used literally for spatial reference (see, for example, the occurrence of *a sinistra* 'left' in (115)) and for situating recounted events geographically (e.g., with the cardinal point terms *nord* 'north' and *sud* 'south'). Additionally, reference to political consultations on migrations is made in articles in which the frame BECOMING is activated, as shown in (118). Again, this frame is not exclusively found in the context of political negotiations: as also observed for national press (5.2.1), it generally reflects how periodicals capture the continuity and evolution of recounted events.

118. *Il nuovo presidente, tra i dieci settori strategici indicati nel programma, inserisce per la prima volta, anche su spinta italiana, il tema migrazioni, che **diventa** un capitolo delle politiche comunitarie e non più problema dei singoli Paesi.*
The new president, among the ten strategic areas outlined in the program, includes for the first time, partly prompted by Italy, the issue of migration, which **becomes** a chapter of EU policies and no longer a problem of individual countries. (Vita)

Finally, typicality of the frames BEING_EMPLOYED and BUSINESSES shows that the association of migrations and economic matters is stronger in periodicals than in daily news, where we find no frames of this semantic area. More in detail, these frames are especially found in reports dealing with migrants' (strive for) active involvement in the society of hosting countries – hence, in which migrants take an agentive role –, which is a tendency also observed in sub-national press (cf. 5.2.2). Furthermore, the discursive role assigned to immigrant workers is sometimes that of victims of exploitation. It is interesting to note that periodicals deal with this topic throughout the whole time span covered in the corpus (2014-2021), but foreign workers' exploitation only became prominent in

2021 (see 4.8). Arguably, newsworthiness of this topic is consequential to the visibility given in 2020 to the need for regularization of undocumented workers – often foreigners –, whose shortage became an "in-group problem" because of its impact on the Italian productive system.

Chapter 6.   Discussion and conclusions

This chapter aims to integrate and summarize the analysis presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. A critical interpretation of the results is provided in Section 6.1, while Section 6.2 gives some conclusive remarks and suggests directions for future research.

6.1.   What is there and what is missing from the picture?

Chapter Chapter 3 shows the most frequent frames in the corpus of articles built for this research and compares them with the most frequent ones activated in the corpus of headlines analyzed by Coschignano et al. (2023). The chapter focuses on the two corpora as wholes, since the same sets of most frequent frames are almost unvaried across their sub-corpora, so that, for instance, newspapers with different political and religious positionings use the same most frequent frames.

Such (possibly apparent) homologation may depend on the fact that the texts contained in all sub-corpora belong to the same textual genre of journalistic reports. Consequently, their news articles on migrations will generally activate the same frames when giving notice of certain aspects of a news event that are not necessarily specific to the migratory phenomenon: for example, the most frequent frames in the overall corpus are CALENDRIC_UNIT and STATEMENT (cf. Table 8), which are respectively activated by lexemes that indicate temporal coordinates and epistemic sources of recounted events. As regards the corpus of articles, this tendency could be further explained through the fact that frames detected by SocioFillmore can also be activated by generic content words or function words, which are generally more frequent than semantically richer content words. However, the same tendency is also observed in the corpus of headlines, whose texts tend to rely on a simplified syntax and to more specific content words. Even after excluding the least informative frames, Coschignano et al. (2023) observe that almost the same most frequent frames are activated in headlines of newspapers with different political and religious positionings.

If the framing of migrations did not respond to normalized ideological foundations, it would be reasonable to expect stronger variation in the selection of migration-related topics foregrounded by different newspapers. For instance, the centrality of institutional voices is not to be taken for granted and it does vary across different years (cf. also below). This is also highlighted by Coschignano et al. (2023: 118), who detect a decrease in press attention to migrants' quantification in correspondence of the decrease in their arrivals, when Italian newspapers remain filled with migration news, but with more space for institutional voices. Irrespectively of its contents, the politicization of migration discourse is not ideologically neutral, but should rather be viewed as the expression of specific power asymmetries in the editorial agenda settings shared by newspapers with different characteristics. Accordingly, the voices and personal experiences of the primary actors of migrations,

who do not belong to the dominant group, do not emerge. The lack of representation of migrants' voices in Italian mainstream media is also highlighted in the yearly reports of *Associazione Carta di Roma*, which underlie that the prevailing voices in migration discourse are those of political actors. That the lack of migrants' self-representation in Italian mainstream media should not be taken for granted is further testified by a recent temporary exception to this tendency: after Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022, Italian media gave migrants' voices (especially Ukrainian) an unprecedented space which, however, decreased again in the following year (cf. Associazione Carta di Roma, 2022, 2023).

On a quest for intercepting any differences in the framing of migrants and migrations provided by news providers with different features, in Chapters 4 and 5 the statistical measure of frame typicality is employed.

The longitudinal analysis presented in Chapter 4 shows that the emergence of typical frames is not necessarily motivated by the extensive coverage of contingent events, but it also reflects wider and longer-term shifts in the framing of migrations and migrants. For example, TERRORISM is the most typical frame of 2015 and 2016, which featured a series of terroristic attacks, but a shift towards a more preoccupation-driven narration of migrations can also be detected over the following years.

In 2014, before the beginning of the immigration peak of 2015-2017, the framing of migrations focuses more than in other years on elements from the daily lives of migrants, who are given a rather neutral (when not even empathetic) portrayal. However, frames characterizing this year also show the emergence of allegations on irregularities in the allocation of public funds to the receptive system, as well as political voices against the reception of migrants.

In 2015, a crisis scenario emerges: since the peak in immigration of 2015-2017, the humanizing eye on migrants was abandoned in favor of an objectifying framing that reflects the perspective of decision makers on migrants' fates. Indeed, the analysis reflects the progressive politicization of press migration discourse, both at the national and at the international level. Moreover, in 2015 and 2016 Islamic fundamentalist groups moved a series of terrorist attacks within and around Europe. These attacks left a trail of fear and suspicion towards foreigners also in the following years, in which the topics of terrorism and criminality (with migrants in AGENT-like roles) are prominent, while they did not emerge at all from typical frames of 2014. Interestingly, in 2016 we see a spotlight on Islam, which is associated with either terrorism (also in articles that take an explicit stance against islamophobia), or with integration and cultural issues.

It must be noted, however, that the negative representation of migrants in the Italian press did not begin with the immigration peak of 2015: on the contrary, several studies show the earlier roots of the prejudiced portrayal of migrants (see, for instance, Ter Wal, 2001; Pistolesi, 2008; Calaresu et al., 2008; Cerase, 2012; Orrù, 2017, 2019, 2020). The near absence of negatively oriented frames from the ones characterizing 2014 is a collateral effect of the frame typicality measure: the ranking of

typical frames depends on the discrepancy between their relative frequencies in a given sub-corpus and in the remaining of the corpus, so that any (e.g., negatively oriented) frames that are invariably found in the whole corpus do not emerge through this measure (cf. also below).

In 2017-2018, press migration discourse tightly follows political migration discourse. If the focus on the political debate on new migration policies can be expected in the first election year since the recent migration peak, the politicization of migration discourse is not without problematic consequences: the political debate on migration policies is dominated by the polarized point of view of anti-immigration – or, anti-immigrants – political parties, which get to drive much of the public debate on migrations. In this context, an exemplary othering discursive strategy is the slogan of the right-wing party Lega "Prima gli italiani" ('Italians first'), which frames migrants as social antagonists of Italians. After the elections, the discursive association of immigration and criminality is further strengthened by the enforcement of a series of legislative acts named *Decreti sicurezza* 'Safety decrees'. Interestingly, the following year Nicola Zingaretti adopts the slogan "Prima le persone" ('People first') in his political campaign to the primary elections of the center-left Democratic Party. Following Lakoff (2004), this can be seen as a good example of failure of counter-narration: by adopting your opponents' frames in an attempt to dismantle them, you end up accidentally reinforcing them. The imposition of an alternative narration, at least as strong as the one seeing migrants as social antagonists, seems to be still lacking in Italian mainstream media.

The analysis of typical frames by year also reflects changes in the political discourses and actions around migrations: from an initial phase of search for immediate solutions in coincidence with the beginning of the immigration peak of 2015-2017, discourses shift to (and soon stabilize on) diplomatic confrontations on how to deal with the phenomenon, to be again followed by reports on the implementation of migratory policies. Moreover, the prominence of an atmosphere of suspicion detected since 2016-2017 goes hand in hand with the polarization of views on migrations and migrants. The representation of polarized standpoints sometimes boils down to the emergence of the voices of individual actors, such as Carola Rakete's and Matteo Salvini's in 2019, whose confrontations are followed up through court and are seminal to the emergence of a judicial scenario in the following two years.

It is also interesting to observe which frames characterize 2020-2021, when migrations became less newsworthy concurrently with the diffusion of the Covid-19 pandemic, as testified by the significative drop in the number of articles on migrations published in 2020 and 2021 (see Table 1). When another crisis emerged, the unsettling and dramatic tones imposed upon news on migrations left room for the emergence of a more empathetic and humanized portrayal of the phenomenon. Although prompted by the in-group/Italian's need for more foreign seasonal fieldworkers, it is true that in 2020 and 2021 migrants' agentivity emerges outside the criminality scenario. Nevertheless,

preoccupation for migrants' arrivals is not abandoned in the pandemic context, but rather declined as a preoccupation for the escalation of contagions.

Turning to the discussion of typical frames of newspapers with different political and religious orientations, a more human-centered perspective is found in left-wing and Christian newspapers, which focus on relatable details of migrants' personal experiences more than non-partisan and right-wing providers.

Specifically, left-wing newspapers use dramatic tones to provide a pitiful depiction of migrants, whose agentivity is detectable in the representation of their journeys and, once they have settled, of their employment. In the latter case, what stands out is also the portrayal of migrants as undergoers of exploitation, which fits in a broader narrative based on the *topos* of burden – i.e., that "the out-group need to be supported by the in-group" (Hart 2010: 67) –, with a focus on the concerns of hosting countries for the need to provide for migrants. Nonetheless, through their vividly detailed images of everyday lives, left-wing newspapers account more than others for the internal complexity of the migratory experience.

A pitiful representation of migrants is also typical of Christian press, which gives prominence to the charitable actions performed by various social actors *for* migrants, whose agentivity is restricted to the labor context. Considering that Christian environments advocate a "culture of encounter" that should promote intercultural and interreligious dialogue,[70] it is surprising that the perspective of migrants does not emerge more in this sub-corpus.

Non-partisan newspapers are empathetically rather neutral, and they are more focused than others on migration and integration policies. They emphasize the actions undertaken by political subjects and institutions, narrating events from a more distant perspective relative to the individual experiences of the primary actors of migrations. The higher degree of abstraction in the representation of migrants is accompanied by their rarer attribution of agentivity: even in news about foreign labor, the focus of non-partisan press is on migrants' exploitation and regularization, and on the public opinion on the matter.

Conversely, right-wing providers use dramatic tones to stress the problematic and dangerous implications of welcoming migrants, who are portrayed as social antagonists of Italians. In this polarized context, migrants' agentivity clearly emerges in criminal and terroristic events. The alternate representation of migrants as either deviant and dangerous or as pitiful and inactive is discussed, among others, by Palidda (2001), but it also emerges from studies on immigration metaphors (cf. Section 1.1.2): with objectifying metaphors migrants are deprived of their agency, while with militarizing metaphors they are attributed disruptive agency.

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[70] Cf. note 66.

With respect to the analysis of typical frames by territorial diffusion of newspapers, a more negative portrayal of migrations and migrants emerges in the national sub-corpus as compared to the sub-national one. However, this tendency should be observed in light of the wider scope of the news provided by national press, for which a higher number of criminal and terroristic events is relevant if compared to sub-national press. In contrast, a more detailed depiction of everyday, local events characterizes the sub-national sub-corpus, while in neither case the perspective of migrants is prominent. Instead, an empathetic focus on individual stories emerges from frames that characterize periodicals as opposed to daily newspapers. While the former provide more personalized recounts, the latter give more space to institutional actors and tend to employ sensationalistic tones.

Overlaps between the most typical frames of sub-corpora identified through different parameters also deserve consideration. Before discussing them, it is worth taking a step back towards methodology and restating the rationale behind frame typicality, while also reminding the composition of the corpus. As described in Section 2.3, if a frame is typical of a certain sub-corpus, this means that a frame is proportionally more frequent in such sub-corpus than in the rest of the corpus. It does not mean, however, that such frame is infrequent in the rest of the corpus. On the contrary, frames that are commonly found throughout the whole corpus are the ones with the lowest typicality score in any sub-corpus. In other terms, if a frame does not emerge among the most typical ones within a sub-corpus, the same frame may still be very frequent in it. Additionally, it is important to remind that the corpus is quite balanced with respect to the number of articles of left-wing, non-partisan, and right-wing news providers: each of the three sub-corpora contains ~30,000 articles, with the Christian sub-corpus containing an additional ~10,000 (cf. 2.2.1). The proportion of articles by ideological stance of providers is also maintained in sub-corpora defined through the parameters of territorial diffusion and periodicity.

Returning to the analysis, five out of the 15 frames that are respectively most characteristic of national and daily newspapers are also the ones that characterize right-wing press. Specifically, the national and the right-wing sub-corpora share the typical frames GIVE_IMPRESSION, TAKING_SIDES, TERRORISM, ATTACK, and STIMULUS_FOCUS, while the typical frames share by the daily and the right-wing sub-corpora are GIVE_IMPRESSION, TAKING_SIDES, ATTACK, REMOVING, and PREDICAMENT. Following from the methodological remarks given above, these overlaps suggest that "right-wing frames" are the ones driving the framing of migrations in national press overall. The generalized backgrounding of migrants' participation to reported events and the use of alarmistic tones across Italian newspapers with different political leanings is also registered by Ieracitano & Vigneri (2018: 80), who only found an exception in the humanitarian scenario built by the left-wing newspaper l'Unità.

As also stated above, the influence of right-wing perspectives on the general press is a consequence of the politicization of migration discourse: migrations are central to political campaigns

of right-wing parties, especially Lega, whose leader Matteo Salvini held high institutional roles in the time span covered in the corpus. While it is agreeably important that the press covers the political debate over sensitive topics, the space reserved to this type of news is disproportionate with respect to news dealing with everyday implications of migrants' presence in Italy. The consequence of a framing of migrations in terms of "how do we solve this issue?" is that news readers are induced to focus more on the institutional rather than on the personal dimension of the phenomenon.

A lot is missing from the current representation of migrations in the Italian press: even when the frames used do not entail a negative depiction of migrants, discursive injustice can be traced in the absence of other, additional frames. In the analyzed corpus, migrants are most often recounted as beneficiaries or undergoers of actions carried out by other social participants. The marginality of frames in which migrants take an AGENT-like role, even in sub-corpora in which a more active representation could be expected, relates with the scarce news coverage of (and political interest for; cf. Ambrosini, 2022: 315) integration policies. For instance, while *ius soli* was featured in left-wing's programs on migration policies during the political campaign for the 2018 elections, the issue does emerge from typical frames of this year, unlike the topic of undocumented immigration reduction. Moreover, mainstream media tend to neglect the internal complexity of the social group of people with migratory background: for example, little is said about the demographic diversity of this group, that is also composed by older immigrants who have lived in Italy for many years[71] and by women.[72] Not least, a more diversified representation of migrations can derive from more diversified news writers accessing and bringing their perspectives to mainstream news production channels.

6.2. Conclusions

In this dissertation I have analyzed the frames that characterize migration discourse in contemporary Italian press, focusing on their variation across different years (between 2014 and 2021) as well as across newspapers with different features (i.e., ideological orientation, territorial diffusion, and publication periodicity). The study combines the theoretical and methodological tools of Cognitive Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Computational Linguistics, which together constitute the foundational ground of the emerging field of Computational-Critical Frame Semantics. For conducting this research, I have built a specialized, representative corpus of the textual genre under investigation, using the computational toolkit SocioFillmore for its automatic annotation for frames and semantic roles.

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[71] Cf. the demographic analysis of Centro Studi e Ricerche IDOS (2023: 339).

[72] Cf. https://www.ismu.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/ISMU_XXVI-Italian-Report-on-migrations_2020.pdf (accessed on 09/03/2023).

The current linguistic analysis does not delve into reconstructing the complexity of the motivations behind the state of the information on migrations in the Italian press. In this direction go more sociologically oriented works, such as the still relevant study by Maneri (2009). An interesting point of view is also offered by Barbano (2003), whose analysis is not limited to the topic of migrations but takes a wider look on Italian press: Barbano sees the cultural homogenization of Italian newspapers as a by-product of the relationship between the fragile identity of journalism and the power of new technologies.

Similarly, it is not among the aims of this study to analyze the extra-discursive factors – excluding newsworthy events, by their very nature objects of news discourse – that determine the type of narration preferred by journalists. Here, admittedly, the product 'journalistic article' is abstracted from its producer 'journalist', and the analysis of the binding relation between the two is left to other studies. For instance, Arcila-Calderón and colleagues (2021) conducted a series of interviews aimed at investigating the perceptions of Spanish, Italian, and Greek specialized journalists on the ways in which migrations are framed in these countries. What emerges from their analysis is that journalists are aware that the current mediatic representation of migrations and migrants is problematic and could be improved, for example through a more individualized and deeper coverage of migrants' condition and voices. Nevertheless, as this dissertation also shows, journalists can subtly contribute to the same problematic framing that they condemn even without being aware of it:

> "Among the reasons for this superficial and insufficient coverage, the journalists
> mention political agendas, but also note the precarity of journalism […] [,] ignorance
> or lack of knowledge about the topic. At the same time, this coverage is influenced
> by racist behaviors and discourses, or from rejection to minorities, especially due to
> origin or religion, not because journalists explicitly reject immigration, but because
> these behaviors are generalized in society" (Arcila-Calderón et al., 2021: 18-19).

Touching upon the discursive injustice derived by unintentional practices, journalists seem to be reluctant to follow the instructions of other non-journalist communication professionals on how they should use language in order not to contribute to reinforcing existing social inequalities.[73] Currently, an effort to address this issue is being made by the Center for Language and Cognition (CLCG) of the University of Groningen, which is beginning to establish collaborations with local news providers: their idea is implementing writing tools that use Computational Frame Semantics to

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[73] This was noted by Michela Murgia on the narration of femicides; see https://www.ilpost.it/2023/08/13/michela-murgia-giornali-linguaggio/ (accessed on 21/08/2023).

highlight the perspective on events assumed by journalists in their news pieces. An example would be the different framing choices required for presenting an event from the perspective of decision makers or for taking the perspective of citizens-voters.

To conclude, the present study certainly does not explore all the research questions that could potentially be addressed through the annotated corpus of news articles here introduced. Firstly, the available quantitative information on the semantic roles assumed by event participants is largely unexplored, but it could be fruitfully used. Table 26, for example, shows how frequently different social actors are mentioned in any agentive frames (i.e., in frames inherited from the superordinate INTENTIONALLY_ACT or TRANSITIVE_ACTION) and, within these, how frequently different social actors are mentioned in any agentive roles.[74]

Table 26. Frequency of mention of different social actors in agentive frames and with agentive roles.

Frame targets	Total occurrences	In agentive frames	%	Of which, in agentive roles	%
Any	2,370,354	316,521	13.4%	89,123	28.2%
Politicians	37,715	4,593	12.2%	2,739	59.6%
Alfano, Boldrini, Salvini	12,218	1,990	16.3%	1,212	60.9%
Italians	29,334	3,648	12.4%	1,161	31.8%
Migrants	127,161	17,730	13.9%	3,802	21.4%

This type of analysis can be conducted at different degrees of granularity: for instance, it would be possible to conduct within-frame analyses on the attribution of specific roles to different social actors in different contexts. Table 27 exemplifies this through mentions of different social actors in the frame STATEMENT within the whole corpus, but it would also be possible to explore and compare individual sub-corpora.

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[74] Each social group is defined through a list of keywords. For migrants, see note 32; for Italians, the lexemes *italiano*, *italiana*, *italiane*, and *italiani* are considered; for politicians, the list includes *ministro*, *ministra*, *ministri*, *ministre*, *presidente*, *presidenti*, *sindaco*, *sindaca*, *sindaci*, *sindache*, *senatore*, *senatrice*, *senatori*, *senatrici*, *deputato*, *deputata*, *deputati*, *deputate*, *prefetto*, and *prefetti*; Alfano, Boldrini and Salvini are the surnames of the most mentioned Italian politicians in the considered time span according to Associazione Carta di Roma (2021).

Table 27. Distribution of the role of SPEAKER across social actors in the frame STATEMENT.

Frame targets	Total occurrences	Within the frame STATEMENT	%	Of which, in the role of SPEAKER	%
Any	2,370,354	87,447	3.7%	27,611	31.6%
Politicians	37,715	5,102	13.5%	3,182	62.4%
Alfano, Boldrini, Salvini	12,218	1,603	13.1%	980	61.1%
Italians	29,334	518	1.8%	130	25.1%
Migrants	127,161	6,278	4.9%	678	10.8%

In addition to the comparison sketched in Chapter 3 between the corpus of articles built for this study and an analogous corpus of headlines, it would also be interesting to draw comparisons between these text types with respect to their typical frames in newspapers with different characteristics. Moreover, the corpus mark-up could be enriched with further analytical parameters, such as the socio-demographic features of newspapers' readers.[75]

Finally, the emerging research paradigm adopted in this dissertation can be beneficial to disciplines other than Linguistics, for both small- and large-scale studies, and it can corroborate the results of other qualitative or quantitative analyses conducted not only by academics, but also, for example, by media monitoring institutions and data journalists.

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[75] In Italy, for instance, information on the circulation of printed media is collected and disseminated by Audipress (https://audipress.it/; accessed on 10/12/2023).

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Appendix. Newspapers included in the corpus, with political orientation, religious orientation, periodicity, and territorial diffusion.

Name	Political orientation (-1 left-wing; 0 non-partisan; 1 right-wing)	+/- religious	Periodicity	Diffusion
Adista	-1	+rel	Periodical	National
Airone	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Alto Adige	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Altreconomia	-1	-rel	Periodical	National
Altroconsumo	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Avvenire	0	+rel	Daily	National
Aziendabanca	0	-rel	Periodical	National
BassanoWeek	1	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Bisenziosette	1	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
BresciaOggi	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Business People	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Capital	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Chi	0	-rel	Periodical	National
ChiantiSette	1	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Class	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Confronti	0	+rel	Periodical	National
Cor.Com	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Corriere Adriatico	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere del Mezzogiorno	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere del Ticino	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere del Trentino	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere del Veneto	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere della Sera	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere della Valle	0	+rel	Daily	National
Corriere dell'Alto Adige	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere delle Alpi	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere dell'Umbria	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere di Arezzo	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere di Bologna	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere di Siena	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere di Verona	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere fiorentino	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Corriere mercantile	0	-rel	Daily	National
Corriere Nazionale	0	-rel	Daily	National
Corriere Romagna	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Credere	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Cronache del Garantista	-1	-rel	Daily	National
CulturaIdentità	1	-rel	Periodical	National
Cuneo Sette	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Dagostopia.com	0	-rel	Daily	National
Democratica	-1	-rel	Periodical	National
Domani	-1	+rel	Daily	National
Domus	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Donna Moderna	0	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national

Name	Political orientation (-1 left-wing; 0 non-partisan; 1 right-wing)	+/- religious	Periodicity	Diffusion
Economy	0	-rel	Periodical	National
EPolis Bari in week	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Espansione	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Europa	0	-rel	Daily	National
Famiglia Cristiana	0	+rel	Periodical	National
Fanpage	0	-rel	Daily	National
Focus	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Gazzetta del Lunedì	0	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Gazzetta del Sud	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Gazzetta di Mantova	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Gazzetta di Parma	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Gazzetta di Reggio	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Gazzetta Matin	0	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Gente	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Gioia	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Giornale dell'Umbria	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Giornale di Brescia	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Giornale di Sicilia	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Grazia	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Gregorianum	0	+rel	Periodical	National
Il Caffe.tv	0	-rel	Daily	National
Il Centro	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
il Cittadino	0	+rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Cittadino di Genova	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Il Dubbio	0	-rel	Daily	National
il Fatto Quotidiano	-1	-rel	Daily	National
Il Federalista	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Il Foglio	1	-rel	Daily	National
Il Friuli	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
il galletto: il giornale del Mugello e della Val di Sieve	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Gazzettino	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Giornale	1	-rel	Daily	National
Il Giornale di Vicenza	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Giorno	1	-rel	Daily	National
Il Manifesto	-1	-rel	Daily	National
Il Mattino	0	-rel	Daily	National
Il Mattino di Padova	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Messaggero	0	-rel	Daily	National
Il Monferrato	0	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Il Nordest Quotidiano	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Nuovo Braidese	0	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Il Piccolo	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national

Name	Political orientation (-1 left-wing; 0 non-partisan; 1 right-wing)	+/- religious	Periodicity	Diffusion
Il Quotidiano del Friuli Venezia Giulia	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Quotidiano del Molise	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Quotidiano del Sud	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Resto del Carlino	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Il Riformista	0	-rel	Daily	National
Il Secolo XIX	-1	-rel	Daily	National
il Settimanale della diocesi di Como	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Il Sole 24 ore	0	-rel	Daily	National
Il Tempo	1	-rel	Daily	National
Il Tirreno	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Internazionale	-1	-rel	Daily	National
Io Donna	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Italia Oggi	0	-rel	Periodical	National
La Bisalta	0	-rel	Daily	National
La Difesa del Popolo	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Gazzetta dello Sport	0	-rel	Daily	National
La Gazzetta di San Severo	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Nazione	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Notizia	0	-rel	Daily	National
La Nuova del Sud	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Nuova di Venezia e Mestre	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La nuova ecologia	-1	-rel	Periodical	National
La Nuova Ferrara	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Nuova Gazzetta di Saluzzo	0	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
La Nuova Sardegna	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
la Padania	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Prealpina	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Provincia di Cremona	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Provincia di Varese	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Provincia Pavese	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Repubblica	-1	-rel	Daily	National
La Settimana	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
La Sicilia	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Stampa	-1	-rel	Daily	National
La Tribuna di Treviso	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Vallée Notizie	0	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
La Valsusa	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
La Verità	1	-rel	Daily	National
La Voce dei Berici	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
La Voce di Mantova	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Voce di Reggio Emilia	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national

Name	Political orientation (-1 left-wing; 0 non-partisan; 1 right-wing)	+/- religious	Periodicity	Diffusion
La Voce di Romagna	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
La Voce di Rovigo	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
L'Adige	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
L'Amico del Popolo	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
L'Arena	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Latina Editoriale Oggi	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
L'Azione	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Le Scienze	0	-rel	Periodical	National
L'Eco della Stampa	0	-rel	Daily	National
L'Eco delle Valli Valdesi	0	+rel	Periodical	National
L'Eco di Bergamo	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Left	-1	-rel	Periodical	National
L'Emigrato	0	+rel	Periodical	National
L'Espresso	-1	-rel	Periodical	National
Libero	1	-rel	Daily	National
Libertà	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
L'Osservatore Romano	0	+rel	Daily	National
L'Unione Sarda	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
L'Unità	-1	-rel	Daily	National
Mark-up	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Messaggero Veneto - Giornale del Friuli	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Metro	0	-rel	Daily	National
Metropolis	0	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
MF Milano Finanza	0	-rel	Daily	National
Missioni Consolata	0	+rel	Periodical	National
Modena in Prima Pagina	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
National Geographic	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Note Mazziane	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Nuova Gazzetta di Modena	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Nuovo Corriere Nazionale	-1	-rel	Daily	National
Nuovo Quotidiano di Puglia	-1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Oggi	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Origami	-1	-rel	Periodical	National
Pagina99	-1	-rel	Daily	National
Panorama	1	-rel	Periodical	National
PopoloDiPordenone	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Popotus	0	+rel	Periodical	National
Primo Piano Molise	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Problemi dell'Informazione	0	-rel	Periodical	National
QN Quotidiano Nazionale: Il Giorno/Il Resto del Carlino/La Nazione	1	-rel	Daily	National
Quotidiano di Bari	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national

Name	Political orientation (-1 left-wing; 0 non-partisan; 1 right-wing)	+/- religious	Periodicity	Diffusion
Quotidiano di Sicilia	0	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Riforma	0	+rel	Daily	Sub-national
Roma	0	-rel	Daily	National
Secolo d'Italia	1	-rel	Daily	National
Sette	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Sportweek	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Staffetta Quotidiana	0	-rel	Daily	National
Stile mese	1	-rel	Periodical	National
Style	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Tempi	1	+rel	Periodical	National
The Huffington Post	-1	-rel	Daily	National
Torino CronacaQui	1	-rel	Daily	Sub-national
Torinosette	-1	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Toscana Oggi	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Trentino	0	+rel	Daily	Sub-national
Tuttosport	0	-rel	Daily	National
Uomini & Business	-1	-rel	Periodical	National
Valori	-1	-rel	Daily	National
Vanity Fair	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Verona Fedele	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Vita	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Vita Trentina	0	+rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Viversani e Belli	0	-rel	Periodical	National
Voce	0	-rel	Periodical	Sub-national
Wired	0	-rel	Periodical	National