

Framing news and framing migrants: A qualitative study

Rosa Scardigno*, Giacinto Davide Guagnano**, Francesco Pagliarulo*

**Department of Educational Sciences, Psychology, Communication, University of Bari
“A. Moro”, Bari, Italy*

***Trier University, Germany*

Rosa Scardigno, Department of Educational Sciences, Psychology, Communication,
University of Bari “A. Moro”, Crisanzio Street, 42, 70121 Bari (Italy),
rosa.scardigno@uniba.it

Framing news and framing migrants: A qualitative study

Frames can have an essential role in the (re)production of the ‘shared ideologies’ concerning several social categories, including migrants. The overall aim of this work is to investigate the discursive construction of frames concerning migration, as rhetoric tools a) connected to editorial orientations; b) related to both specific events and more general thematic news articles; c) having socio-cultural and emotional connotations. The qualitative analysis of 235 Italian news articles enabled us to outline different configurations of discursive elements as well as to identify different emotional pathways. Reflections about the critical role of framing in the social knowledge construction are proposed.

Keywords: post-truth; frame; migrants; media studies; qualitative analysis

Introduction

Most of the scientific, sociological and psychological literature about “Post-truth” individuates in 2016 a kind of “watershed”: the US election of Trump and the electoral outcome from Brexit referendum drove the term to be named as the word of the year in 2016 by the Oxford Dictionary, because of its frequency of use during that period (Deligiaouri, 2018).

After this watershed, the reflections about truth, especially concerning political information, seemed to take a revitalized pathway (Temmerman et al., 2019). Specifically, a new question has become pivotal both in common speech and public opinion and among academic scholars: how should “post” be meant in “post-truth”?

As anticipated by the word “truthiness”, implying something that can either seem or be felt as true even if not necessarily so, a core position in this scenario is occupied by “emotion”. This doesn’t mean that before post-truth “less emotion” was part of the political domain, rather that a new awareness about its determining role in this domain is achieved (Boler & Davis, 2018).

As a matter of fact, since post-truth is mainly focused on rhetoric calling for emotions, in spite of the cross-checking validity of any fact when communicated to the public, this “emotionally resonant truth” (Deligiaouri, 2018, p. 307) can be explained through complementary socio-political and psychological phenomena: the questioning of big ‘master narratives’ in human culture (Temmerman et al., 2019), the current political communication dynamics, the satisfaction of psychological needs/bias and the consequent selective exposure to messages and so on. In this view, post-truth can be defined as a citizens’ reaction to the loss of faith in political truth. It is the “symptom” of the breakdown of social trust and of weak forms of knowledge. Even if the actual rise of the concept can be related to several reasons and factors, Harsin (2018) individuates a series of new forces both converging and creating an unprecedented environment: (a) Technology and Attention Economy (Speed and Cognition); (b) Journalism; (c) Promotional Culture; (d) Professional Political Communication.

An effective summary of the complexity of this construct is proposed by the metaphor of the ‘post-truth double helix’ (Gibson, 2018):

Post-truth politics refers to the specific political and rhetorical strategies that emerge from, and take advantage of, the circular relationship between the endless reflexivity of late modernity and a loss of faith in institutions that anchor truth claims, a dynamic amplified (but not created) by an emergent and participatory digital media ecology (3170).

In this scenario, it is not a surprise that after “truthiness” and “post-truth”, “fake news” becomes the 2017 word of the year. Meant as information “divorced from reality” (Waisbord, 2018, p. 1866), fake news has a really long story. Nonetheless, nowadays this phenomenon is “new” in speed and massive propagation, mostly related to the consumption of social media and digital platforms.

On the other side, a certain caution should be spent when a too easy identification between post-truth and fake news is proposed: a growing attention about “quality” of news is in the agenda of the information domain, thanks to a deeper care about facts (Glasser 2016[RS2]), to the investigative journalism and the fact-checking movement (Graves 2016).

Nonetheless, information and post-truth are set in several shades of grey, especially when specific domains and topics, such as political issues, are at stake. Migrants represent a special political issue implying various nuances of emotion elicitation and post-truth, since news can range from specific events to politicians’ positions. Therefore, this work focuses on the newspaper storytelling about the migrants’ issues. In particular, we aim to shed light on the framing dynamics concerning the social phenomenon of migration as well as on the possible phenomena of the social construction of (post)reality and the elicited range of emotions.

The discursive construction of framing

We usually express our claims and positions through language, which is culturally constructed and inherently metaphorical. When we use rhetoric and metaphoric sentences, we are constructing particular ways of thinking, talking and interacting with reality (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). Since discourses are readings of the facts and since partial and/or dominant readings contribute to construct our knowledge, discourses are significant for the social construction and perception of reality (Deligiaouri, 2018).

If it is so in common-speech, what about journalism? The debate about the role of journalism in telling truth and facing with reality is set on a continuum ranging from one extreme – filters, distortions and manipulations in journalism are ‘not incidents, but

patterns' (Luyendijk, 2006: 193) – to the opposite one – the 'objectivity-as-a-practice' position (Carpentier and Trioen, 2010). In the middle, issues like neutralism, authority, impartiality, balance and transparency are at stake (Temmerman et al., 2019).

In the Post-truth climate, since information is not necessarily coincident with lies and false beliefs at all, several additional post-truth narratives can be found, based on confusion, selective presentation of news and appeals for strategic ends. This kind of storytelling is anyway aimed to misinform as well as to manage opponents and/or govern by capturing attention, implying incessant public disputes about what is (in-)accurate and (dis-)honest (Harsin, 2018).

The "frame" concept, which was originally applied in the field of communication science, across time was adopted by other disciplines. On one side, this is the sign of the great research potential of the framing theorization; on the other side, several risks can derive: (a) frames can become a passe-partout in research; (b) in absence of a clear conceptualization, it can be treated as a "vague" concept; (c) in some cases, it can be merely applied as a subtle change in phrasing construction (Van Gorp, 2007).

In other words, since cultural frames are both rooted in media contents and interact with receivers' schemata, they act as a "bridge" between cognition and culture. Therefore, frames represent a core issue in the dynamic process of reality shaping (Torkington & Ribeiro, 2019). In order to study the concept of "frame" as embedded both in cultures and in media activities as well as to explain how frames are set in the relation between media and audiences, several efforts have been done to explain how they are constructed and how they work.

An interesting point of view concerning these issues is the Constructionist approach of Van Gorp (2007), which started from the founding approach to framing

proposed by Entman (1993; 2004). In line with this perspective, rather than being "everywhere" – in the communication process, in the minds of media makers and the audience, in media contents and in culture –, “the essence of framing is in social interaction” (Van Gorp, 2007, p 64). A frame can be then represented through a “frame package” which in turn can be defined by:

(1) manifest framing devices, such as word choices, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, visual images (Gamson & Lasch, 1983; Pan & Kosicki, 1993) and all the conceivable tools supporting the same core idea;

(2) manifest or latent reasoning devices, that is statements focused on justifications, causes, and consequences which support the frame package (Gamson & Lasch, 1983; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989);

(3) implicit cultural phenomena displaying these packages as a whole.

The four framing functions proposed by Entman (1993) – the promotion of a particular “problem definition”, “causal interpretation”, “moral evaluation”, and/or “treatment recommendation”, whose explication will be proposed in the methodological section – are related to reasoning devices.

A step further in this approach comes from the definition of framing as a form of “metacommunication”: in line with the “Pragmatics of human communications” (cf. Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967), a communicative event is composed not only by a content, but also by “frames”, which specify how the message should be interpreted. This means that mass-media can provide the audience both explicit information about some contents and implicit considerations about how they should be interpreted.

As for its working side,

the very heart of the framing mechanism is that, at a cognitive level, the framing devices that are incorporated in the news message activate a schema that hypothetically corresponds with the frame preferred by the journalist. Further, the frame package recalls a schema on the basis of which the receiver fills in the other reasoning devices that are not explicitly incorporated in the message (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 65).

The constructivist approach to framing can inspire more general reflections about the role of public arenas, especially media, in the construction, shaping, reinforcement and/or contestation of social categories (Torkington & Ribeiro, 2019). On one hand, media discourses represent essential sources for constructing knowledge and attitudes, therefore they play a key-role in the (re)production of the ‘shared ideologies’ of the public consuming media (Van Dijk, 1998; 2000). On the other hand, ideologies can be considered underlying social beliefs and values and acting as the basis for social representations, meant as common-sense ideas and images about the social world that are shared by either large groups or more differentiated sub-groups (Moscovici, 2000; Augoustinos et al., 2006).

At the intersection of post-truth policy (cfr. Barrera et al., 2020), framing dynamics (Klein and Amis 2021) and mediatic ideology (Teo, 2000), the migration phenomena represent a “hot” topic in the whole European context, especially in those countries which are directly involved in its political and social management. Social research about media representation of migrants paid attention to the use of linguistic and discursive strategies aimed to arouse emotional activations in the readers. In a research study dealing with the headlines of a major Italian news agency, Solano (2014) found that the immigrants’ images emerging from his data were mostly related to the topics of “arrival” and “criminality”, emphasizing the importance of lexical choices both to represent a whole category and to call for emotions in public opinion.

The importance of language in frame construction was also set by Binotto and Bruno (2021). Both framing and agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, pp. 176-187) can address news selection and, as a consequence, orient the social construction of reality. Therefore, specific pathways of emotion elicitation can be proposed when migrants are recurrently labeled as “diversi”, “estranei”, “nemici” [different, stranger, enemy] (Binotto & Bruno, 2021, p. 181)

In addition, starting from equality/inequality in the description of social groups, social representations about legitimate/illegitimate forms of migration can be constructed and shared.

“The social representations of, say, ‘immigrant’, ‘migrant worker’, ‘asylum seeker’, ‘refugee’ and other related terms such as ‘expat’ and ‘émigré’, are likely to be distinct and based on differing characteristics such as ethnic or national origin, social class, gender, age, profession or employment situation, and so on” (Torkington & Ribeiro, 2019, pp. 24-25). These social representations can be related to wider cultural frames, such as the ‘innocent victim’ or the ‘stranger as intruder’ (Van Gorp, 2005), the ‘humanitarian’ and ‘fear and securitization’ (Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2016). Both social representations and cultural frames can affect certain features of newspapers and differently capture the readers’ attention: resounding or descriptive headlines, eloquent adjectives, direct or indirect appeals to political forces are just some linguistic and discursive features distinguishing the news proposal. Beyond the classical opposition between “true” and “false”, the contradiction between “information and non-information” (see Luhmann 2000: 17) continues to attract the scholars’ attention from several points of view, ranging from the socio-economic level of the “cultural industry” to the psychosocial emphasis on beliefs, emotions and attitudes.

The overall aim of this work is to point out the relevance and the variety of the discursive construction of frames concerning migration flows as a rhetoric tool a) connected to editorial orientations; b) related to both specific events and more general thematic news articles; c) having socio-cultural and emotional connotations; c) in the Italian scenario, being one of the most critical landing places.

Migratory flows in the flows of news

As a prototypical object of uncertainty, “crisis” and challenges, and as an increasingly important matter for both political domain and public opinion concerns, the migratory flows are mostly depicted by media through ambivalent nuances (Caruso et al., 2019): in the first orientation, a negative and alarmistic frame is proposed, where migrants are presented as threatening and close to several kinds of criminality; in the second orientation, a “victimist” frame is pointed out, where migrants are defined as innocent, passive and in need for protection. Even if having a more paternalistic approach (Barnett, 2002), this second frame can construct/enhance stereotypical representations of migrants too. A third frame invokes themes of the integration, of the “good worker” and of cultural diversity, thus implying the character of the “hero” close to those of the “villain” and the “victim” (Benson, 2013).

A wide research covering the leading online newspapers in 2016 from the first European countries by the number of first asylum applications (including Italy), offered interesting results specifying some of these directions (Caruso et al., 2019): on the one hand, the proposal of a moral acceptance towards migrants limits their recognition as rights bearers and as a resource; on the other hand, migrants are mainly represented as anonymous, de-humanized and males, thus offering an only partial closeness to reality.

In this complex scenario, an additional point is that migration represents not only a sensitive matter for the information world, but also an excellent opportunity for

disinformation to be constructed, nourished and spread. Being perceived as a threat for real and symbolic reasons (Hynie, 2018), false or misleading information can reinforce negative emotions and legitimate discriminatory attitudes toward immigrants (Papapicco et al., 2022). More generally, the journalistic information on the theme of immigration presents clear limits, concerning a double orientation (Buoncompagni, 2021): a) the attempts to define an “old” phenomenon as an “unprecedented and current problem”; b) the process of criminalisation of the immigrant as an overused media narrative.

Explicitly referring to the media narratives, which can have sensitive importance in the subjective and collective processes of construction of reality and of public opinion, two broad groups of research on migration narratives were identified: the narratives “of” or “by” migrants, focused on ‘types of representations that migrants construct about their identities, experiences, values, and relations with out- groups, through storytelling’; the narratives “about” migrants concerned ‘storytelling as a practice within migrant communities and institutions that deal with migrants’ (De Fina, Tseng 2017, pp. 382). Whereas it is widely acknowledged that migrants and refugees possess a limited voice in media narratives about them, a far more prominent part of the literature has focused on the second variety of narratives, including both constructions of immigrants and matters concerning multi-culturalism, race and citizenship.

Boswell et al. (2021) individuated recurring orientations concerning these matters in media studies research: firstly, the focus on ethnic or national boundaries is often shifted in categorization concerning religious belonging, thus emphasizing the Islamisation of migration narratives (Yildiz, 2009; Morgan, Poynting 2016) and the radicalized attitude of Islamophobia (Clemons et al., 2020). Secondly, the focus on humanitarian and securitarian (public order) frames is widespread (D’Amato, Lucarelli,

2019). Consequently, either extreme and anti-immigrant claims are set; even in the humanitarian frame, a reduced subjectivity and agency is supposed since migrants are depicted as “victims”. Third, a “bordering” attitude has been found, which can be declined through different linguistic forms (Chouliaraki, Zaborowski, 2017): bordering by silencing, implying the marginalization of refugees’ voices; bordering by collectivization, implying that groups remain nameless; de-contextualization, implying a separation between refugees and their nuanced context. Other framing proposals, such as the concept of ‘winning’ and ‘losing’ narratives in the policy narratives, referring to Trump’s discourses (Jones, McBeth, 2020) and the cycles of vindication and criminalisation, anchored to the Italian context (Maneri, 2019) concur to provide a by-no-means inspiring scenario.

The research

Aims and research questions

In line with the above theoretical background, the main object of this work is to investigate the discursive construction of issues and frames concerning migrants in three Italian daily newspapers, regarding a particular episode, that is the migrants’ landing aboard the “Mare Jonio” boat. In order to better comprehend how these frames concur to define the enjeu of each journal, the following research questions were set:

- (1) Which are the main topics emerging from the selected corpus?
- (2) How are issues discursively constructed?
- (3) How do issues concur to construct the different frames proposed by the editorial orientations of the most popular Italian daily newspapers?

Corpus

The corpus was composed of articles from three popular Italian daily newspapers - “il Manifesto”, “il Giornale” and “la Repubblica”. The articles were selected if the words “migrant/s” and/or “migration” appeared in the whole text, in the period from August the 24th to September the 11th. This time included nine days before and after September the 2nd, the day of the migrants’ landing aboard the “Mare Jonio” (this episode was widely debated in the Italian public opinion, like other similar episodes). It is noteworthy that in the middle of this time, Italy was living an important political crisis which led, on August the 29th, to a new government: following difficult political negotiations, the “Conte I” Government, founded on the main alliance between Lega and 5 Stelle, gave way to the “Conte II”, born from the main alliance between 5 Stelle and PD. The two Governments were quite different in their ideological orientations, therefore in managing several political questions, including migrants’ issues. This procedure, which was similarly applied in a previous work (Guagnano, 2019), enabled us to gather 235 news articles, 61 from “il manifesto”, 68 from “il Giornale” and 106 from “la Repubblica”¹.

Analytical procedure

The corpus was analyzed employing qualitative content analysis (Mitozo et al., 2020), following a double-step procedure:

- (1) the identification of the issues emerging from each article;
- (2) an overall identification of the frames arising from each newspaper.

¹ “il Manifesto” was founded in 1971 by some left politicians expelled from the Italian Communist Party. Even now, it is considered the voice of the radical left in Italy. Founded in 1974, “il Giornale” found in Indro Montanelli one his most popular directors. In the last decades, its editorial line moved toward “sovereigntist” positions. “la Repubblica”, born in 1976 with a left liberal orientation, since 2019 belongs to Exor and nowadays is closer to the circles of the “right liberal” and large industrial groups of Northern Italy.

To define frames, we firstly identified the “issues”, relevant portions of text that were useful to point out the main topics addressed by each journal.

Secondly, frames were outlined in line with the well-known Entman’s model, founded on this definition: “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or recommendation for the item described (1993, pp. 52).

Following this model, we tried to identify portions of text corresponding to different framing devices, which we have called issues, as well as to manifest/latent reasoning devices (see section 2 points a and b). From these devices we identified frames that, explicitly referring to Entman’s model, were investigated concerning the following items:

- (a) problem definition, the problem presented as the content to be concerned for;
- (b) causal interpretation, concerning who or what is considered responsible for the problem;
- (c) evaluation, that is what motivates decisions and/or actions;
- (d) treatment recommendations, including eventual proposals and solutions.

To better understand the editorial policy of the selected newspapers, we also adopted Iyengar’s distinction between “thematic” and “episodic” frames (1991), implying the first term the reference to general topics - e.g. the laws and policies concerning migrants - and the second one any mention to specific happenings - e.g. the emergency landing of a boat.

Two coders studied and debated the coding scheme through examples and detailed instructions. After an initial tranche of blind coding of the first 30 articles, the coding system was fine-tuned through the second coding step, including 30 articles. After these

upgrades, Cohen's Kappa, used as a measure of agreement between the two coders, increased from 0.70 (usually classified as substantial) to 0.80.

Results

The 235 analyzed articles enabled us to individuate 349 frames, meaning that each article in our corpus contained more than one frame. In line with the overall article number, “la Repubblica” had the higher number of frames, followed by “il Giornale” and “il Manifesto” (tab. 1).

	Number of articles	Number of issues	Average of issues per article
Il Manifesto	61	78	1,28
Il Giornale	68	101	1,49
La Repubblica	106	170	1,60
Tot.	235	349	1,49

Table 1. Number of articles and related issues for each newspaper

The relation between articles and issues was calculated (tab. 1): il Manifesto, il Giornale and La Repubblica, respectively present on average 1.28, 1.49 and 1.60 issues for each article.

“Il Manifesto”

The newspaper mainly dealt with the migrants' matters by offering a political view, looking for causes and relations to argue better the specific topics covered by each article.

In particular, concerning causal interpretation, political choices are clearly identified as the causes of migrants' destiny. Therefore, a great expectation was related to the possible change from anti-migrant political choices (emphasized in the newspaper during the Conte I Government) and potential pro-migrant ones (potentially emerging from a new coalition), in turn having a significant impact on migrants' lives. The centrality of the political domain is also confirmed by issues referring to foreign policy (contextualized both inside and outside the European Union).

Topics	Number of issues
M5S Contradiction	3
Critics to Salvini's politics	5
Critics to Conte I Government	5
New Government	28
Foreing policy and EU	5
Migrant's affairs	20
Debate on social, legal and cultural issues - Opinion speeches	12

Table 2. Number of issues for each topic of "il Manifesto".

As Tab. 2 shows, the main narratives emerging from the corpus concern the new Government, involving two parties (M5S and PD) searching for a complex agreement, especially since M5S came from the previous Government agreement with the Salvini's group. This last group is well-known to be sovereigntist and explicitly opposed to the "open" ports.

In this general scenario, attentive recommendations focused on the revision of the previous legislation on migrants (several references to "decreti voluti da Salvini sul tema della sicurezza" - "decrees wanted by Salvini on the security issues" were found) as well as on the migrants' integration as Italian citizens. At the same time, when migrants are mentioned, lexemes such as "rifugiati" (refugees), "profughi" (asylum-seekers), and "naufraghi" (castaways) appear, connoting the miserable condition of migrants coming by sea. Lexicon was the primary tool for conveying a marginalized and compassionate migrants' image and for eliciting empathy for their fate. As an example, an article on August the 25th talked about the opposition between migrants as "deboli e indifesi" (weak and defenseless) and "politiche ferocemente disumane" (ferociously inhumane policies).

The core argumentation of the newspaper can be summarized as follows: since the legislation of the Lega-M5S Government contributed to broadening the tragedy of desperate people searching for a better life, the new Government is called to face this situation. Issues concerning the Italian political debate are twofold: on the one hand, the previous Government and the related migration policy were criticized; on the other hand, the need for a new migration policy is claimed.

An article from August the 28th focuses on "discontinuity": both the title (ex. 1) and the text (ex. 2) proposed a solution in this direction.

Ex. 1: "la prima discontinuità sia sui migranti" (the first break should be on the migrants)

Ex. 2: "chiedere e pretendere gradienti di fortissima discontinuità" (asking and demanding for a massive discontinuity)

The interpretation of this issue was supported by words emphasizing the importance of a "ritorno alle regole" (return to the rules) to regain the right direction: "rispetto degli impegni presi a livello ONU ed europeo" (compliance with the

commitments made with UN and Europe). The need for a strong discontinuity in migration policies also emerges in the critics of the new Government' first steps, as testified by the title of another article "La timida riforma dei decreti Salvini contro migranti e ONG" (the shy reform of Salvini's decrees against migrants and NGOs) (September the 4th).

The claim for discontinuity was clearly requested in other issues, even supported by moral valuations, discursively constructed through disparaging connotations like "fascio-leghista" (fascist-leaguist) - referred to the outgoing Government - and pathemic adjectives like "un tragico naufragio" (a tragic shipwreck).

As expected, several issues concerning boats transporting migrants in the Mediterranean Sea were found, specifically concerning the vicissitudes of the NGO rescue ships and their requests, disowned or denied by Italian and Maltese legislations. In addition, these episodes offer the opportunity to describe the legal and political difficulties related to the availability and reception of the Italian ports and the precarious migrants' hygienic and psychological conditions on board.

In this scenario, migrants are described as "naufraghi" (shipwrecked), "persone in condizione di fragilità" (people in a fragile condition) and the word "tragedy" is often used. On the one side, these lexemes contribute to the emotional activation, by eliciting feelings of empathy and compassion for the migrants' vicissitudes; on the other side, additional connections with the political issues are claimed: the dramatic events of NGO ships and their legitimate requests for welcoming and safe ports made the migration policy by Lega-M5S severely inappropriate. As a recommendation, it is suggested to assign safe harbors to the OnG ships and let the migrants disembark.

As a legitimating discursive strategy, the journal's core argumentations are supported employing some critical positioning too, reported through their own words, such as in the following examples:

- (1) a PD parliamentarian's words: "Mi aspetto che i ministri Lamorgese, Guerini e De Micheli correggano l'errore. Discontinuità significa via le politiche di Salvini". (I expect the ministers Lamorgese, Guerini and De Micheli to correct the error. Discontinuity means that Salvini's policies are off), thus implying a negative judgment of the previous migration policy;
- (2) the international spokeswoman of the German NGO Sea-Eye words: "questa modalità è molto rischiosa per gli effetti che produce sulle altre persone che sono ancora costrette a bordo" (this mode is very risky because of the effects it produces on the others still forced on board).

The used lexicon - "preoccupanti" (worrying), "rischiosa" (risky), "costrette" (forced) - proposes an implicit value judgment implying both human worry and political blame.

"Il Giornale"

The 68 article from this newspaper includes 101 issues, where migrants' question are approached taking into account specific episodes; in addition, in most of the articles this question is covered as mostly peripheral.

In general, it can be seen that moral judgments or possible solutions rarely occur. Few references to migrants as "persons" have been found; instead, the migratory phenomenon is considered a general whole, thus reducing the emphatic activation. A different (nearly opposite) emotional emphasis is elicited through a high-risk scenario for Italy using expressions such as: "pericolo invasione" (danger of invasion); "sotto assedio" (under siege) and "il campo profughi d'Europa" (the refugee camp in Europe).

An additional attempt to reduce the emphatic impact and to promote moral disengagement derives from recalls to responsibility diffusion, as in the example “gli altri paesi fanno così” ("other European countries act in this way"), concerning the practice of “locked ports”.

Topics	Number of issues
Weakness of new Government	24
Defense of Salvini (and "Security decrees")	6
"Center-Right" Debate	4
Plot against Salvini	5
Conte's betrayal	8
Danger of invasion (NGOs and Europe)	52
Migrant's wellbeing	2

Table 3. Number of issues for each topic of “il Giornale”.

Two critical topics emerge from the data: in the early days of our timespan, the hypothesis of the new Government is presented as weak and ineffective, whereas Salvini and his policies concerning migrants are defended. Over the days, as long as the new political alliance of the so-called “Governo Giallo-Rosso” (Conte II Government) became more concrete, the central theme shifted to the danger concerning migrants’ invasions. This topic was accompanied by direct accusations addressed to Giuseppe Conte to be “sold” with the “European bureaucracies” and the “great powers”, since the new Government would have opened the doors to the migrants’ invasion. In addition, six issues were aimed at saving Minister Salvini’s past policies, thus creating a defensive climate rather than an offensive position.

In addition, the activation of “fear” is proposed through specific lexical choices: as an example, in the article of September the 1st entitled “Il cacciatore di navi fantasma: ‘C’è chi nasconde i migranti’” (The ghost ship hunter: ‘There are those who hide migrants’), several terms and sentences cultivate such a frightening climate, e.g. “sbarchi fantasma” (ghost landings), “pericolo invasione” (danger of invasion), “criminalità organizzata” (organized crime). In the following excerpt:

Ex 3: “Arrivano e spariscono come fantasmi” [...] “anche malviventi e terroristi” [...] “grazie ad una filiera ben collaudata probabilmente in accordo con la criminalità organizzata” (They arrive and disappear like ghosts [...] also criminals and terrorists [...] thanks to a well-tested supply chain probably in agreement with organized crime)

The fear is exacerbated through sentences evoking hidden and related phenomena, thus suggesting an occult direction behind the described episodes. A clear example of "Conte's betrayal" can be found in the article by September the 11th, entitled “Conte già commissariato” (Conte already under receivership), where the topic is a direct attack, as testified in excerpt 4:

Ex. 4: “[Conte] vuole accreditarsi come statista agli occhi dei poteri che contano [...] i salotti che contano di Parigi e Berlino” ([Conte] wants to be accredited as a statesman in the sight of solid powers [...] the counting parlours of Paris and Berlin).

Conte was also defined as a “professore in pochette” (professor in pochette) and as “da avvocato del popolo ad avvocato dell’élite” (from peoples’ lawyer to élite’s one), in opposition to Salvini, depicted as the “victim” of this system. The above-mentioned issues also introduce the political debate among the several center-right forces and confirm the defence of Salvini's policies.

Other issues emphasize the risk of migrants' invasions, connected to an "obscure" direction orchestrated by the European bureaucracies. In addition, a new topic is proposed, the "plot against Salvini": together with "Conte's betrayal" and with the more general argumentation, it contributes to cultivating a climate of anti-sovereign conspiracy. Additional questions corroborating a defensive and critical position concerned the efficacy of the "locked ports" policy and the declarations of migrants' good health conditions.

As an example, the article of August the 27th, whose title is "I migranti della Open Arms stavano bene" (The migrants of Open Arms were fine), was especially aimed to emphasize the migrants' good conditions in the Pozzallo Hotspot: they could spend their time "giocando a ping pong o a calcetto" (playing ping pong or five-a-side football) or "pregando" (praying) and they had "telefoni satellitari con memorizzati i numeri delle ONG" (satellite phones with stored NGO numbers), delivered by "trafficienti" (traffickers). In addition, a cited source – whose identity is not disclosed – revealed that "non ci sono situazioni sanitarie critiche sulla Open Arms" ("there are no critical health situations on the Open Arms).

The article of August the 28th "Matteo cerca in extremis di riaccendere il forno. Ma i 5 Stelle lo snobbano" (Matteo [Salvini] tries in extremis to return the oven on. But 5 Stelle snub him) values Salvini's attempts to reopen dialogue with the M5S and emphasizes the internal contradictions of the M5S. Salvini's satisfaction about the prevention of the "nave tedesca Eleonor" (German ship Eleonor) from entering "acque italiane" (Italian waters) was claimed, thus emphasizing his efforts against the invasion orchestrated by foreign countries and managed by NGOs to destabilize the Italian scenario. Salvini's words also refer to Conte as the new "elite's lawyer" while talking about the merits of the Government he is trying to save.

Overall, three main assumptions were addressed to the readers: (1) the Italian reception system is “a paradise”; (2) the migrants' conditions are fine; therefore, they did not need to be disembarked; (3) the strict interplay between NGOs and human traffickers.

“La Repubblica”

Compared with other newspapers, "la Repubblica" shows several peculiarities. First, in the same period, both articles (tab. 1) and issue numbers (tab. 1) are considerably higher.

Moreover, the issues are, on average, more structured: e.g., most of them proposed solutions, thus implying a proactive and proposing attitude when general questions are at stake.

The political debate and the succession between “Conte I” and “Conte II” Governments are the core of the proposed arguments; in addition, issues deal with the migrants’ questions predominantly peripherally (tab. 4).

Topics	Number of issues
Inhumanity of Conte I Government	11
Inhumanity of Salvini and Lega	18
M5S contradictions	9
PD contradictions	7
New Government	50
Foreign policy	9
Salvini vs new Government	1
Boat events	30

Specific migrants' stories	5
Opinion leaders' positioning about social and cultural issues	30

Table 4. Number of issues for each topic of “la Repubblica”.

The emerging issues mainly concern the political debate, specifically referring to the “fate” of the forthcoming Government, focusing on the contradictions of its several political forces. In this scenario, the migration phenomenon is presented more as a destabilizing theme for the political agenda rather than as an emotion-raising one: even the moral condemnation of Salvini and Conte I migrants’ policies and the challenges of Conte II Government allow little margin for closeness and empathy toward the migrants’ condition. However, a certain emotional elicitation comes from some extensive interviews with opinion leaders and personalities from the cultural and social world.

Even the events concerning NGO boats and rescue episodes act as a chance to denounce the ongoing clash in the Government, founded on the contradiction between “europeismo” (Europeanism) and “sovranoismo” (sovereignism, here considered as a synonym of “populism”). Within this contradiction, the migrant’s reception is more considered a political tactic than an emotionally marked social action. However, the values of “moderazione” (moderation) and “sicurezza” (security) are also emphasized: as a matter of fact, a certain continuity with the previous migrants’ policy is suggested.

The article published on September 8th, entitled “Patto sui migranti, pace con l’UE. Così Conte chiude l’era Salvini” (Pact on migrants, peace with the EU. How Conte closes the Salvini era), shows that migrants can represent a cover-topic. In contrast, the core argumentation concerns the new course of relations with the EU.

Excerpts 5 and 6 testify to this trend. In other words, migrants represent a rather peripheral topic, whose importance is related to a new international political balance.

Ex. 5: “Un esecutivo che cercherà di migliorare l’Europa” (A government that will try to improve Europe)

Ex. 6: “evitare il bombardamento di Salvini” (to avoid the Salvini’s bombing)

Another example is the article published in August the 28th, dealing with the new possible Ministers: it is an additional opportunity to blame Salvini, whose activities created “la grancassa dei porti chiusi” (the bass drum of locked ports) and to hope for “un drastico calo degli sbarchi, ma senza dirette facebook” (a drastic drop in landings, without live on Facebook). It should be argued that the “Decreti Sicurezza” (Security Decrees) are mainly evoked to underline Salvini’s inhumanity and his excessive emphasis on the theme.

After August the 29th, a new focus was devoted to events involving migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea over the boats; less attention was paid to political and party issues concerning migrants. These issues appear as mere descriptions, with any possible solutions.

In the article of September the 3rd focusing on the vicissitudes of the boat “Eleonore”, the previous Government policies are considered the cause of the migratory disaster, described in the title as a “muro che si sgretola” (crumbling wall) and useless, and in an Italian politician’s words: “non hanno risolto nulla” (they have solved nothing).

Compared with previous examples, the article published on August the 31st proposes a more empathetic approach to migrants’ conditions through an interview with a new possible majority party’s representative, who criticizes the “Security Decree” and Minister’s activity since:

Ex 8: “sta tenendo da giorni e giorni in alto mare una nave piena di migranti, a cui è vietato avvicinarsi a Lampedusa” (has been keeping for days and days on the open seas a ship full of migrants, which is forbidden to approach Lampedusa).

The critical stance is also improved by an assertive attitude that is discursively constructed utilizing political jargon (also in the form of a slogan such as “basta con i porti chiusi” - “stop closed ports”) and more subjective positioning (e.g. “trovo molto irritante...” - “I find it really irritating...”).

Discussion

The above analyses allow us to propose the following insights to systematize the emerging issues in the frames’ analysis (table 5).

Frames	Problem Definition	Casual Interpretation	Moral Evaluation	Treatment Recommendation
New migration policy - Thematic (il Manifesto)	Policies on migration and migrants	All previous policies on migration make migrants conditions unacceptable	All previous policies were inhumane, in particular Salvini’s and Minniti’s ones	General rethinking of policies on migrations in Italy and EU
Migrants’ painful stories - Episodic (il Manifesto)	Condition of migrants during the trip and in relation to reception system	The laws prevent migrants from being considered as people and as opportunity for the host society	Governments and societies don’t care about conditions of these migrants	Immediate safe migrant disembarkation and better welcoming and integration
Danger of migrants invasion - Episodic (il Giornale)	Every single landing threatens the security of Italy and its citizens	Allowing landings and welcoming migrants is a danger for Italian	Those who favor the landings, especially NGOs, are a danger to the Italian	Only sovereign policies and “locked ports” policy can stop migrants landings
Conspiracy plot for a new Government - Thematic (il Giornale)	European bureaucracies conspire against the sovereign government in	The conspiracy of European bureaucracies causes the formation of the new	European bureaucracies are enemies of Italy's sovereignty	Maintain a sovereign government

	Italy	government		
Migrants as a matter of political debate - Thematic (la Repubblica)	The conflict of the Conte I government with the EU on locked port policy	The "locked ports" policy undermines the relationship between Italy and other European countries and between Italy and Europe	The attitude of the Conte I government towards Europe is unacceptable	A new government has to restore international relations and a European management of the migration crisis
Migrants vicissitudes across the sea - Episodic (la Repubblica)	Migrants vicissitudes across the sea	The policies of the Conte I government cause migrants vicissitudes across the sea	The Conte I government is indifferent to the suffering of migrants	Regulation and political definition of landing conditions are required

Table 5. Frames identified for each newspaper in relation to Entman's elements.

The articles from "Il manifesto" propose two frames: the thematic frame, involving the majority of issues, claims for a new migration policy, that could be (hopefully) improved by the upcoming Government alliance between PD and M5S. This first direction is especially emphasized before August the 29th - a second critical data in our timespan, coinciding with the birth of "Conte II" - and is accompanied by an overt critical attitude toward the previous Government and its core figures (first of all, Salvini) having an aggressive and rather discriminating address. The episodic frame emphasizes migrants' painful stories, especially through telling specific episodes about: a) the dire conditions on NGO boats; b) the impossibility of these boats to safely disembark. The 'recommendations' confirmed the connections between problem definition and causal interpretation. The requests for safe migrant disembarkation and for the renewal of migrants policies can be interpreted as a more general editorial

approach improving a holistic and systemic approach to migration, as testified by the following excerpt:

Ex. 9: “Non basta ridimensionare il decreto sicurezza bis. Occorre ripensare il tema della migrazione in tutta la sua complessità [...]” (It is not sufficient to debunk the Security Decree bis. It is necessary to reconsider the migration issue in its full complexity).

In addition, emotional involvement is proposed, especially through an emotionally charged lexicon dealing with migrants’ unfortunate and miserable conditions.

Two frames were found in “il Giornale”, following the two political phases – the end of the “Conte I” and the birth of “Conte II” Governments – and the related political party alliances. At the peak of the Conte I crisis, the episodic frame, including most issues, concerns the possible dangers of migrants’ invasions, consistent with the sovereignist positioning. Italy is depicted as a “hostage” of migrants’ landings; in addition, migrants are more defined as a “pressing mass” rather than as “persons”, as a problem rather than as a human question. It seems that migration is framed to create a political climate in favor of the troubled Government. Migrants are re-considered as persons only when their good conditions are taken for granted, both in the first asylum and in the ships getting stuck, offering therefore reasons to justify the “locked ports” policy. When any possibilities of dialogue among the parties of the Conte I Government are over, the danger of invasion is again proposed, this time as part of a conspiracy plot organized by the European bureaucracies and giving life to the new Government. This last one is presented as a weak “gimmick” and as a danger as composed by “extreme left-wing” orientations. In such a thematic frame, a sovereign government is presented as the only solution to international conspiracies against Italian interests.

In “la Repubblica” the thematic frame, involving most of the issues, concerns the migrants’ reception as a matter of political debate for both Governments. The Conte I Government is presented as a locked-ports defender and as an opposer to the International and European policy positions: by pointing fingers at the international community, it sympathizes with the national independence proposals and anti-European sovereignty. The new alliance is depicted as promoting a new migratory policy, quite opposed to the previous right-wing one, and as mediating between the national demands and the EU rationales. In addition, the new Government is presented as an opportunity to restore a dialogue with EU institutions (e.g. the right of asylum, the Dublin Treaty and so on), in line with welcoming positions.

The second episodic frame covers the migrants’ vicissitudes across the sea, through the statements of NGO representatives who narrate them as dramatic events arousing trouble and human care. In particular, a new challenge is expected regarding regulation and political definition of landing conditions.

A general comparison among the frames emerging from the three journals’ corpora enabled us to outline different emotional pathways. More than the others, “Il manifesto” focuses on the poor conditions of migrants, depicted as “human beings” and victims of extreme and adverse conditions, which oblige them to abandon their lands and to trust in “voyages of hope”. Therefore, compassion and empathy toward intolerable human conditions are activated. These feelings are rather missing in “il Giornale”, where the migrants’ issues appear related to risks and dangers for the national boundaries and the potential destabilization of the national interests (acted by the European bureaucracies). “La Repubblica” is more oriented to emphasize parliamentary politics, explicitly referring to the different kinds of alliance between the

two Governments; investigations about the human alterations, even if in a less pronounced emotional way, are proposed too.

In brief, the identified frames support the identification of three different emotional pathways, which can be summarized as follows: whereas "il Manifesto" mainly focuses on empathy, "il Giornale" is more oriented to create an apprehension climate; "la Repubblica" approaches migrants' problem from a less emotional standpoint, preferring political and tactical interpretations. Specific connotative words/expressions act as political enjeu markers and have a specular meaning in two of the considered newspapers. In "il Giornale", the political perspectives of 'sovereignism' and 'populism' are accompanied by a feeling of 'victimism' because of the 'European bureaucracies', converging in an 'anti-system' positioning and in a negative connotation of Europe. On the other hand, "La Repubblica" opposes the positive positions of 'Europeanism' and 'moderation' to the two aforementioned political perspectives. This opposition gives way to the complementary dialectic between 'civilisation' and 'barbarism', between 'progress' and 'involution'.

Nowadays, a part of the information world especially marks these pathways and, therefore, either confirms or orientates different positions in public opinion. As a more severe consequence, the discursive dynamics concerning the construction of social reality can support the polarization of positioning about migration and empower ideological conflicts (Ashok Swain, 1995, pp. 247-265). The analyzed Italian case and journals can be contextualized in this complex background.

Concluding remarks

The identified frames substantially confirm the trends emerging from the literature, such as the polarization and the systematic treatment of migration as an emergency concerning humanitarian or security matters (Gerli, Marini, 2019). Specifically, the

neglected focus on migrants as “subjects” of the discourses persists and characterizes both protection and humanitarian frames, with some exceptions found in the news articles from "Il manifesto" (Binotto, Bruno, 2021). In addition, whereas, in line with the literature, the episodic frames are characterized mainly by an emergency approach in all the newspapers (Gerli, Marini, 2019), "la Repubblica" and "il Manifesto" appear as oriented to treat the migratory issues in from a broader organic perspective in the thematic frames. On the other hand, the identified frames from "il Giornale" rather confirm a criminalizing narrative (Maneri, 2019). However, the ideological conflict on migrants is profoundly modified in its narrative, with the frames changing in relation to the change of the political context.

References

- Augoustinos, M.; Walker, I. and Donaghue, N. (2006). *Social Cognition: An Integrated Introduction*. Sage: London.
- Barnett L. (2002), “Global governance and the evolution of the international refugee regime”, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 14, 2-3, 238-262.
- Barrera, O.; Guriev, S.; Henry, E. and Zhuravskaya, E. (2020). Facts, alternative facts, and fact checking in times of post-truth politics. *Journal of Public Economics*, 182.
- Benson, Rodney. 2013. *Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Binotto, M. and Bruno, M. (2021). Confini e nemici. Immaginario e frame delle migrazioni nel discorso pubblico italiano. *H-ermes, Journal of Communication*, 19, 181-206.
- Boswell, C., Smellie, S., Maneri, M., Pogliano, A., Garcés-Mascareñas, B., Benet-Martínez, V., & Güell, B. (2021). *The emergence, uses and impacts of narratives on migration: State of the art*.
- Bourdieu, P. (1980). *Le sense pratique*, Minuit: Paris
- Buoncompagni, G. (2021). Misinformation, Stereotypes and Perceptions of Institutions: The Perspective of Young Italians on Immigration after the “Shootings in Macerata”. *Open Journal of Political Science*, 11(02), 215.

Carpentier, N. and Trioen, M. (2010). The particularity of objectivity: A post-structuralist and psychoanalytical reading of the gap between objectivity-as-a-value and objectivity-as-a-practice in the 2003 Iraq War coverage. *Journalism*, 11 (3), 311–328.

Caruso M. G., Cerbara L., Pelliccia A., Tudisca V., Valente A., Calcagno V., Formentini V., Piromalli L., Ronca V., Santurro M., Zampino L.) (2019) “Rappresentazione dei migranti nelle testate online europee”. In *Imago migrantis: migranti alle porte dell'Europa nell'era dei media*, edited by Valentina Tudisca, Andrea Pelliccia, Adriana Valente, 27-109. Roma: Istituto di Ricerche sulla Popolazione e le Politiche Sociali.

Chouliraki L., Zaborowsky R. (2017) Voice and community in the 2015 refugee crisis: A content analysis of news coverage in eight European countries, *International Communication Gazette*, 79 (6-7), 613–635

Clemons R. S., Mcbeth M. K., Peterson R. D., Palmer C.L. (2020) “The Narrative Policy Framework and Sticky Beliefs: An Experiment Studying Islamophobia”, *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 27 (3), 472–500

D'Amato S., Lucarelli S. (2019) Talking Migration: Narratives of Migration and Justice Claims in the European Migration System of Governance, *The International Spectator*, 54 (3), 1 - 17

De Fina, Anna, and Amelia Tseng. 2017. “Narrative in the Study of Migrants.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Migration and Language*, edited by Suresh Canagarajah, 381–396. Abingdon, UK Routledge.

Eco, U. (1979). *Lector in fabula. La cooperazione interpretativa nei testi narrativi*. Milano: Bompiani.

Entman, R. M. (1993). “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm”. *Journal of Communication*, 43 (4), 51–58.

Entman, R. M. (2004). *Projections of power. Framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy*. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Gamson, W. A. and Lasch, K. E. (1983). *The political culture of social welfare policy*. In Spiro, S. E. and Yuchtman-Yaar, E. (Eds.). *Evaluating the welfare state. Social and political perspectives* (pp. 397–415). Academic Press: New York.

Gamson, W. A. and Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95 (1), 1–37.

Georgiou, M. and Zaborowski, R. (2016). *Report: Media coverage of the “refugee crisis”: A cross-European perspective*. London School of Economics and Political Science: London.

Gerli M., Marini R. (2019) La costruzione del tema immigrazione nel rapporto media-politica: tra emergenze cicliche e strategie dell'insicurezza, in V. Tudisca, A. Pelliccia,

A. Valente (a cura di), *Imago Migrantis: Migranti alle porte dell'Europa nell'era dei media*, CNR-IRPPS: Roma, 171-186

Guagnano, G. D. (2019). The principles of communication on refugees in the context of post-truth. *Church Communication and Culture*, 4 (3), 323-350.

Harsin, J. (2018). Post-truth and critical communication studies. *Oxford research encyclopedia of communication*.

Hynie, M. The social determinants of refugee mental health in the post-migration context: A critical review. *Can. J. Psychiatry* 2018, 63, 297–303.

Jones M. D., Mcbeth M. K. (2020) Narrative in the Time of Trump: Is the Narrative Policy Framework good enough to be relevant?, *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 42 (2), 91 - 110.

Klein, J. and Amis, J. M. (2021). The dynamics of framing: Image, emotion, and the European migration crisis. *Academy of Management Journal*, 64 (5), 1324-1354.

Luhmann, N. (2000). *The Reality of Mass Media*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Luyendijk, J. (2006). *Het zijn net mensen: Beelden uit het Midden-Oosten*. Amsterdam: Podium.

Maneri M. (2019) «Vengono per delinquere»: logiche e cicli di criminalizzazione dell'immigrazione, *La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali*, 2, 63 – 84

McCombs, M. E. and Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36 (2), 176–187.

Mitozo, I., da Costa, G., & Rodrigues, C. (2020). How do traditional media incorporate statements from political actors in social media? An analysis of the framing of Jair Bolsonaro's tweets in Brazilian journalism. *Brazilian journalism research*, 16(1), 152-177.

Morgan, George, and Scott Poynting. 2016. *Global Islamophobia: Muslims and Moral Panic in the West*. London, UK: Routledge.

Moscovici, S. (2000). *The phenomenon of social representations*. In: Moscovici, S., Duveen, G. (Eds.). *Social Representations: Explorations in Social Psychology* (pp. 18–77). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Nájera, L. G. (2009). *Transnational migration, conflict, and divergent ideologies of progress*. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 38, 269-302.

Pan, Z. P., and Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, 10 (1), 55–75.

Papapicco, C.; Lamanna, I.; D'Errico, F. Adolescents' Vulnerability to Fake News and to Racial Hoaxes: A Qualitative Analysis on Italian Sample. *Multimodal Technol. Interact.* 2022, 6, 20. <https://doi.org/10.3390/mti6030020>

Pietroni D., Rumiati R. (2004). *Negoziare*. Milano: Raffaello Cortina

Solano, G. (2014). *Da extracomunitario a clandestino: l'immigrato nei discorsi dei media*. In: P. Musarò, P. Parmiggiani (Eds.). *Media e migrazioni. Etica, estetica e politica del discorso umanitario* (pp. 109-123). Milano: Franco Angeli.

Swain, A. (1995). Environmental Migration and Political Conflicts. Bangladeshis in India. In: Tekeste Negash and Lars Rudebeck (Eds.) *Dimension of Development With Emphasis on Africa. Proceedings from Interdisciplinary Conference on Third World Studies* (pp. 247-265). Uppsala: Uppsala University, Reprocentralen HSC.

Temmerman, M. and Moernaut, R. and Coesemans, R. and Mast, J. (2019). Post-truth and the political: Constructions and distortions in representing political facts. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 27, 1-6.

Teo, P. (2000). Racism in the News: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reporting in Two Australian Newspapers. *Discourse & Society*, 11 (1), 7-49

Torkington, K. and Ribeiro, F. P. (2019). 'What are these people: migrants, immigrants, refugees?': Migration-related terminology and representations in Portuguese digital press headlines. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 27, 22-31.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as discourse*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.

Van Dijk, T.A., (2000). *New(s) racism: a discourse analytical approach*. In: Cottle, S. (Ed.), *Ethnic Minorities and the Media* (pp. 33-49). Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Van Gorp, B. (2005). Where is the frame? Victims and intruders in the Belgian press coverage of the asylum issue. *European Journal of Communication*. 20 (4), 485-508.

Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. *European Journal of communication*. 57(1), 60-78.

Watzlawick, P.; Beavin, J. H. and Jackson, D. D. (1967). *Pragmatics of human communications: A study of interactional patterns, pathologies, and paradoxes*. New York: Norton & Company.

Yildiz, Yasemin. 2009. "Turkish Girls, Allah's Daughters, and the Contemporary German Subject: Itinerary of a Figure." *German Life and Letters* 62 (4): 465-481.