

RESPOND

Working Papers

Global Migration: Consequences and Responses

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Conflicting Conceptualisations of Europeanisation

Italy Country Report

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About the Project

RESPOND: Multilevel Governance of Mass Migration in Europe and Beyond is a comprehensive study of responses to the 2015 Refugee Crisis. One of the most visible impacts of the refugee crisis is the polarisation of politics in EU Member States along with intra-Member State policy incoherence in responding to the crisis, stemming from diverse constitutional structures, legal provisions, economic conditions, public policies and cultural norms. More research is needed to determine how to mitigate conflicting needs and objectives. With the goal of enhancing the governance capacity and policy coherence of the European Union (EU), its Member States and neighbours, RESPOND has brought together fourteen partners from eleven countries and several different disciplines. In particular, the project aims to:

- provide an in-depth understanding of the governance of recent mass migration at the macro, meso and micro levels, through cross-country comparative research;
- critically analyse governance practices with the aim of enhancing the migration governance capacity and policy coherence of the EU, its Member States and third countries.

The countries selected for the study are Austria, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iraq, Italy, Lebanon, Poland, Sweden, Turkey and the United Kingdom. By focusing on these countries, RESPOND studies migration governance in five thematic fields: (1) Border management and security, (2) Refugee protection regimes, (3) Reception policies, (4) Integration policies and (5) Conflicting Europeanisation. These fields literally represent the refugees' journeys across borders, from their confrontations with protection policies, to their travels through reception centres, ending, in some cases, with their integration into new societies.

To explore all of these dimensions, RESPOND employs a truly interdisciplinary approach, using legal and political analysis, comparative historical analysis, political claims analysis, socio-economic and cultural analysis, survey analysis, interview-based analysis and photovoice techniques (some of these methods were implemented later in the project). The research follows an innovative multi-level design because research on migration governance now operates beyond macro-level actors such as states or the EU. Migration management engages meso and micro level actors as well. Local governments, NGOs, associations and refugees are not merely the passive recipients of policies but are shaping policies from the ground up.

The project also focuses on learning from refugees. RESPOND defines a new subject position for refugees as people who have been forced to find creative solutions to life-threatening situations and can generate new forms of knowledge and information as a result.

Executive Summary

Aims and objectives of the report: This report examines the emergence and evolution of conflicting elite discourses over Europeanisation in the context of increasing external migration in Italy. It investigates how major political actors have framed Europeanisation and constructed political claims to justify and legitimise policy decisions. Moreover, it assesses how these claims have circulated in the mass media.

Theoretical and methodological approach: The report employs a new analytical typology developed in the context of WP6 and ‘tests’ it against the Italian case. The typology provides a distinction between: a) Liberal Europeanisers, pluralists who imagine Europe as an “open society” and favour humanitarianism and respect for individual dignity; b) Conservative Europeanisers, who defend Europe on the basis of a “clash of civilisations”, are strongly security-focused and see Europe as closed to the external world. Empirical evidence is drawn from two main sources: political speeches (N=16) and newspaper articles (N=95). Text data were analysed using NVivo. The coding frame for the political speeches revolved around the object that the *actor* was talking about, the *polity* he or she was referring to and the *propositions* in terms of policy problems and solutions. As for the analysis of newspaper articles, the coding was structured around four pillars, corresponding to what was said about: *EU institutions, European values, migration/refugees and identity.*

Main findings: Government actors have developed a discourse that is both Liberal and Conservative Europeaniser in kind. Their speeches focus on the humanitarian role of the EU, which should be based on the solidarity principle. However, the discourses – and the implemented policies – are also strongly security-focused. In this respect, it can be said that a Liberal Europeaniser rhetoric has been mobilised to justify and implement a Conservative Europeaniser security approach. Instead, in the discourse developed by opposition actors, the Conservative Europeaniser type of frame is more marked, with harsh language emphasising a “clash of civilisations”. As for the circulation of narratives in the media, the typological distinction between Liberal and Conservative Europeanisers holds true, though there are some instances where we can find Conservative Europeaniser language in traditionally liberal or centrist newspapers.

1. Introduction

As part of WP6, which examines the emergence and evolution of conflicting elite discourses over Europeanisation in the context of increasing external migration, this report investigates how major political actors have framed Europeanisation and constructed political claims to justify and legitimise policy decisions. Moreover, the report assesses how these claims have circulated in the mass media. Overall, this study therefore addresses the way in which (conflicting) ideational claims concerning Europeanisation have unfolded over time. The analysis focuses on two timeframes: from April 2011 to May 2015, and from May 2015 to July 2018.

In the literature, definitions of Europeanisation abound. The concept has been used to analyse a multiplicity of phenomena (Olsen, 2002; Graziano and Vink, 2012). For the purpose of this report, Europeanisation generally refers to how the European Union (EU) impacts on Member States in terms of the insertion of EU practices in domestic policy and the cultural effect of belonging to a transnational system of governance. In a nutshell, Europeanisation concerns the impact of a normative idea of “Europe” on domestic policies and politics. The issue of migration is certainly central to Europeanisation discourses and to the understanding of their conflicting nature. In particular, in this report we trace and contrast two types of discourse: Liberal Europeaniser and Conservative Europeaniser. While the former depicts Europe as an “open society” and favours humanitarianism and respect for individual dignity, the latter is strongly security-focused, emphasises the “clash of civilisations” and sees Europe as closed to the external world.

Firstly, the report describes the main party-political developments in Italy between 2011 and 2018. Secondly, it provides an overview of the national media system and media coverage in relation to migration issues. After presenting the main turning points that have shaped the dominant discourses over migration, the study provides an in-depth analysis of political speeches by government and opposition actors, and examines how themes and slogans have circulated in the mainstream media. The report concludes that, with regard to political speeches, the distinction between Liberal and Conservative Europeaniser discourse types is not clear-cut. In particular, government actors have mobilised a Liberal Europeaniser rhetoric to justify and implement a Conservative Europeaniser security approach. In the media, instead, the distinction is much more marked.

2. Methodology

Going beyond traditional distinctions in attitudes towards Europe (the European Union) – e.g., liberal-open-Europhile vs conservative-closed-Eurosceptic – this report refers to a new analytical typology developed in the context of WP6 and ‘tests’ it against the Italian case. This typology provides a distinction between:

- Liberal Europeanisers, pluralists who imagine Europe as an “open society” and aim to incorporate diversity in the European project. They favour an international humanitarian role for the EU. The European ideal is built around a discourse of human rights based on the liberal platform of respect for individual dignity. In relation to refugees, they favour burden-sharing, quotas and reallocation.

- Conservative Europeanisers defend Europe on the basis of a “clash of civilisations” between the Judaeo-Christian West and the non-Western Other. The imagine of this external antagonist varies according to the national context, but it is likely to make reference to religion, ethnicity or race. Conservative Europeanisers imagine Europe as closed to the external world, and they favour non-intervention in external development and humanitarian aid. Strongly security-focused, they favour a “fortress Europe”, with a hard external border and strong internal police enforcement. They are highly majoritarian and heteronormative, and opposed to diversity and minority interests.

These actors may not label themselves as liberal or conservative, but we nevertheless inductively set out to explore their agendas to understand their projections for the future course of the EU. The report will therefore serve as an in-depth case study in order to then further conceptually develop this typology through comparative research.

Empirical evidence is drawn from two main sources: political speeches and newspaper articles. Based on these two sources, the report aims to identify political claims and media audience-making on the subject of Europeanisation. By audience-making, we mean the process through which discourses construct objects of knowledge in a way that imposes certain interpretations of the facts and modes of reasoning. In particular, we consider audience-making with respect to speeches given by decision makers and how the constructed claims and frames deriving from them are received and interpreted by the mass media.

As for the identification of political claims (slogans, sayings and metaphors), the data come from speeches by major political actors containing explicit references to the future of the EU and developments in migration. Sixteen speeches were analysed (10 by the government and 6 the opposition, see Appendix). With regard to media audience-making, 95 articles were analysed from three leading national newspapers, which correspond as closely as possible to the liberal, centrist and conservative typologies. These are *La Repubblica* (left/liberal), *La Stampa* (centrist) and *Il Giornale* (right/conservative) (see Appendix). The data refer to two periods of time: from April 2011 to May 2015 (period 1) and from May 2015 to July 2018 (period 2).

Text data were analysed using NVivo, qualitative data analysis software that helps to structure, organise, manage and query a large amount of data. The main analytical categories for the analysis of both the political speeches and newspaper articles were generated through a combination of deduction and induction, meaning that they were created in both a concept-driven way (i.e., before analysing the material) and a data-driven way (i.e., after analysing the material). A mixed deductive-inductive approach is particularly useful in that it enables discourses and narratives to emerge from the data which can be ‘tested’ against already developed categories, allowing the researcher to move back and forth between theory and evidence (Schreier, 2012). The coding frame for the political speeches revolved around the object the *actor* was talking about, the *polity* he or she was referring to (e.g., EU, Member State) and the *propositions* in terms of policy problems and solutions. As for the analysis of newspaper articles, the coding was structured around four pillars, corresponding to what was said about: *EU institutions* (e.g., the Dublin Regulation, Schengen), *European values* (e.g., solidarity), *migration/refugees* (e.g., integration, protection) and *identity* issues (e.g., nationalism, religion).

3. Party-Political Structure: History and Developments since 2011

Between April 2011 and July 2018, there have been six governments in Italy: the Berlusconi government (centre-right, May 2008 – November 2011), the Monti government (technical, November 2011 – April 2013), the Letta government (grand coalition, April 2013 – February 2014), the Renzi government (centre-left, February 2014 – December 2016), the Gentiloni government (centre-left, December 2016 – June 2018) and the Conte government (populist, June 2018 – September 2019). Since 2011, the Italian political landscape has therefore been characterised by an alternation between centre-left, centre-right, technocratic and populist governments.

The centre-right Berlusconi government was appointed after the parliamentary election held in April 2008 and concluded its mandate as a consequence of the loss of parliamentary support. Indeed, on 8 November 2011 the Chamber of Deputies did not approve a budgetary report presented by the government and the government resigned four days later. Due to the difficult financial situation determined by the 2008 economic crisis, a technical government led by economist Mario Monti was appointed. This government, with a strong European vocation, had the difficult task of tackling the economic and financial crisis and approving austerity measures to limit the growth of the public debt. Monti's government mainly consisted of technical ministers with specific expertise concerning their departments. It is worth noting that this was the second technical government in Italian political history. In December 2012, President of the Republic Giorgio Napolitano decreed the dissolution of the chambers and parliamentary elections were held in February 2013. The scrutiny attributed the absolute majority of seats to the Democratic Party (*Partito Democratico*) in the Chamber of Deputies, but not in the Senate. Consequently, the necessity emerged to form a government based upon a broad political agreement. In 2013 a new grand-coalition government led by Enrico Letta was appointed. This government comprised members of the Democratic Party, the centre-right party People of Freedom (*Il Popolo della Libertà*), the Italian Radicals (*Radicali Italiani*), centre parties and independent ministers. This government contained the highest number of women ministers in the history of the Italian Republic, including a woman Minister for Integration of African origin.

Letta's government remained in power for nine months until the National Directorate of the Democratic Party approved a motion asking for his resignation and the formation of a new government. In February 2014, the government led by Enrico Letta handed over to the new government headed by Matteo Renzi who at that time was the national secretary of the Democratic Party. Renzi's government remained in office until December 2016. The government programme was mainly focused on the approval of a constitutional reform. When the result of a constitutional referendum made it clear that the electorate did not approve the reform, Prime Minister Renzi resigned and the President of the Republic asked Paolo Gentiloni of the Democratic Party – and Minister of Foreign Affairs under Renzi's government – to form a new government. Gentiloni's government served until the parliamentary election held in 2018, which resulted in a politically fragmented parliament and the formation of a coalition government, with the support of the right-wing League party (*Lega*) and the Five Star Movement (*Movimento 5 Stelle*). Giuseppe Conte (independent) formed the new government.

During these years, despite the changing governments, Italy presented an institutionalised exclusionary regime of migration controls supported by a discursive emphasis on the humanitarian-securitisation nexus (Terlizzi, 2019; Korkut, Terlizzi and Gyollai, 2020). The dominant narratives of the government decision makers in fact revolved around the need to save migrants' lives (humanitarianism) and to combat illegal immigration, migrant smuggling and terrorism (securitisation). In the overall development of the Italian strategy of migration controls, these narratives often went hand in hand. The decision makers particularly emphasised the necessity to put EU solidarity principles into practice through the fair distribution among Member States of responsibilities to tackle migration flows, as well as the need to reinforce the externalisation strategy in the form of continued cooperation with North African countries. Italy implemented the externalisation strategy by signing agreements with the countries of origin and transit to prevent irregular immigration.¹ These agreements, which functioned “as enabling instruments for the Italian push-back policy” (Andrade, 2014: 52), were mostly concerned with domestic securitarian interests, while giving little or no consideration to the migrants, asylum seekers and refugees' fundamental rights. The externalisation of border controls is a pillar of the EU strategy to govern migration flows, a part of which is the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF), set up in November 2015 by the European Commission, 25 EU Member States, Norway and Switzerland. The aim of the fund is to foster stability and contribute to better migration management as well as “to address the root causes of destabilization, forced displacement and irregular migration by promoting economic and equal opportunities, security and development” (European Commission 2018: 7). Resources currently allocated to the fund amount to EUR 4.7 billion. EU Member States, Switzerland and Norway have contributed around EUR 576 million and Italy is the second biggest contributor after Germany with a portion that equals 21.3% (EUR 123 million) of the total funding² (Terlizzi, 2019).

Besides border controls, developments have also interested the areas of reception and protection policies. In 2015, the European Commission presented the so-called ‘hotspot approach’ as part of the European Agenda on Migration. The approach aimed to provide assistance to countries facing high migratory pressure and to coordinate the activities of EU institutions and national authorities at the external borders of the EU. In practice, hotspots are facilities for the initial reception, identification, registration and fingerprinting of migrants arriving in the EU by sea, and they have become crucial for the overall Italian asylum system in the areas of first reception and repatriation (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2018). More recently, the approval of the so-called “Salvini decree”³ in October 2018 brought about significant changes to the Italian reception system. The decree revoked the right of asylum seekers to be hosted in the second-line reception facilities of the National System of Protection for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (*Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati*, SPRAR), so they are now supposed to find their own accommodation once they leave the Extraordinary Reception Centres (*Centri di Accoglienza Straordinaria*, CAS). The decree also introduced more restrictive criteria for granting humanitarian protection (previously accorded to those who could obtain neither refugee status nor subsidiary protection, but could not be repatriated) (Ibrido and Terlizzi, 2019; Terlizzi, 2020). In this context, conflicts arose

¹ Since 1998, agreements have been signed with Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Sudan and Tunisia.

² European Commission, *EU MS and Other Donors Contributions (Pledges and Received Contributions)*, last updated 25 February 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/content/trust-fund-financials_en.

³ Decree Law No. 113/2018.

between the European Union and the Italian government, in particular during the first Conte government originating from the coalition between the *Lega* and the Five Star Movement. In fact, one of the points of the government contract was the solicitation to respect the principle of the fair sharing of responsibilities as recognised in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, along with the request for a compulsory and automatic relocation of asylum seekers among Member States on the basis of objective and quantifiable criteria. However, these instances to promote a redistribution of migrants were opposed by Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. Furthermore, an additional priority identified by the *Lega* was the revision of the search and rescue rules, a mechanism governed by the International Convention on Maritime Search and Rescue signed in Hamburg in 1979.

It is worth noting that, recently, President of the European Parliament David Sassoli and President of the EU Commission Ursula von der Leyen also indicated the overcoming of the Dublin Regulation among their priorities, with a view to greater cooperation between member countries.

4. Media Structure and the Migration Issue

In recent years, the approach of Italians to the media has changed significantly. From the 2020 Censis Communication Report, a stable use of television for informative purposes emerges, accompanied by a significant increase in the use of internet and mobile TV. The level of radio listeners remains stable (79.4%), although the listening methods vary, with an increase in those who listen to the radio via PC or smartphone. These ways of using radio and TV are in line with Italians' growing use of the Internet, which went up from 78.4% to 79.3% between 2018 and 2019 (Censis 2020).

The use of newspapers as a source to gather information is constantly decreasing: while in 2007, 67% of Italians habitually read newspapers, in 2019 the percentage had dropped to 37.3%. A slight decrease was also recorded in the reading of weeklies (-0.7%) and monthlies (-0.9%). The use of traditional or digital information tools is influenced by the age of the users: people over 65 are the main users of television (96.5%), newspapers (54.6%) and periodicals (52.2%). Use of the Internet alone is almost exclusive to the 14 to 29 age group. These data reflect a world of information that is facing significant changes due to the affirmation of new media and the possibility of sharing contents and disseminating information online (Censis 2020).

The activity of the media is based on art. 21 of the Constitution, which recognises and guarantees freedom of the press and, more generally, freedom of expression. Even before the emergence of the digital media, this provision constituted the basis for the development of a rich panorama of newspapers giving voice to different instances and political orientations. Some newspapers even originated before the Constitution entered into force. The oldest Italian newspapers include: *La Nazione*, founded in Florence in 1859; *Giornale di Sicilia* (1860); *Corriere Adriatico* (1860); *Corriere della Sera* (1876); *Il Messaggero* (1878) and *La Gazzetta Piemontese*, founded in 1867 (in 1895 it became *La Stampa*).

Most Italian newspapers were founded after World War II, a period when the number of newspapers grew rapidly. At present, it is estimated that there are about 180 newspapers in circulation. Beyond the increase in the number of newspapers, it is possible to note that,

compared to the past, many newspapers that were independent are now part of large publishing groups. This is the case of *La Repubblica*, a newspaper based in Rome, belonging to the GEDI *Gruppo Editoriale S.p.A.*, in turn part of the Exor group. *La Repubblica* is the second most popular newspaper in Italy both by total circulation and by quantity of readers, and is an expression of the secular and reformist left. The newspaper *La Stampa*, which has an older origin than *La Repubblica*, also belongs to the same editorial group (GEDI) and is characterised by a moderate and centrist approach. Instead, amongst the newspapers with a conservative orientation, *Il Giornale* – which has been owned by the Berlusconi family since 1977 – has accentuated its ideological adhesion over time to the political area of the centre-right.

As for the media approach to the migration issue, it is essential to refer to the “Ethical Protocol Concerning Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Victims of Trafficking and Migrants” (the so-called Charter of Rome), a code of ethics adopted by the Order of Journalists in 2008 that invites the media to present the news concerning migration in a more correct and thorough way. The Charter of Rome – included in the Consolidated Act of Duties of the Journalist in force since February 2016 – invites journalists to respect the following rules: to avoid summary and discriminatory judgements in the title and in the language; to stimulate deeper knowledge of migratory phenomena; to fight stereotypes on immigration; not to confine immigration to the crime news; to systematically denounce acts of discrimination and racism; to widen the spaces of social inquiry by highlighting the analogies between the social problems experienced by foreigners and substantial parts of Italian society; not to mention nationality, religion or culture unless this constitutes an integral part of the information, enhancing cultural differences, appropriate use of terms.⁴

In 2020, the Pavia Observatory, together with the European Observatory on Security, published the 7th Report on the Implementation of the Charter of Rome.⁵ From this report it emerges that, in 2019, 1,091 news items dedicated to immigration appeared on the front pages of the main Italian newspapers: 30% more than in the previous year. The visibility of this topic was also high in the primetime news programmes, with 4,002 news items. In addition, the highest number of news stories dedicated to immigration in the last 15 years was recorded in the first half of 2019.

During 2019, two thematic dimensions saw increased coverage: the management of migratory flows (first item with 51%) and issues related to society and culture (second item with 23%). On the contrary, coverage of the topic of reception halved compared to the previous year. Similar trends can be observed in the TV news, with 48% of stories dedicated to the thematic category of “migration flows” and 8% concerning the reception narrative, the lowest value in the last five years.

From these data, it results that, parallel to a security-oriented approach to migration governance, the main media narrative has focused on landings rather than on reception policies. Besides the topics covered, the terminology used by the media is of particular importance. In this direction, it is worth noting the tendency to alternately use the terms

⁴ See the Consolidated Act of Duties of the Journalist approved by the Italian Association of Journalists on 26 January 2016, published in <https://www.cartadiroma.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/TESTO-UNICO-DEI-DOVERI-DEL-GIORNALISTA.pdf>.

⁵ This report can be consulted at: https://www.cartadiroma.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/CdR-Report-2019_Final.pdf.

"migrant", "displaced person" and "refugee". The aforementioned 2020 report on the implementation of the Charter of Rome indicated that these terms were used more frequently in newspapers in 2018 than in 2013, with a peak in the use of terms such as "refugee", "displaced person" and "migrant" in 2015. On the other hand, in 2019 there was a sharp drop in the use of similar terms, with the exception of the term "migrant".

These observations are important, since words are not neutral, and for this reason the Italian Journalists Association asks not to use certain terms such as "illegal", suggesting that it be replaced with the following words: "irregular", "undocumented", "asylum seeker" or "refugee". In addition, the expression "bogus asylum seekers" is often used in media as well as in political discourse and can carry varied connotations depending on the context. Indeed, the term "is often used in opposition to the term 'genuine asylum seekers'" (Pannia *et al.*, 2018). In this regard, it is important to highlight that, even though since 1975 the General Assembly of the United Nations has recommended use of the terms "undocumented" or "irregular" migrants, the terms "illegal" or "clandestine" are frequently found, even in official government documents. These terms instead should be considered inappropriate both from a formal and substantial point of view (see Liguori, 2019).

It seems useful to report that the website www.occhioaimedia.org was created in 2008 with the main function of observing the mass media and collecting offensive titles and articles against ethnic minorities present in Italy. In addition, particular attention is paid to the language used by the media by the journalists belonging to the National Intercultural Press Association (ANSI).

Finally, by analysing the narrative of the Italian media in relation to the migration phenomenon, it seems important to verify how the intervention of the European institutions on this phenomenon is represented. In order to further investigate this topic, it may be useful to consult the 7th Report on the Implementation of the Charter of Rome. This report highlights how the media tend to dwell on the role of European institutions exclusively in relation to issues referring to the management of migratory flows and reception policies, while the role of the European Union in relation to the social and cultural profiles of migration is not highlighted journalistically. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on two issues to reconstruct the role attributed by the media to the European Union in the context of the migration phenomenon: the management of migratory flows and the reception regime. It is interesting to note that between 2015 and 2019 these topics underwent an inversion: in 2015, news concerning reception amounted to 53% of the total number of items on immigration matters, while in 2019 51% of the news reported in the newspapers concerned migratory flows. Meanwhile, the topic of reception only made up 9% of the total information on migration in 2019. Considering this evolution, it is possible to note how, in relation to the issues of both the management of migratory flows and reception, the analysis regarding the intervention of the European institutions was concerned with the European agreements and summits for the management of flows; the European quotas for the distribution of migrants and refugees; disputes with countries reticent to hosting migrants; and the penalties set out for the European states that refuse quotas.

5. Headlines and Events Impacting on Migration Discourse since 2011

Similarly to the overall European political trend, the political discourse in Italy has been polluted by anti-immigrant narratives (Korkut *et al.*, 2013). Often with the creation of the dangerous equation that equates immigration with crime – echoed by mainstream media –, the political arena has been permeated by requests for the closure of borders and the progressive reduction of migrants' rights. Consequently, the politicisation of migration was a feature of both the 2009 and the 2014 European elections, as well as the 2008 and 2013 national elections, during which the troops of anti-immigrant parties could also rely on the far-right and Euro-sceptical parties. However, in principle, this tough approach of closure usually deflates when shifting to the level of actual practice. In other words, after the elections the anti-immigrant discourses, essentially used to gain electoral support, were often pushed to one side, also due to the social and economic costs of the entire system of stopping, detection, deportation and expulsion. Overall, an increasingly harsh political discourse, together with the negative media representation of migration, has contributed to a deterioration in the Italian attitude towards migrants (see Pannia, Federico and D'Amato, 2018)

Between 2011 and 2018, one of the key themes in the political discourse was that of border controls and their externalisation (Terlizzi, 2019). The externalisation of border controls refers to “extraterritorial state actions to prevent migrants, including asylum seekers, from entering the legal jurisdictions or territories of destination countries” (Frelick, Kysel and Podkul, 2016: 193). These actions consist of either bilateral and multilateral state agreements or unilateral initiatives through which admission procedures and decisions become no longer confined to the actual physical border, but also involve the point of departure or transit (Menjívar, 2014; Frelick, Kysel and Podkul, 2016; Capesciotti, 2017). The externalisation strategy has therefore been sustained by a discourse stressing the importance of establishing cooperation with and providing assistance to African countries. Decision makers – whether from the centre-left, centre-right or technocratic governments – have always considered the externalisation of border management and migration control as the winning strategy to curb migratory flows, even before 2011. As documented by Cuttitta (2014: 25), a cooperation agreement signed between Italy and Libya in 2003 “was publicly justified with the ‘strong determination’ of both parties to ‘jointly tackle criminal organisations devoted to the smuggling of human beings and the merciless exploitation of clandestine migrants’”. In 2007, another agreement for the joint patrolling of the Libyan coast was presented as necessary to stop smugglers, and therefore to save human lives and disrupt criminal organisations. In 2009, when several push-back operations were conducted by the Italian authorities, “the Italian prime minister described them as ‘an act of great humanity [...] because they prevent tragedies at sea’” (2014: 25). As we shall see in the next section, the discourse over externalisation has been characterised by a mix of securitarian and humanitarian narratives.

Also crucial to the analysis of the “securitarian-humanitarian nexus” is the discourse developed around the *Mare Nostrum* operation, which had a great impact on both political and media discourses. Officially a humanitarian mission launched by the Italian government in October 2013 as a response to the Lampedusa shipwreck of 3 October, when 368 migrants died after their boat sank before reaching Italian shores, it also contained securitarian objectives. As highlighted by Cuttitta (2014: 27), “although the stress was mainly put on the humanitarian aim of saving lives at sea, *Mare Nostrum* was also presented [...] as a security mission aiming at capturing smugglers. Indeed, besides the thousands of migrants rescued, authorities can also boast about the hundreds of smugglers detained”. The humanitarian search and rescue

operations by NGOs also constituted a central theme in the discourse. Debates over these operations revolved around the argument that the mere presence of rescue boats in the Mediterranean constitutes a ‘pull factor’, that is, a factor leading to more crossings. However, there is no empirical evidence supporting this narrative (Heller and Pezzani, 2017; Steinhilper and Grujters, 2018; Villa, Grujters and Steinhilper, 2018).

As for media discourse, in analysing how migration has been reported by the Italian press, Ceccorulli (2019) identifies three key events which had the potential to influence the debate on migration: the 2014 European Parliament elections, the *Mare Nostrum* operation in the Mediterranean (October-November 2014) and the EU-Turkey Statement of March 2016. The study traces five main narratives in four newspapers (including *La Stampa* and *Il Giornale* as also analysed in this report): solidarity, responsibility, and Westphalian (migration as a problem), instrumental and humanitarian narratives. The ‘migration as a problem’ narrative was the clearest in emphasising the centrality of government control in coping with the challenges of migration: “The argument was driven to the extreme in the ‘clash of civilizations’ view – a marginal argument but nevertheless worth mentioning” (Ceccorulli, 2019: 32). The solidarity and instrumental narratives emphasised governance modes both among EU Member States and with third states. The narratives on responsibility were able to emphasise the lack of attention devoted to the actors, be they migrants or asylum seekers, local actors engaged with reception or Italian society as a whole. Moreover, “humanitarian and emergency rhetoric could be found in the same article, along with the use of terminology that one would normally not expect from mainstream newspapers” (Ceccorulli, 2019: 31-32).

In what follows, we further the analysis of the development of political and media discourses based on original material collected for the RESPOND project.

6. Political Speeches

Government

The government decision makers have mainly addressed the need to establish close cooperation between levels of government within the state, to assist North African countries in order to curb migratory flows, and to improve EU burden-sharing. As stated by the Minister of the Interior Roberto Maroni⁶ in 2011 during a parliamentary intervention,

The Government strategy [points to] the confrontation with the regions in order to create a management system agreed with them, as well as with the provinces and municipalities; diplomatic activity towards the countries of origin, primarily Tunisia, strengthening the relations with other countries, namely Egypt, Morocco and Algeria; [...] and initiatives towards the European Union (ITA1-2011-Maroni).

In the same intervention, with regard to Tunisia, the Minister highlighted that

cooperation in border surveillance at sea is of utmost importance, together with repatriation, because it serves to prevent landings, which is always the best thing to do since it makes it possible to save human lives [...]. We have undertaken to provide the Tunisian authorities with

⁶ Government led by Silvio Berlusconi (centre-right, 2008–2011).

technical means and equipment to strengthen border surveillance (ITA1-2011-Maroni).

This statement is a perfect example of a mix of security-oriented and humanitarian approaches in border management that focuses on the “humanitarian consequences of smuggling and trafficking activities” (Cuttitta 2014, 25), notwithstanding the anti-humanitarian consequences of the implementation of restrictive control policies. With respect to the cooperation with North African countries, it should be remembered that the push-back operations conducted by the Italian authorities in 2009 – which intercepted migrants at sea and returned them to Libya – were ruled unlawful in 2012 by the European Court of Justice in the *Hirsi Jamaa v. Italy* case. The case was the court’s first judgement on the interception of migrants at sea. It concerned Somali and Eritrean nationals intercepted by Italian authorities on 6 May 2009. The push-back operations were part of the government’s efforts to interrupt the flows of migrants arriving in Italy by sea from Libya, and were conducted in agreement with Libyan authorities under bilateral treaties between the two states (for details see Papanicolopulu 2013). However, as this report underlines, Italy has continued to prevent migrants from reaching Italian shores and the cooperation with Libya for the purpose of border controls has not ceased.

Minister Maroni also addressed the need to improve burden-sharing between EU Member States:

A system that leaves the individual coastal states of the southern Mediterranean alone to unilaterally or bilaterally manage such important issues as illegal immigration cannot work [...]. Italy cannot be the only country that carries out [actions] in all of the Maghreb countries [...]. In recent years, [...] the European Council has rejected any initiative, any request by the Italian government, the French government, the Spanish government or the governments of Cyprus, Greece and Malta for the implementation of a principle which we believe to be absolutely consistent with the principle of solidarity at European level, so-called burden-sharing (ITA1-2011-Maroni).

The same issues were highlighted one year later by Minister of the Interior Anna Maria Cancellieri.⁷ During a parliamentary hearing on immigration issues, she highlighted the need for intense collaboration between supranational, national and subnational levels of government as well as with third countries:

There is no doubt that governance of the interventions to respond to the complex issues related to the permanence in our territory of a very large number of immigrants from North Africa will require a lucid strategy based on the responsible collaboration of the different institutional levels. In fact, I would like to point out that since the very first phase of the emergency, there has rightly been a move towards integrated forms of intervention which have focused on finding agreements with the regional and local levels of government for a balanced and shared division of the burden of reception measures [...]. Government efforts to find effective means to combat illegal immigration continue. In this direction, [...] bilateral cooperation

⁷ Government led by Mario Monti (technocratic government, 2011–2013).

policies have been given new impetus and collaboration with North African countries, in particular Tunisia and Libya, has therefore been resumed. The need is to ensure greater efficiency in border control, while combining this with respect for human rights [...]. [This strategy] of cooperation with the Libyan authorities in the field of migration is part of a context that favours [...] a preventive approach to the phenomenon with a view to strengthening the capacity of the Libyan police forces in the fight against criminal organisations and better management [...] of the migrant population [...]. It is very important to help these [African] countries to work better in their territory (ITA2-2012-Cancellieri).

In a similar way to Maroni and Cancellieri, in his inaugural speech to the parliament in 2016, Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni⁸ declared that “we cannot accept a Europe that is too strict on some aspects of its austerity policies and too tolerant towards countries that do not accept to share common responsibilities on immigration issues”. This discourse emphasising burden-sharing was certainly linked to the pitfalls of the Dublin Regulation (see Ibrido and Terlizzi, 2019; Terlizzi, 2019). One year later, in 2017, Minister of the Interior Marco Minniti⁹ stressed the objective of establishing a *comprehensive approach* to migration governance, including effective burden-sharing, humanitarian intervention and security measures:

Italy has developed the idea that, in the context of integrated and shared European management of the border strategy and mutual solidarity between Member States, the objective of a comprehensive approach should be achieved by reconciling the different aspects related to the management of migration flows: the protection of human life at sea and the fight against smuggling and trafficking of human beings, the effective protection of the external borders of the European Union, the identification of migrants and effective return policies (ITA11-2017-Minniti).

During the same year, in a letter to the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, following a humanitarian rhetoric, the Minister also remarked that in order to reduce migratory flows the government had to stop departures to prevent the risk of life-threatening crossings:

The [...] Italian strategy [...] [also] focuses on supporting the Libyan authorities responsible for border control and flow management. [This strategy] contributes to reducing the risk of accidents and shipwrecks, a risk that can only be eliminated by stopping departures (ITA10-2017-Minniti).

A few months earlier, in a speech to the Democratic Party Congress, the Minister had stated that “it is a moral duty to welcome those who flee war, those who flee famine, unaccompanied minors: we will always welcome them!”, while adding, however, that “part of this game is played outside national borders, a large part of this problem is in Africa, and we must clearly

⁸ Centre-left government, 2016–2018.

⁹ Government led by Paolo Gentiloni (centre-left, 2016–2018).

tell Europe that Africa is the mirror of Europe". In June 2018, in his inaugural speech to parliament, Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte¹⁰ stated that

[W]e defend and will defend immigrants who regularly arrive in our territory, work, fit into our communities, respecting the laws and, indeed, offering a contribution that we consider decisive to the development of the country. But to ensure this indispensable integration we must [...] fight with severe determination the most odious forms of exploitation related to trafficking in human beings, perpetrated by unscrupulous smugglers (ITA14-2018-Conte).

The Prime Minister also stressed the importance of increased solidarity between Member States and of reforming, or even abandoning, the Dublin Regulation:

It is clear [...] that the management of migration flows implemented so far has been a failure. Europe has allowed selfish closures of many Member States, which have ended up passing on to the border states – and primarily to our country – the burdens and difficulties that should have been shared [...]. That is why we will strongly advocate going beyond the Dublin Regulation in order to achieve effective compliance with the principle of the fair sharing of responsibilities and to set up automatic systems for the mandatory relocation of asylum seekers [...]. Italy cannot be left alone in the face of such challenges [...]. There is no point in asking for more Europe if we are left alone with all the other border countries (ITA14-2018-Conte and ITA15-2018-Conte).

To conclude with the government actors, during the annual rally of his party (*Lega*) in 2018 Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior Matteo Salvini¹¹ affirmed that

in Italy the limits of what is possible have been reached. If we are to apply fundamental principles, the doors of Italy are open for women and children who are fleeing war and arrive by plane, not on rubber dinghies. We will help all the others to grow and work at home. We need to spend the money that needs to be spent, but in Africa (ITA16-2018-Salvini).

Opposition

In the opposition, the leaders of two right-wing parties – Matteo Salvini (League, *Lega*) and Giorgia Meloni (Brothers of Italy, *Fratelli d'Italia*) have been crucial actors in fuelling the securitisation of the migration phenomenon. They have both advocated the need to defend borders and for strong police enforcement within the country. In line with this, during a debate at the European Parliament in 2014, Matteo Salvini stated that

The only solution is to help them in their own homes and spend the money [that] we are throwing away with Mare Nostrum and Triton there. Don't help the smugglers, the British government was right to say that it would not give a penny to help smugglers feed a new slavery, so I'd like there to be more Britain in here and less hypocrisy

¹⁰ Populist government, 2018–2019.

¹¹ Populist government, 2018–2019.

[...]. Three thousand drowned, 150,000 immigrants landed in Italy, of whom only 10% are refugees – the others illegal immigrants – and many people who earn millions and millions of euros [from this system] (ITA4-2014-Salvini).

The emphasis was on defending borders at all costs, however without the help of the EU, which was in fact accused of fuelling irregular immigration. The Dublin Regulation also had to be changed, but without specifying in which direction. As Salvini stated one year later during an intervention again at the European Parliament:

I think that Mare Nostrum and Triton are racist operations that finance smugglers and Islamic terrorism [...]. I believe that everyone must grow up, live peacefully in the country where they were born unless someone wants to replace peoples with other peoples, but this is an ethnic substitution operation that we will oppose in every way [...]. I wonder how many more smugglers you want to finance? I ask you, President Juncker. How many dead bodies do you still want to count in the sea? It is unbelievable that the President of the European Commission says that we must open our borders [...]. Who are you paid by? Who pays your salary? Are you planning to eradicate a billion African citizens by opening the doors of a continent with tens of millions of unemployed people? [...]. Now you realise that the Dublin Treaty needs to be changed (ITA5-2015-Salvini).

The language used by the leader of the *Lega* has always been harsh in referring to both European Union institutions and migrants: “Since Europe does not exist beyond chatter [...] I appeal to the national governments and the Italian government to defend the borders, block departures and suspend Schengen before it is too late” (ITA6-2015-Salvini); “Europe seems to be ruled by dangerous hypocrites” (ITA7-2015-Salvini); “many criminals are landing and, according to the secret service, many potential terrorists as well” (ITA7-2015-Salvini); “we are importing slaves, slackers or criminals” (ITA13-2017-Salvini). References to Christian values were also present: “We should facilitate the arrival of legal migrants from countries closer to our values, and I am thinking of countries with a Christian culture” (ITA13-2017-Salvini).

Within the domestic political debate, a ‘successful’ frame used by opposition centre-right parties was to depict immigration as a ‘business’. As stated by the leader of *Fratelli d’Italia* Giorgia Meloni during a parliamentary debate in 2017,

The Italian Government spends billions of euros welcoming immigrants who arrive every day on our coasts. This money is mostly transferred to the cooperatives that take care of the reception centres for these migrants. Curiously, according to current regulations, these cooperatives have no obligation to report the millions of euros that the Italian State transfers to them. We [*Fratelli d’Italia*] believe that this could encourage the idea of a *business* behind this mass immigration (ITA9-2017-Meloni).

As this section has shown, actors in government have developed a discourse that, according to our typology, can be attributed to both Liberal and Conservative Europeanisers. On the one hand, decision makers have pointed to the humanitarian role of the EU and stressed the importance of the solidarity principle. On the other hand, while narratives noting the need to defend Europe based on a “clash of civilisations” are rare, the discourses also have a strong

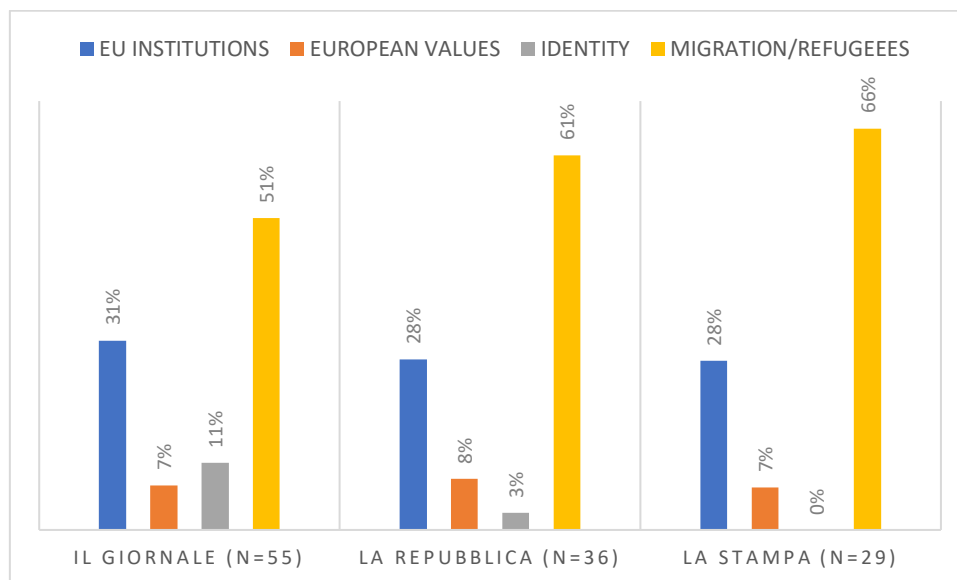
security-focus. In this respect, it can be said that a Liberal Europeaniser rhetoric has been mobilised to justify and implement a Conservative Europeaniser security approach. Instead, in the discourse developed by opposition actors, the Conservative Europeaniser type of frame is more marked, with harsh language emphasising a “clash of civilisations” between *us* and *them*.

7. Circulation of Narratives in the Mainstream Media

This section analyses how the main themes and slogans identified in the previous section have circulated within mainstream media. It also assesses how the media have framed them differently, by differentiating between four main macro themes: *EU institutions*, *European values*, *migration/refugees* and *European identity*.

The empirical analysis draws from articles from three leading Italian newspapers (N=95): *La Repubblica* (left/liberal) (N=34), *La Stampa* (centrist) (N=26) and *Il Giornale* (right/conservative) (N=35). The aim is to explore variations in the Liberal and Conservative Europeaniser frame types in the three newspapers. Overall, a total of 120 text passages were coded: 55 from *Il Giornale*, 36 from *La Repubblica* and 29 from *La Stampa*. Figure 1 presents the distribution of the coded text passages along the four main themes. In all of the newspapers, the majority of the coded passages refer to the *migration/refugees* theme, followed by the *EU institutions* and *European values* themes. The conservative right-wing *Il Giornale* is the one with most references to the *identity* theme, while this topic hardly features in *La Repubblica* and is totally absent in *La Stampa*.

Figure 1. Percentage of coded text passages (N=120)

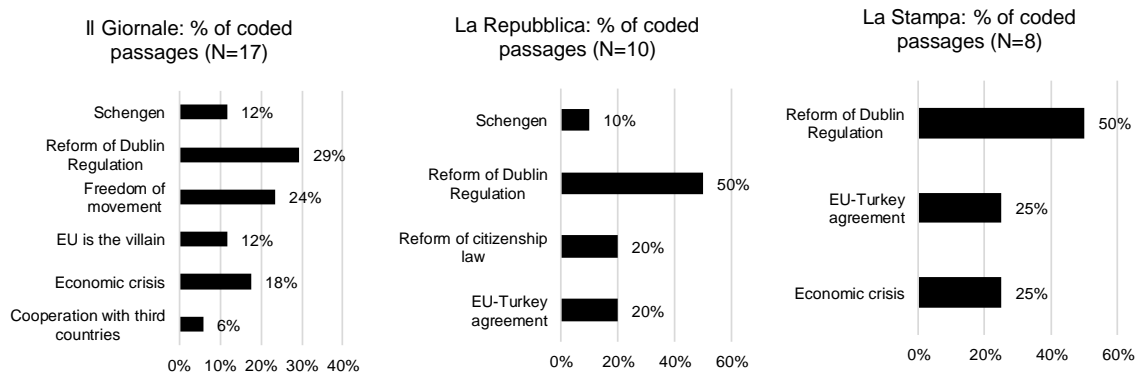


In order to assess how the three newspapers framed these themes differently, we analyse each of them separately in the following sections.

EU institutions

The main EU institutional feature targeted by the three newspapers is the Dublin Regulation (Figure 2; priceless quotations in the Appendix), which is certainly linked to the narratives over burden-sharing discussed by government decision makers.

Figure 2. EU Institutions: percentage of coded text passages (N=35)



Il Giornale sees the issue of the Dublin Regulation as “not an easy one. Italy and Visegrad, in fact, although both critical of the Dublin reform, have two different points of view: Rome thinks that there are still too many obligations for the ‘first arrival states’; Visegrad, on the other hand, is afraid of opening up to relocation” (ITA-M92-2018, *Il Giornale*). Overall, the newspaper depicts the Dublin Regulation as an “illusion” and a “fraud” (ITA-M80-2018; ITA-M88-2018, *Il Giornale*). The newspaper also points to the dangers of freedom of movement, “because the free movement of goods, capital and people in parallel with the globalisation of rights, including the right to mobility, has become an unsustainable mechanism for any European country” (ITA-M40-2015, *Il Giornale*). Moreover, the freedom of movement is an ally of “our enemy”:

The enemy is in our home [...]. An enemy who, by virtue of the freedom of movement required by the Schengen Treaty, runs around Europe at will. [The enemy] does not have to show any document. [The enemy] can be a terrorist who moves to organise or implement a massacre [and] can have all the explosives he wants on him: nobody stops him, nobody touches him (ITA-M34-2014, *Il Giornale*, see priceless quotation).

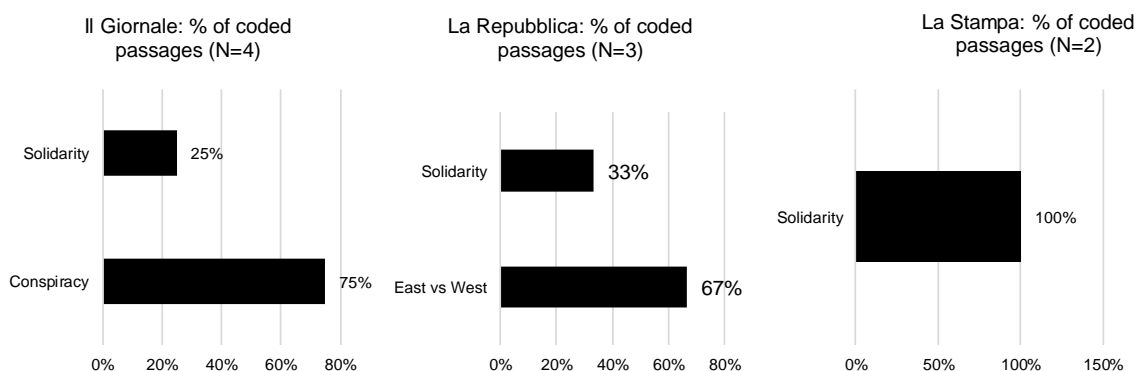
Il Giornale has also insisted on the issue that, in times of economic crisis, “immigrants are a luxury [...]: how much these illegal immigrants cost us!” (ITA-M13-2013, *Il Giornale*). Moreover, the EU is depicted as the villain that causes tragedies at sea (ITA-M35-2014, *Il Giornale*, see priceless quotation) and Italy as “the most generous with refugees” but “now we are exhausted” (ITA-M50-2015, *Il Giornale*, see priceless quotation).

Similarly to *La Stampa*, *La Repubblica* defines the Dublin Regulation as the “*bête noire* of those who chase the European mirage: those who flee from the regulations on rejections are the young Africans who spend the night on cardboard boxes [...]; the 700 desperate people who illegally occupy an abandoned building [...]; the 80 Afghans camped in a makeshift tent city” (ITA-M1-2011). Both newspapers point to the need to reform the regulations and to the problems with the EU-Turkey agreement (ITA-M61-2016, *La Repubblica*; ITA-M86-2018, *La Stampa*; see priceless quotations in the Appendix).

European values

As for the *European values* theme, all of the newspapers discuss the topic of solidarity (Figure 3, priceless quotations in the Appendix). Again, this pertains to the narratives over burden-sharing that government decision makers have developed concerning border management.

Figure 3. European values: percentage of coded text passages (N=9)



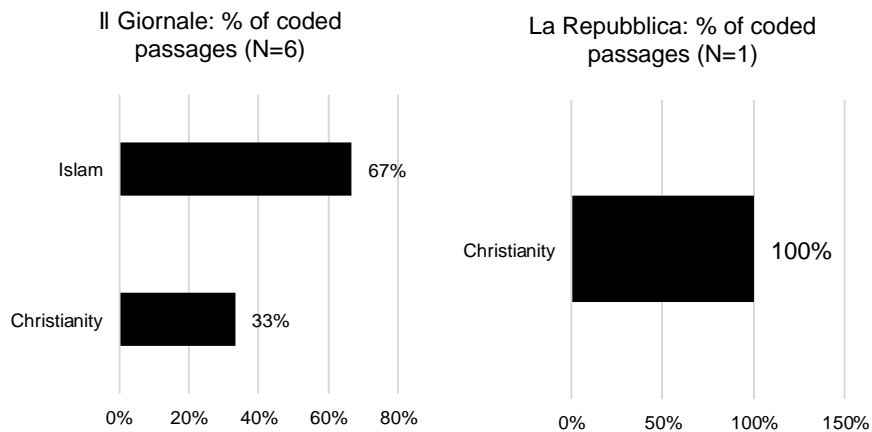
For example, *La Stampa* highlights how “in order to limit the number of migrants reaching Italy, we need a refugee management system that involves all EU countries” (ITA-M54-2016, *La Stampa*, see priceless quotation). *Il Giornale* sees “the existence of the border as a prerequisite for true solidarity” (ITA-M11-2013, *Il Giornale*, see priceless quotation). *Il Giornale* also fuels conspiracy theories, writing for example about George Soros – “the man who pays for the invasion of Europe” (ITA-M67-2017, *Il Giornale*) – or proposing headlines such as “behind the migrants there is a plan to change the people of Europe” (ITA-M82-2018, *Il Giornale*, see priceless quotation). *La Repubblica*, on the other hand, has underlined differences between Western and Eastern European countries:

Many Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians, more or less strongly supported by their respective governments, reject the idea of a multicultural society. This is the devil to reject: it is what explains the deep division between East and West. [...] At the origin of the rift between the two Europes in the face of the great migratory movement there are therefore different historical experiences. The multicultural Union, of which Angela Merkel is the peaceful and daring leader, is based on noble values that do not correspond to the defensive values of the part of the Union jealous of the conquered ethnic homogeneity (ITA-M44-2015, *La Repubblica*, see priceless quotation).

Identity

The *identity* theme is almost absent in the material. The theme is mostly present in articles from *Il Giornale*, which note: “It is against reason not to defend our territory, our home, our children, our dignity, our essence” (ITA-M34-2014, *Il Giornale*); “A so-called European Union which, in its ridiculous and fraudulent Constitution, is therefore setting aside our Christian roots, our essence?” (ITA-M34-2014, *Il Giornale*); “Indiscriminate immigration can lead to Islamisation. This, in short, is the position of Monsignor Antonio Livi, with whom we have discussed most of the issues that are affecting the Church in these times (ITA-M91-2018, *Il Giornale*)”.

Figure 4. Identity: percentage of coded text passages (N=7)

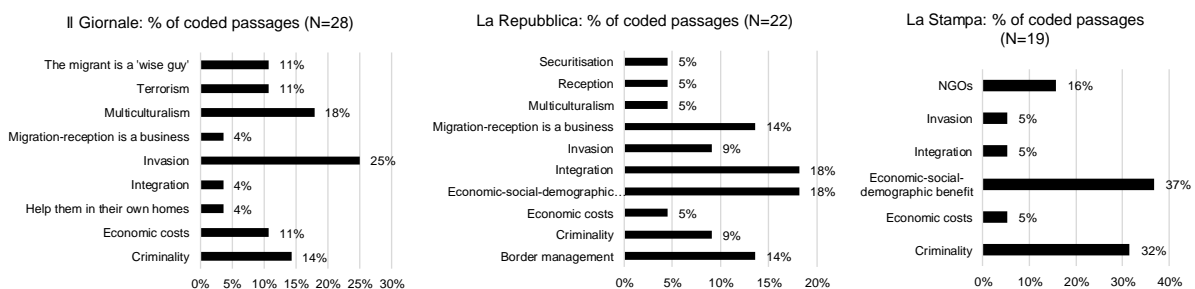


Migration/refugees

The three newspapers mostly referred to the theme related to migration and refugees (Figure 5). *Il Giornale* insisted on the invasion frame and stands against multiculturalism, which is depicted as a complete failure:

Only the Democratic Party and a part of the Catholic world have remained in support of multiculturalism. All the others have understood that it does not work: it divides and does not integrate. The city is fragmented into many small homelands, often hostile to each other. It lacks an idea of coexistence, an agreement on common rules. The state steps back, the laws of the tribe prevail (ITA-M94-2018, *Il Giornale*).

Figure 5. Migration/refugees: percentage of coded text passages (N=69)



Moreover, the migrant is seen as a “wise guy” who came to Italy “to fool Italians” (ITA-M53-2016, *Il Giornale*), and migration is often associated with criminality and terrorism: “immigration makes the Mafia rich” (ITA-M29-2014, *Il Giornale*, see priceless quotations); “Terrorism is not a direct consequence of immigration. But the problems of immigration have facilitated the path of fanaticism (ITA-M43-2015, *Il Giornale*, see priceless quotations).

The value of integration is mostly highlighted by *La Repubblica*:

Italy is a country that is struggling to invest in the integration of immigrants. A problem that has obvious repercussions on many aspects of the lives of migrants who face a real obstacle course every day. It is complicated for them to obtain citizenship, but also work [...].

It is difficult to study and only a few enrol in university (ITA-M4-2011, La Repubblica, see also priceless quotations).

La Repubblica also stresses the benefits associated with immigration, which is seen as a resource rather than a threat: “our demographic dynamics are such that without immigration we certainly cannot have sustainable economic and social growth” (ITA-M46-2015, La Repubblica); “immigration produces 11 billion of social security contributions every year” (ITA-M58-2016, La Repubblica).

Together with *La Repubblica*, *La Stampa* has tried to de-emphasise the invasion frame, with headlines such as “Immigration, Are We Really Invaded?” (ITA-M56-2016, La Stampa), and has insisted on the economic, social and demographic benefits deriving from migration: “The positive face of immigration is that immigration has been a great economic affair for Italy. In 2015, immigrants produced 127 billion euros or 8.8% of the Italian GDP” (ITA-M68-2017, La Stampa); “the first and most important opportunity is to increase the workforce: creating employment for migrants means helping GDP growth” (ITA-M54-2016, La Stampa). However, the newspaper has also negatively depicted humanitarian NGOs, which are seen as “the industrial complex of human rights” (ITA-M70-2017, La Stampa), and in some instances it has fuelled the narrative which associates immigration with crime:

The negative face of immigration is contained in the statistics of the Ministry of Justice. The prison population in Italy is made up of 56,766 prisoners, 19,373 of whom are foreigners. In addition, immigrants are responsible for the upsurge in five types of particularly heinous crimes: rape, robbery, theft, exploitation of prostitution and drug dealing. Those who are against immigration say that, without the immigrants, there would be a sharp contraction of these crimes, solving the problem of overcrowding in Italian prisons. The argument is based on objective grounds. The dark face of immigration is also represented by the Isis attacks. (ITA-M68-2017, La Stampa, see priceless quotations)

8. Conclusion

The aim of this report has been to investigate conflicting elite discourses over Europeanisation in relation to migration issues in Italy. In particular, we have examined how major political actors in government and the opposition have framed Europeanisation and constructed political claims. Moreover, we have assessed how these claims have circulated in the mass media. Empirical evidence has mainly been drawn from political speeches and newspaper articles.

The report has shown that actors in government have developed a discourse that is both Liberal and Conservative Europeaniser in kind. Their speeches focus on the humanitarian role of the EU, which should be based on the solidarity principle, stressing the importance of establishing effective burden-sharing mechanisms. However, though narratives over the need to defend Europe based on a “clash of civilisations” between *us* and *them* are rare, the discourses – and the implemented policies – are also strongly security-focused. In this respect, it can be said that a Liberal Europeaniser rhetoric has been mobilised to justify and implement a Conservative Europeaniser security approach. Instead, in the discourse developed by the opposition actors, the Conservative Europeaniser type of frame is more marked, with harsh language emphasising a “clash of civilisations”. As for the circulation of narratives in the media,

the typological distinction between Liberal (*La Repubblica* and *La Stampa*) and Conservative Europeanisers (*Il Giornale*) holds true, though there are some instances where we can find a Conservative Europeaniser kind of language in traditionally liberal or centrist newspapers.

Overall, the empirical evidence presented in this report suggests that there is room to elaborate more on the Liberal vs Conservative Europeaniser typology. Indeed, the Italian case shows that this distinction is not clear-cut, in that there are instances where Liberal and Conservative aspects have merged. It therefore seems crucial to make a distinction between discourses developed by the decision makers in government and those developed by opposition actors. It would also be interesting to further the analysis of the discourses conveyed by the same actors when they are in opposition and when they move to government (or vice versa), in order to detect changes in language and/or narrative.

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Appendix

Political speeches: Priceless quotations

1. A consultant of the Libyan government has warned us: the terrorists of Isis are coming hidden in boats. This morning a Moroccan terrorist involved in the massacre of the museum of Tunis was arrested at the gates of *my* Milan (emphasis added) (ITA6-2015-Salvini).
2. Many criminals are arriving on Italian shores and, according to the European secret services, many potential terrorists as well (ITA7-2015-Salvini).
3. We cannot accept a Europe that is too strict on some aspects of its austerity policies and too tolerant towards countries that do not accept to share common responsibilities on immigration issues (ITA8-2016-Gentiloni).
4. It cannot work. A system that leaves the individual coastal states of the southern Mediterranean alone to unilaterally or bilaterally manage such important issues as illegal immigration cannot work [...]. Italy cannot be the only country that carries out [actions] in all Maghreb countries (ITA1-2011-Maroni).
5. The collaboration with the Libyan authorities in the field of migration is part of a context that favours, as in Tunisia, the preventive approach to the phenomenon, with a view to strengthening the capacity of the Libyan police forces in the fight against criminal organisations and better management of the migrant population (ITA2-2012-Cancellieri).
6. It is very important to help these countries to work better in their territory. In this respect, for example, very positive agreements have been concluded with Tunisia (ITA2-2012-Cancellieri).
7. The Italian government spends billions of euros to welcome immigrants who arrive every day on our coasts. This money is mostly transferred to the cooperatives that take care of the reception centres for these migrants. Curiously, according to current regulations, these cooperatives have no obligation to report the millions of euros that the Italian State transfers to them. We [Fratelli d'Italia] believe that this could encourage the idea of a *business* behind this mass immigration (emphasis added) (ITA9-2017-Meloni).
8. The only solution is to help them in their own homes [...] (ITA4-2014-Salvini).

Media: Priceless quotations

EU Institutions	European values	Migration/refugees	Identity frames
<p>"The EU-Turkey agreement works." The agreement between the EU and Turkey for the management of the flow of migrants works. This is what it noted by the European Commission in its report on the state of implementation of the agreement with Ankara (ITA-M61-2016, La Repubblica)</p> <p>It was a tragedy that [...] bears the names of very specific culprits: on the one hand, the European Union which, beyond a handful of vague promises, does not take the field alongside Italy; on the other hand, the Renzi government, and in particular Interior Minister Angelino Alfano, who is passively subjected to Operation Mare Nostrum and is unable to oppose an increasingly alarming emergency (ITA-M35-2014, Il Giornale)</p> <p>We are the most generous with refugees and now we are exhausted. In order to live up to the humanitarian feelings we are endowed with, we have spent energy and money. Now we must surrender. Now we must surrender: Brussel, hurry up! (ITA-M50-2015, Il Giornale)</p> <p>The agreement with Turkey does not work anymore? In 2016 the EU and Turkey signed a pact to stem the arrival of migrants. Compared to that time, the number of asylum seekers "is still extremely low", a sign that it has worked. But now something seems</p>	<p>"Migrants bring prosperity." The Merkel plan that goes against Italy (ITA-M79-2018, Il Giornale)</p> <p>"Behind the migrants there is a plan to change the people of Europe." A plan to question the very Christianity of Europe. Kyrgyz Bishop Athanasius Schneider seems to be sure. A plan, again, that would even have been "prepared for a long time" (ITA-M82-2018, Il Giornale)</p> <p>George Soros, the man who pays for the invasion of Europe (ITA-M67-2017, Il Giornale)</p> <p>Many Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, more or less strongly supported by their respective governments, reject the idea of a multicultural society. This is the devil to reject: it is what explains the deep division between East and West. [...] At the origin of the rift between the two Europe in the face of the great migratory movement there are therefore different historical experiences. The multicultural Union, of which Angela Merkel is the peaceful and daring leader, is based on noble values that do not correspond to the defensive values of the part of the Union jealous of the conquered ethnic homogeneity. The broken-down association of European peoples is based on principles whose diversity could become dramatic and perhaps irreparable if the</p>	<p>Immigration makes the Mafia rich. When an illegal immigrant arrives in Italy, the Mafia gets its hands full. Because other labourers arrive at low, very low cost to exploit for illicit traffic, from drugs to counterfeit goods (ITA-M29-2014, Il Giornale)</p> <p>The price list for smugglers: this is how much it costs to chase the Italian dream (ITA-M17-2013, La Stampa)</p> <p>The positive face of immigration is that immigration has been a great economic affair for Italy. In 2015, immigrants produced 127 billion euros or 8.8% of Italian GDP. [...] The negative face of immigration is contained in the statistics of the Ministry of Justice. The prison population in Italy is made up of 56,766 prisoners, 19,373 of whom are foreigners. In addition, immigrants are responsible for the upsurge in five types of particularly heinous crimes: rape, robbery, theft, exploitation of prostitution and drug dealing. Those who are against immigration say that, without the immigrants, there would be a sharp contraction of these crimes, solving the problem of overcrowding in Italian prisons. The argument is based on objective grounds. The dark face of immigration is also represented by the Isis attacks. There is a tendency to believe that the attacks are carried out only by second or third generation immigrants with the same citizenship as us. [...] The argument of the</p>	<p>A so-called European Union which, in its ridiculous and fraudulent Constitution, is therefore setting aside our Christian roots, our essence? (ITA-M34-2014, Il Giornale)</p> <p>Indiscriminate immigration can lead to Islamisation. This, in short, is the position of Monsignor Antonio Livi, with whom we have discussed most of the issues that are affecting the Church in these times (ITA-M91-2018, Il Giornale)</p>

not to work anymore
(ITA-M86-2018, La Stampa)

The enemy is in our home [...]. An enemy who, by virtue of the freedom of movement required by the Schengen Treaty, runs around Europe at will. [The enemy] does not have to show any document. [The enemy] can be a terrorist who moves to organise or materialise a massacre [and] can have all the explosives he wants on him: nobody stops him, nobody touches him
(ITA-M34-2014, Il Giornale)

Because the free movement of goods, capital and people in parallel with the globalisation of rights, including the right to mobility, has become an unsustainable mechanism for any European country
(ITA-M40-2015, Il Giornale)

The world of migration is diverse. There are those who move to find work; those who, like refugees and displaced persons, escape wars, political or racial persecution, environmental disasters; those who come to study. [...] Among the emergencies, according to the 'Migrantes foundation', are a reform of the citizenship law and an employment policy. The waiting time to become an Italian citizen is too long (ITA-M4-2011, La Repubblica)

The issue of Dublin is not an easy one. Italy and Visegrad, in fact, although both critical of the Dublin reform, have had two different points of view: Rome thinks that

arrival of migrants and refugees were to last for years, as it seems. The Polish public opinion is less compact in its rejection of refugees from the other countries in the Visegrad group (Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary), and certainly also from the three Baltic republics.
(ITA-M44-2015, La Repubblica)

The existence of the border is a prerequisite for true solidarity. That is why I find it embarrassing, self-defeating, surreal, the way public debate takes place every time the umpteenth tragedy of the sea that 'swallows' hundreds of illegal immigrants hits the coast and, as a punch, our western stomachs
(ITA-M11-2013, Il Giornale)

There are two possible lines of action: limiting the number of arrivals and accelerating the integration of those who arrive. In order to limit the number of migrants reaching Italy, we need a refugee management that involves all EU countries: if human traffickers in the Maghreb fill bigger and bigger boats to push them into the arms of Italian sailors, there is no reason why our ships have to disembark them only in our ports
(ITA-M54-2016, La Stampa)

enemies of immigration that without immigrants we would not have terrorist attacks is based on objective grounds, since all the jihadist attacks carried out on European territory since 2001 have been carried out either by immigrants or by children of immigrants. [...] In summary, immigration is a complex phenomenon that allows both parties to nurture their beliefs, radicalising their respective positions
(ITA-M68-2017, La Stampa)

More immigrant landings. Do you know how much it costs to repatriate illegal immigrants?
(ITA-M22-2014, Il Giornale)

Forget about paying our pensions. Immigrants are just a cost
(ITA-M51-2016, Il Giornale)

Rejecting, expelling, repatriating: this is what European countries do within what are more elegantly referred to as "policies to combat irregular immigration". Policies with a cost that few in Italy know about, unlike those related to reception and inclusion considered by many politicians as having an impact on our welfare
(ITA-M19-2013, La Repubblica)

Our demographic dynamics are such that without immigration we certainly cannot have sustainable economic and social growth
(ITA-M46-2015, La Repubblica)

The essential point that these data tell us is that it is natural to expect an increase in migratory pressures in the coming

there are still too many obligations for the 'first arrival states'; Visegrad, on the other hand, is afraid of opening up to relocation **(ITA-M92-2018, Il Giornale)**

The Dublin Regulation is the "bete noire" of the those who chase the European mirage **(ITA-M1-2011, La Repubblica)**

Secondary movements of asylum seekers between Member States risk undermining the integrity of the common asylum and Schengen system **(ITA-M80-2018, Il Giornale)**

The opening of borders, in particular the Schengen Agreement, has not been accompanied by the acceptance of a multicultural society, which seems implicit. The problem has not been tackled and is now tearing Europe apart **(ITA-M44-2015, La Repubblica)**

years, whether we like it or not. So thinking about blocking immigration completely or discussing it on the basis of gut feelings is counterproductive. It is important to learn how to manage migration flows in an active and forward-looking way, rather than passively subjecting them and approaching them as a continuous emergency. This is the best way to make immigration a resource and not a threat **(ITA-M66-2017, La Repubblica)**

The first and most important opportunity is to increase the workforce: creating employment for migrants means helping GDP growth **(ITA-M54-2016, La Stampa)**

Help immigrants to stay in their country **(ITA-M11-2013, Il Giornale)**

Where's the integration? Due to the recent nature of much immigration in Italy, some aspects of integration infrastructure are less developed than in most countries with a long experience of immigration behind them. For example, there are no national programmes that provide any kind of work-oriented language training **(ITA-M26-2014, La Repubblica)**

Italians increasingly anxious about immigration. The issue of the arrival of large migratory flows in our country has returned to the agenda. The last episode, to which the media have given great prominence, was the rescue of a boat full of migrants last Wednesday

(ITA-M57-2016, Il Giornale)

The invasion of migrants in Italy is the fault of Renzi and his government **(ITA-M64-2017, Il Giornale)**

Immigration, are we really invaded? **(ITA-M56-2016, La Stampa)**

The big business of the Reception Centres. Their management becomes a gold mine. Cooperatives, companies born for the occasion, but also Northern industrial giants and multinationals: this is who is behind the Cara, the structures where migrants waiting for asylum end up. Some of them are real time bombs, but nobody seems to pay attention to them **(ITA-M16-2013, La Repubblica)**

That 2 million a day business: the more they [migrant] come, the more they earn. [...] With every boat that arrives, the "reception professionals" put their hand to the calculator and the figures always have many zeros. More than 1,800,000 euros a day: in 2013, Italy spent so much to ensure the reception of the 40,244 migrants who landed on our shores **(ITA-M21-2013, La Repubblica)**

Terrorism is not a direct consequence of immigration. But the problems of immigration have facilitated the path of fanaticism which, on the difficulty of integration of young people, often born in Europe but geographically and culturally confined in their communities, is leveraged every day. "They", they say,

		speaking of Europeans. Even though they are Europeans themselves. Failure, for multiculturalism, is almost a compliment (ITA-M43- 2015, Il Giornale)	
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List of speeches				
Actor	Position and party affiliation	Period	Context	Code
Roberto Maroni	Government - Minister of the Interior - Northern League (<i>Lega Nord</i>)	1	Parliamentary intervention	ITA1-2011-Maroni
Anna Maria Cancellieri	Government - Minister of the Interior - Independent	1	Hearing on immigration issues	ITA2-2012-Cancellieri
Emma Bonino	Government - Minister of Foreign Affairs - Rose in the Fist (<i>Rosa nel Pugno</i>)	1	Speech at the State of the Union Conference	ITA3-2013-Bonino
Matteo Salvini	Opposition - Secretary of the Northern League (<i>Lega Nord</i>)	1	Parliamentary intervention (EP)	ITA4-2014-Salvini
Matteo Salvini	Opposition - Secretary of the Northern League (<i>Lega Nord</i>)	1	Parliamentary intervention (EP)	ITA5-2015-Salvini
Matteo Salvini	Opposition - Secretary of the Northern League (<i>Lega Nord</i>)	1	Parliamentary intervention (EP)	ITA6-2015-Salvini
Matteo Salvini	Opposition - Secretary of the Northern League (<i>Lega Nord</i>)	2	Parliamentary intervention (EP)	ITA7-2015-Salvini
Paolo Gentiloni	Government - Prime Minister - Independent	2	Inaugural speech (Chamber of Deputies)	ITA8-2016-Gentiloni
Giorgia Meloni	Opposition - Leader of Brothers of Italy (<i>Fratelli d'Italia</i>)	2	Parliamentary intervention	ITA9-2017-Meloni
Marco Minniti	Government - Minister of the Interior - Democratic Party (<i>Partito Democratico</i>)	2	Letter to the Council of Europe	ITA10-2017-Minniti
Marco Minniti	Government - Minister of the Interior - Democratic Party (<i>Partito Democratico</i>)	2	Parliamentary intervention	ITA11-2017-Minniti
Marco Minniti	Government - Minister of the Interior - Democratic Party (<i>Partito Democratico</i>)	2	Parliamentary intervention	ITA12-2017-Minniti
Matteo Salvini	Opposition - Secretary of the Northern League (<i>Lega Nord</i>)	2	Parliamentary intervention (EP)	ITA13-2017-Salvini
Giuseppe Conte	Government - Prime Minister - Independent	2	Inaugural speech (Senate)	ITA14-2018-Conte
Giuseppe Conte	Government - Prime Minister - Independent	2	Inaugural speech (Chamber of Deputies)	ITA15-2018-Conte
Matteo Salvini	Government - Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior - League (<i>Lega</i>)	2	Annual League rally in Pontida	ITA16-2018-Salvini

List of newspaper articles			
Newspaper	Position	Code	Weblink
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M2-2011	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/continuano-sbarchi-lampedusa-collasso-ogni-ora-100-immigrati.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M5-2011	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/quando-sinistra-se-ne-infischiava-dei-poveri-immigrati.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M6-2012	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/interni/trucco-degli-stranieriscroccano-pensione-per-i-parenti-all.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M8-2012	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/interni/se-offendere-i-cristiani-non-mai-peccato-836978.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M11-2013	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/interni/aiutiamo-immigrati-rimanere-nel-loro-paese-956088.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M13-2013	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/interni/basta-ipocrisie-immigrati-ormai-sono-lusso-956273.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M22-2014	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/interni/rimpatriare-clandestino-costa-25mila-euro-1025234.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M29-2014	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/soccorriamoli-mare-e-rimandiamoli-casa-cos-fa-leuropa-1044625.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M35-2014	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/interni/tragedia-nel-canale-sicilia-trenta-cadaveri-su-barcone-1033183.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M38-2015	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/dante-alighieri-contro-immigrati-e-caritas-1123980.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M40-2015	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/mondo/immigrazione-senza-frontierismo-quintessenza-capitalismo-1167292.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M43-2015	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/dannazione-multiculturale-delloccidente-1195611.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M47-2015	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/quale-piano-b-ci-siamo-rovinati-soli-accordi-e-trattati-1142017.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M50-2015	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/noi-i-pi-generosi-coi-profughi-ora-siamo-stremati-ci-pensi-l-1139284.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M51-2016	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/altro-che-pagarci-pensioni-immigrati-sono-solo-costo-1316845.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M52-2016	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/ecco-i-profughi-beffano-trattato-dublinto-1218819.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M53-2016	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/ecco-istruzioni-immigrati-cos-potete-fregare-italiani-1267054.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M57-2016	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/italiani-sempre-pi-ansia-immigrazione-1264841.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M59-2016	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/mondo/svezia-respinge-linvasione-espeller-80mila-immigrati-1217750.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M62-2016	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/nel-mondo-rap-islamico-cos-reclutano-i-terroristi-1274249.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M64-2017	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/cos-governo-renzi-ha-dato-libera-grande-invasione-1416870.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M65-2017	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/fuggi-non-capalbio-cos-limmigrazione-uccide-turismo-1428652.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M67-2017	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/george-soros-e-i-migranti-1371709.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M69-2017	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/lauren-southern-lattivista-che-combatte-islam-immigrazione-e-1399117.html

Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M74-2017	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/ora-i-cittadini-greci-sono-pi-poveri-dei-migranti-che-hanno-1378479.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M78-2017	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/spettacoli/no-secco-multiculturalismo-difendere-societ-aperta-1382712.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M79-2018	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/i-migranti-portano-prosperit-piano-merkel-contro-litalia-1614414.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M80-2018	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/mondo/ci-hanno-fregato-farsa-europea-sui-migranti-1547081.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M82-2018	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/dietro-i-migranti-c-piano-cambiare-i-popoli-europei-1545835.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M83-2018	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/multiculturalismo-buonista-spazzato-milioni-voti-1502008.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M88-2018	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/consiglio-ue-sui-migranti-c-accordo-che-concreto-non-ha-1546626.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M91-2018	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/limmigrazione-indiscriminata-porta-allislamizzazione-1482739.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M92-2018	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/migranti-berlino-segue-litalia-cos-sfuma-riforma-dubli-no-1536744.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M94-2018	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/multiculturalismo-persino-micromega-non-ne-pu-pi-1577699.html
Il Giornale	Right/conservative	ITA-M34-2014	https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/aveva-ragione-pazza-fallaci-1046778.html
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M1-2011	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/profughi/2011/10/10/news/elsa_su_profughi_visti_da_londra-23004899/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M3-2011	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2011/12/15/news/immigrati_la_paura_diffusa_per_i_clandestini_ma_accoglienza_verso_chi_fugge_dalla_povert-26646774/?ref=search
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M4-2011	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2011/01/13/news/immigrati_calano_le_domande-11174760/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M7-2012	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2012/09/28/news/polchi-43469465/?ref=search
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M9-2012	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2012/02/23/news/l_italia_condannata_per_i_repingimenti-30366965/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M15-2013	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/profughi/2013/05/08/news/i_richiedenti_asilo_di_ritorno_il_centro_per_la_sindrome_di_dubli-no-58359010/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M16-2013	https://inchieste.repubblica.it/it/repubblica/repit/2013/10/16/news/clandestini_il_grande_business_da_lampedusa_a_roma-68743833/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M18-2013	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2013/10/24/news/l_italia_si_salver_solo_con_gli_stranieri_accogliamoli_tutti_il_pamphlet_di_mancini_e_brinis-69335949/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M19-2013	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2013/10/25/news/bongioanni-69441555/?ref=search
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M20-2013	https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2013/10/03/news/lampedusa_naufragio_reazioni-67791513/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M21-2013	https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2013/12/19/news/migranti_business_da_due_milioni_al_giorno-73991727/

La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M24-2014	https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2014/01/12/gli-xenofobi-del-palazzo.html?ref=search
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M25-2014	https://espresso.repubblica.it/attualita/2014/09/09/news/il-miliardario-che-vuole-aiutare-lampedusa-il-progetto-di-soros-per-l-isola-dei-migranti-1.179351
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M26-2014	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2014/07/07/news/cnel-90907508/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M27-2014	https://espresso.repubblica.it/attualita/2014/08/07/news/immigrazione-respinte-3000-persone-i-viaggi-della-speranza-anche-in-aeroporto-1.176251
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M28-2014	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2014/12/19/news/l-immigrato-fa-notizia-103303845/?ref=search
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M31-2014	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/profughi/2014/06/20/news/save-quasi-tutti-i-minori-accompagnati-sbarcati-in-italia-nel-2014-sono-siriani-5-anni-l-et-media-viaggi-per-salvarsi-la-89464622/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M32-2014	https://espresso.repubblica.it/attualita/2014/01/07/news/la-casa-dove-si-curano-i-traumi-della-guerra-1.147994
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M36-2015	https://espresso.repubblica.it/attualita/2015/05/15/news/accordo-europeo-sui-migranti-cosa-cambia-davvero-e-cosa-no-1.212864
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M39-2015	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2015/09/01/news/migranti-profughi-cose-da-sapere_domande_risposte_faq-121963703/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M41-2015	https://espresso.repubblica.it/internazionale/2015/09/03/news/immigrazione-la-ue-presenta-un-nuovo-piano-reintrodurremo-le-quote-obbligatorie-1.227586
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M44-2015	https://www.repubblica.it/esteri/2015/09/07/news/la-societa-multietnica-che-divide-l-europa-oppo-perche-l-est-non-vuole-i-migranti-122384672/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M46-2015	https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2015/06/26/immigrazione-aiuta-a-crescereMilano06.html?ref=search
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M49-2015	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2015/08/23/news/calabria-121481074/?ref=search
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M58-2016	https://www.repubblica.it/economia/2016/10/10/news/economia-immigrati-pil-149285846/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M61-2016	https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2016/12/08/news/migranti-ue-chiusa-procedura-contro-italia-e-grecia-su-raccolta-impronte-153702089/
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M63-2016	https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2016/12/19/news/migranti-razzismo-mezzi-di-informazione-154419639/?ref=search
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M66-2017	https://www.repubblica.it/economia/2017/11/01/news/immigrazione-il-sorpasso-179565060/?ref=search
La Repubblica	Left/liberal	ITA-M73-2017	https://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2017/01/03/news/nigeria-155322818/
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