

HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY SITUATIONS SEEN AS INTERCULTURALITY *IN NUCE*: LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF TWO ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS

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Abstract: *Society is not static, but always in motion, it is a composition made of diverse elements also when the migrations are not intervening. But when are migrations “forced” by poverty, famine and wars to oblige people to run away from their land, he who is involved in those events finds himself in one of those situations which Giddens defines “cultural shock”, which affects the refugees as well as the populations of the country chosen for the landing. The goal that we are aiming at is that of analyzing how the newspapers report the news about immigration in Italy. Newspapers are mostly the voice of the power and they suggest the readers how to consider themselves and the others. Hostility towards minority groups have been noticed by many sociological and psychological studies and the migration movements provided always new targets to inter-group prejudice and led to opportunities of new confliotions. In 2003 the first newspaper exhibits the foreigners as deviants while the second one faces the problem from a political perspective and interprets the landings as something tragic. In 2013 the first newspaper stresses the political aspect and the tragic situation of the immigrants, while the second one continues to keep the attention on the landings and stresses the dramatic events. It can be said that the reporters produce an agenda setting that should aim to accompany the feeling of reception which should be widespread to accept the difficult situation.*

Keywords: *interculturality, cultural shock, agenda setting, clandestine landings*

1. INTRODUCTION

The media of mass communication are a source of news and knowledge inside social life spheres which single individuals cannot directly attempt. Media have therefore the power of deciding how much has to be known and they are in charge of the task of selecting which news to make known and how to do it. The emphasis on certain facts, the silence on others lead to acknowledge such media a not negligible degree of “manipulability” and therefore of power. Even though mass communication media represent only one of the many factors which can strengthen the attitudes already existent in an individual. The media, in their role of providers of informations offer the great audience a representation of the reality orienting the individual and collective behavior involving at the same time both the cognitive and the normative dimensions (Tessarolo, 1997).

The social representation defines a shared reality which is produced and, at the same time, produces social communication and interaction. In order that the social representation could consolidate it is necessary that mass

communication media carry out an operation of objectivation and anchorage of the informations. The objectivation takes place by means of a selection and organization of the informations concerning the representation in which the selected elements are de-contextualized and re-organized in hierarchical manner, producing a new representation made and modified by media and proposed to the audience (Ambrosini, 1999; 2010).

Media, furthermore, pre-sort for the audience an agenda-setting which depends on the way they present the various themes and on the order of importance which, afterwards, will be shared by the audience exposed to the news. Press, therefore, induces the audience to take a determined perspective and it takes care that people judge certain themes more importantly than others. In this way the press’ agenda becomes indeed the audience’s agenda (Erta, 2014; Di Luzio, 2011).

Media in general emphasize the importance of a piece of news applying a journalistic technique which consists in staying “one tone above”, interpreting in such way the expectations of a reader. Instead a reporter should try to provide a narrative hypothesis allowing a reader to choose his own reading key pointing at a path, but also the

possibility of taking other ones (Tessarolo, 1997; Beck, 2006, Maneri, 2009).

2. THE IMMIGRATION

During the nineties, the governments of the European countries of old immigration (France, England, Germany) adopted more and more restrictive policies towards migrants and refugees. A clear example of the closure of Europe towards foreigners is constituted by the migratory policies of the countries of new immigration (Spain, Italy and Greece). In the eighties the flow of thousands of migrants hadn't lead Italy to adopt any strategy of social insertion, or any measure to facilitate the integration, but only rare and hasty legislative initiatives. In demonstration of such a closure towards foreigners, in the nineties the indifference of the institutions and of the Italian society gave way to hostility; indeed various episodes of intolerance followed, as the repatriation of hundreds of Albanians in 1991 to whom had been promised residence and work permits, or as the sending in 1995 of the army on the shores of Apulia to block the clandestines. Since the beginning of the nineties, the migrants became, according to the Italian public opinion, "the causes of the social crisis and of the collective fears" (Dal Lago 1999:25; Maneri, 2009)¹.

The immigration from EU countries has become for many countries in the Union one of the most urgent matters of the politics agenda. Schengen agreement provides that the complying countries allow free entry from the other signatory countries. This configuration of European borders had a strong impact on illegal immigration. Irregular immigrants who succeed in entering any of the agreeing countries can afterwards move without hindrances inside the whole Schengen space (Giddens, 2001:159). The long Italian coastline is considered one of the most permeable barriers of Europe. The right of asylum is considered a universal right, but the weighting procedures of the requests are very controversial. Giddens observes that in human history it has

never happened that ideas and individuals so easily crossed the borders and that everyone's expectations of enhancing the quality of life were reclaimed in particular the ones of the persons escaping from poverty, starvation and warfare². According to Giddens just because of the spreading speed we can speak of radical transformation of the societies which we're living in and he forecasts that many of them, making the example of Italian society, "will become multi-ethnic for the first time in their history" (2001:160)³.

European situation, according to Eurostat's data (2012), sees foreigner population concentrated in four countries which in order are: Germany (7.400.000), Spain (5.600.000), UK (4.800.000), Italy (4.800.000) In percentage terms Italy is placed at the eleventh position. The prevalence of certain nationalities in the single countries is due to different factors of historical, geographical, economical or legislative nature which play a decisive role. France, Germany and United Kingdom are countries with a long migratory tradition, they have indeed a strong presence of second generations; on the contrary, in the immediate post-war period Italy and Spain were countries with much emigration and only during the last decades they became outlet areas for the migrants, from the European community and not, with very high flows in the last ten years. In the other EU member countries of Mediterranean area too the increase of the migrants has been greater than the doubling. The continuity of the presence in Italy is a condition for starting paths of radicacion which in time can lead, passing through the obtainment of not expiring residence permits, to the acquisition of the status of Italian citizenship According to the year 2013 ISTAT report, 56.148 acquisitions of citizenship have been registered

² It should be one's own State the one who cares for the happiness of its citizens, but the hoarding of the wealth is stronger than the common good.

³ With this statement Giddens shows that he does not know Italian history: since 350 A.D. con Franchi, Visigoths (418 A.D.), Unni (452 A.D.), Longobardi dal 568 A.D. (Lombardia) and in 753 A.D. they siege Rome, Vandals in Sicily (468 A.D.), Unni (452 A.D.), Ostrogoti (Verona e Ravenna 526 A.D.). And again Arabians in Sicily 900 A.D., Normans in Sicily (first 1061), Cimbri in the north (1200), Catalans in Sardinia (from 1297 to 1479). In 1600 the vales of Abruzzi, having remained deserted because of the Black Death, were inhabited by Croatians and Albanians whose communities, still today after 400 years, still speak the old dialects. The pacts of Versailles (1919) assigned Italy the south Tirol.

¹ Informations about discrimination and racism at European level are contained in the report published in 2011 by the European Agency for the Fundamental Rights (FRA), important consultative organ of EU constituted in 2007 for the protection of the fundamental rights in Europe. Such a report analyzes the interviews made to 23.500 foreigners, about the discriminations in various areas of everyday life (job, school, health, spare time, etc.)

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during year 2011, while during 2012 they were 65.383. The citizenship acquisitions in 2013 increased by the 16.4% compared to the previous year. On January, 29th 2015 the association Carta di Roma published a research on how newspapers report the news about emigration. The public dialogue about immigration presented on the written press shows a prevalence of social alarm: too much people arrive, luckily there's Italy helping them, but the reception centers are saturated⁴. 846 articles dated between January and June 2014 and extracted from three big national newspapers (La Repubblica, Corriere della sera and Il sole 24 ore) have been taken into account. We selected the articles and the handiness which tread of the theme of immigration. This theme is often presented with chronicle events, with stereotyped main characters and tones. The job theme remains in the background and the articles emphasizing the contribution of immigration to the Italian economy are a few. Immigrants are chiefly "those who disembark and who are involved in chronicle events". The three newspapers differ in the presentation modalities: the Corriere della sera confronts topics of chronicle and criminality, la Repubblica stands out for the quantity of articles on the topic of integration and il Sole 24 Ore emerges for the presence of topics inherent to politics, justice and economy. What links all these newspapers are the chronicles of the landings. A study made by the Eurobarometer in December 2014 on how immigration is perceived inside the EU, notices that the 18% of the Europeans feels the phenomenon of immigration as a worry for their own country. At a personal level the 8% of the Italians feels menaced compared to a mean of the 5%. In Italy the 36% of the interviewed sees positively the immigration from other EU members countries (in Europe they are the 52%) while the 56% considers it negatively. If it is a matter of immigrants from outside the European the Italians have a positive opinion in the 18% of the cases and negative in the 75% (for what regards the European data the 35% are positive opinions while the 57% are negative ones). The data the cited research found and those of the Eurobarometro show a status quo, i.e. how the situation currently is. Yet we think that to better understand how we came to this situation it might

⁴ The results of the inquiry are presented in the volume "The value of immigration" edited by the Fondazione Leone Moressa with the support of Open Society Foundations.

be useful to go through a certain time span, sufficient to "measure" the changes intervened in the way of perceiving and, of course, of presenting a phenomenon, following certain modalities. Moreover, a detached sight, the seeing from the outside allows one to put between parenthesis, to suspend the judgment as one does in the epochè process which lasts until one has enough informations to evaluate a certain phenomenon. The decennial distance intervened between the two measurements makes it possible to understand if there have been relevant changes in the perception of immigration and if the prejudices present in year 2003 last until 2013. This can allow us to notice also if "making journalism" brings with itself a particular attention toward the existing transformations in *nuce*, and if the job of reporter consists not only in following the spread prejudices, but also in conducting a reader "out of the shoals" of the obvious and triviality, opening tears of reality transformation which bring him to accept and spread among readers the transformations taking place in the society.

2.1 The Research. The research we are going to present is about what two widespread Italian newspapers wrote: il Corriere della sera and La Stampa. On these two newspapers we analyzed the headlines and the articles of two time periods with ten years far in between them: from August, 1st to October, 31st 2003 and the same time span in year 2013. The corpus subject to inquiry was acquired searching for the articles inherent the argument chosen by means of the insertion [in a search engine] of the following keywords: immigrant/s, immigration, foreigner/s, non-EU-individual/s, refugee/s, clandestine/s. In the two time spans the phenomenon of immigration saw many episodes regarding clandestines remaining victims in the landings in Lampedusa and in Sicily. Inside this work the independent variables are the articles and their headlines published by the two newspapers. On the whole 583 articles have been analyzed, of which 263 coming from "il Corriere della Sera" and 320 from "La Stampa"⁵. We proceeded with the textual analysis using the SPAD software⁶.

3. WHAT HEADLINES SAY

3.1 Analysis of year 2003 headlines. An headline is the synthesis which precedes, presents

⁵ Data have been collected by doc. Valentina Pajola.

⁶ SPAD is a software for semi-automatic and qualitative/quantitative analysis of textual data.

and emphasizes a news, an article or a report. The headline has a fundamental importance because its attractiveness determines the following reading of the article itself, therefore it is essential that it catches the attention and the interest of the reader. Very often, indeed, the headline is the only part of an article to be read even several times (Ambrosi, Tessarolo, 2001).

Proceeding with the vocabulary analysis for year 2003 headlines of both newspapers we see that 7374 words appear, whose vocabulary is made of 2471 distinct words (word type), more than half of which (1557) have a frequency of 1 (hapax). The percentage of distinct words is 33.5%: this fact allows us to say that the words used are quite various, therefore there is a good lexical richness. Nonetheless observing more analytically the results one can notice that there is a high presence of words with frequency of 1 which tends to create a background noise distracting the attention from the main argumentations suggested to the reader.

Table 1. The first 20 most frequent words in year 2003 headlines

Graphical form	Frequency
immigrants	63
clandestines	40
foreigners	30
Italy	26
against	21
Pisanu	19
Lampedusa	17
sea	16
vote	15
blitz	14
years	13
non-European	13
lega	13
immigration	13
deaths	13
bossi	12
minister	12
escape	11
city	11
euro	11

The first three words of table 1 (immigrants, clandestines, foreigners and, further on, non-European and immigration) appear conspicuously in the headlines of the two newspapers, as it could be otherwise foreseen considering which the key terms chosen to do the research were. These labels concentrate, connoting negatively the persons whom they are referred to: miserales, menacing,

prones to crime. Some excerpts provide an example: “(...) clandestine landings decreasing in Apulia, incrementing in Sicily”; “Six arrested, 18 clandestines stopped at Porta Palazzo, it’s war to degradation”; “(...) let the immigrants pay their punishments in their homeland”. The term against might express a feeling of refusal toward these persons: “Protest of the humanitarian organizations against the project submitted to the union governments...”; “against terrorism a task force made of polices”. A sort of intolerance toward the immigrants is evident. Another frequent term is blitz, which emphasizes the crime events (blitz on the beach two arrested operation in Savona; anti-slavers blitz seven arrested in Naples). Some terms concern politics and legislation: Pisanu (minister), vote, Lega (right party), Bossi (leader of Lega), minister. The word Italy can be justified with the fact that being the newspapers national, it is normal that word is a subject of strong interest. Therefore “Italy” as a way of emphasizing one’s own being, one’s own boundaries, in order to distinguish “us” from the “other”. “(...) 31 thousand help requests Italian engagement against prostitution and slavery during European six-month period”; “Italy reaches 57 millions individuals thanks to immigrants”. There are eventually terms like city, Lampedusa, sea, deaths, escape, years and euro which point out other elements which contribute to increase the lines of clandestine and forced immigration we are witnessing. Observing the distribution of the terms in the headlines by means of the Vospec⁷ procedure, one verifies that in the headlines are more frequently used terms like “immigrants, clandestines, terrorism, blitz, invasion, arrested, degradation” and terms having an explicit connection to the political stage and in particular to specific government representatives. Among the politicians coming out there are “Pisanu, Berlusconi Bossi-Fini and Ciampi”⁸.

⁷ The Vospec procedure allows one to find out the characteristic words of a text. The words which are over- or under-represented in a given variable represent the specificity of the term in that given context. The analysis starts from a probabilistic hypothesis of even distribution of the lexical forms. The characteristic words are those more or less frequent which by means of the applications of the valuer test are evaluated on the percentual frequency base of a lexeme in a given variable and in its global presence, The level of significance is p.05 and the range of the valuer test is from -1.96 to +1.96.

⁸ It can be noticed that in the headlines the term Romanian associated to chronicle events is significant.

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3.2 Year 2013 headlines. Concerning year 2013 headlines, 7054 words appear (occurrences or word token), whose vocabulary is made of 2659 distinct words (graphical forms or word type), more than half of which (1852) have a frequency of 1 (hapax). The calculated percentage of distinct words is 37.7%; therefore we have, in this case too, a fairly good lexical richness. In table 2 are presented the first twenty more frequent words.

Table 2. The first 20 most frequent words in year 2013 headlines

Graphical form	Frequency
refugees	29
migrants	24
Lampedusa	24
immigrants	19
immigration	15
Italy	15
foreigners	14
Europe	13
lega	13
syrians	13
Kyenge	12
against	12
euro	12
escape	11
Syria	11
emergency	11
minister	11
tragedy	11
years	10
families	10

Many of the terms have been already found in the analysis of year 2003 headlines, thing that might lead one to think that under certain aspects the situation hasn't changed much in the course of 10 years. The terms appearing are: refugees, immigrants, immigration, foreigners and the new term migrants. At a first sight the denomination

This datum seems to be strongly stereotyped because Romania is an European country even though in 2003 it wasn't yet a member of the European community (enters EU in 2007). In 2013 Rumanians in Italy are almost one million and ten thousands. It is the first time that a community reaches such a figure and there should be a push toward a reinforcement of the relationship between Rome and Bucharest. It is a matter of a second homeland! (Perrotta, 2011).

seems mitigated because in the definition of this category the word non-European (which vehiculates a sense of extraneousness) doesn't appear anymore and it is substituted with the term migrant. The image of the foreigner obtained isn't any more a picture of a deviant only: "center-left party asks again for providing paediatrists to the irregular immigrants' children"; "scholarships as long as are for immigrants"; "let the expenses for the immigrants in jail be paid by their homelands"; "refugees, the local administration throws the alarm". A reality which seems to have taken root emerges and it seems more and more accepted as one can notice from the higher and higher number of measures useful for a better integration, for granting base rights and welfare even to a migrant. The tones which emphasize the "immigration emergency" have not disappeared in fact the headlines recall the numerous landings and the continued clandestines waves, but the climate is of major acceptance and cohabitation compared to what was perceived ten years before. For the first time emerge terms talking of immigrants nationalities, they are given a face: it is a matter of Syrians and of Syria. According to the data reported by the minister of the Interior the Syrians represent the most numerous people which landed on the Italian shores in 2013, because of the civil war fought in that country. It is a matter of people escaping from their own homeland in search of a better life. "Mediterranean sea south shore shipwreck of Syrians and Palestinians refugees", "families escaping from Egypt and Syria". The theme of the exodus was already made explicit in 2003: the peoples change but the desperation and the hope remain always the same. Other terms add up and are those of the places: Lampedusa, Italy, Europe. Political terms stand out: lega, Kyenge (Cécile Kyenge, of Congolese origin, is the minister of the Integration of Letta's government), minister and against. Finally come the terms euro, emergency and tragedy which are source of the crisis and of the notiziability and to which years and families are added. While in 2003 was emphasized the feeling of abandonment and of lack of a sort of protection represented by the home, here the union of the family nucleus in facing tragic events is emphasized.

Analyzing the Vospec we find that in 2003 the reflection focuses on the relationship between migratory flows and terrorism and on the value attribution expressed by terms such as "invasion and degradation". In 2013 the geopolitical stage changed its asset and the matter of the north Africa

raised the reflection on the themes of human rights. The term “immigrants” present in 2003 modifies in “migrants and refugees” opening in this way the debate on wider themes with implications linked mainly to the difficulties of government and of protection of individuals. The emotional dimension seems to be the most present. In 2013 also the Syrian matter and the tragedies happened in the Mediterranean sea are taken into consideration.

3.3 Analysis of year 2003 articles. In the text of the articles published in the chosen months of the year 2003, 140901 words appear (occurrences or word token), whose vocabulary is made of 17301 distinct words (graphical forms or word type), about half of which (8736) have a frequency of 1 (hapax). The calculated percentage of distinct words is 12.3% which shows a limited lexical richness. The first twenty more frequent words which emerge are presented in table 3.

Table 3. The first 20 most frequent words in year 2003 articles

Graphical form	Frequency
years	369
immigrants	315
Italy	312
immigration	240
job	211
clandestines	197
non-European	184
foreigners	153
persons	151
country	134
police	133
Lampedusa	133
home	122
city	122
minister	120
government	120
Europe	118
law	115
sea	114
Pisanu	110

Because it is a matter of the articles linked to the headlines just analyzed, it is expected to find in part the same words again, although with different frequencies. Among the most frequently appearing words stand out immigrants, immigration, clandestines, non-European and a new terminology

not found in the headlines, foreigners. Here are some examples: “hard line not only against who earns money by means of immigration, but no tolerance against the immigrants too”; “look, there are a lot of non-European in Castelleone, you write we had enough and we just don’t want any more of them”; “With each passing decade the foreigners in the Peninsula double”. From the excerpts utilized emerge the same elements and tones which were anticipated in the headlines, a negative image of the foreigner is vehiculated leading to a feeling of intolerance and exasperation which becomes manifest through the measures carried out by the government with the passing of the years. The term years still appears with a twofold value either of age or of time span. Then the word Italy: “because in Italy this policy doesn’t work”; “he died while he was going to crown his dream: enter Italy and try to change the course of his destiny”; “the doubts on the difficulties which regular non-European encounter arriving in Italy”⁹. Linked to Italy we find again the word country as emergency moment. The term city opens ambivalent thematics: “in the big cities crimes decreased by 12%”; “we are facing a transformation of the city”: city therefore is mentioned with the meaning of group. A new term is job: “job” and “foreigners” represents an important but ambivalent union. Then comes the word person which seems to recall a meaning of greater humanity confronted to immigrants, clandestines or non-European. Some excerpts point out this change: “on the whole 104 persons between 16 and 35 years old have been checked, 8 foreigners have been proposed for expulsion”; “increasing the number of persons reported to judicial authority”; “remembering the most recent landings of persons escaped from Liberia to Lampedusa”; “The phenomenon of clandestines present in the country is drastically decreasing”. Media show single and particular situations, they shift the attention from a general plane to a specific one, activating a greater sense of humanity and identification.

In the analysis of the words used by media in year 2003, the word police evocates criminality which is by now coupled to the term immigration. A relevant topic for the immigration on Italian

⁹ Even though the data reported by Eurostat in 2012 show that the migratory flows are more substantial in Germany, Spain and United Kingdom, this is never told in these articles. It seems that immigration is above all an interest of Italy and that it doesn’t represent a phenomenon touching other EU member countries too in an important way.

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shores is represented by the words Lampedusa, sea, home. “Home” is our familiar, known, foreseeable, reassuring world: “people forget that who leaves his own country does it for a need. He who is well in his home, stays there”; “escaping from misery, he arrived in Turin in search for a job and a home”; “those who emigrate search for a job to gain money and go back home”. The political theme emerges in the articles too: minister, government, law and Pisanu. Finally, another new term is Europe standing out, though, as a term which seems to want to look away from the Italian situation.

3.4. Analysis of year 2013 articles. The articles present in the months chosen for the year 2013 allow to find out 153654 occurrences, whose vocabulary is composed by 19720 graphical forms, more than half of which (10537) have a frequency of 1. The calculated percentage of distinct words is 12.8% indicating a limited lexical richness. The first twenty most frequent words emerging are presented in table 4.

Table 4. The first 20 most frequent words in year 2013 articles

Graphical form	Frequency
them	382
years	348
Italy	257
sea	210
Lampedusa	179
persons	171
country	166
today	161
migrants	159
refugees	158
children	154
Center	139
job	133
days	130
president	129
countries	128
immigrants	127
Euro	127
us	126
Europe	124

The first word found was them (N= 382) contrasting with us (N=126). Although the numeric difference is remarkable, this emphasized

separation of boundaries between two areas, not geographical but ideological, cannot be ignored. The articles report the separation between two worlds in this way: “right here with us in Italy”; “but clandestines must pay for their treatments. Them and their relatives”; “these migrants get ashore to Italy, but the majority of them wants to go elsewhere”; “in the end they organized it by themselves, that funeral which we Italians failed to offer them by any means”.

It is therefore suggested again a temporal reflection by means of the use of terms such as years, today and days: the goal is probably focus the attention on the hic et nunc of the Italian situation which seems living moments of serious difficulty in facing and managing the immigration phenomenon. Also the words Italy, country and countries are not new: although mentioning other realities as the term countries lead us to think, Italy remains the undisputed protagonist of the examined phenomenon. Sea and Lampedusa are once again among the most used words and reflect the great landings that took place in Sicily. Also linked to the landings is the term center, by means of which the emergency and the difficult situations, which the refugees reception centers are in, are reported. The human aspect of the facts comes back and therefore the terms persons and children. The fact that these words appear more often than migrants, refugees and immigrants can be a signal that the persons who find themselves facing tragic situations are human beings. The word job appears less frequently in comparison to year 2003 (133 times versus the 211 times of ten years before) on the contrary of what was to be expected: since the recent period has been characterized by an important crisis, all that involves the occupational sphere represents a delicate point, because of the numerous cuts to the jobs and of the fear Italians have of the possibility of being “robbed” of the job duties by the foreigners themselves. “the premier Enrico Letta claimed the work done by Italy in front of the continual emergency of the landings”; “therefore many non-European who have a precarious job can seek after a stable one”. Speaking of crisis one could think of a correlation with the term euro which appears among the first twenty words with a reference to the economical sphere. “the center of first reception in Pozzallo, Ragusa, hosts 400 persons compared to the 130 estimated. And its Major protests claiming a credit of 650.000 euros from the State”; “hundreds of non-European crowded together in shacks and put at work in the

orange-groves in exchange of very few euros”, going through the headlines one can notice that term is used in reference to the costs of the measures carried out to face the immigration phenomenon whose costs weigh on a not particularly flourishing economical situation; however emerge also meanings of that term which recall the generally precarious conditions which the immigrants find themselves to live in: the exploitation and not regular job conditions or the poverty and desperation forcing them to embark on a voyage of unknown outcome.

The political sphere is faced in a cleanly inferior manner compared to what found until now, both for what concerns the inherent terminology (only the word president appears consistently in the articles) and at the level of numerical frequency. The topic is nonetheless dealt with by means of other words (for example speaking of labour), but it seems there is a diminution in the global attention toward politics: this doesn't mean it is less important or that media don't deal with it anymore, this rather means that speaking of immigration the dramatic events concerning the emergency caused by the landings its significant. “Lampedusa is the symbol of European migratory policy, which transformed the Mediterranean sea in a graveyard. Europarlament president Martin Schulz's words”; “a reasonable proposal to save Italy, the Italians and the immigrants. Two persons are subscribing: the PD parliamentarian Luigi Manconi, president of the senate extraordinary commission for the protection of human rights”. At the end of the list appears the word Europe which testimonies the fact that the events taking place near us are considered more important and attention worthy compared to more distant ones. Europe is generally mentioned speaking of politics (“it sanctions the unstoppable affirmation of the ultra-right party in Europe”) or reporting facts and testimonies on how Europe acts before the immigration phenomenon (“but it is not Italy the first border which Syrians and Afghans try to cross to enter Europe”); the cases which refer to an idea of deviance inherent to immigrants are in diminution.

Observing the characteristic words emerged from the two newspapers we notice that in year 2003 there is a correspondence with the data emerged from the headlines, one can notice that the theme of immigration is widened to embrace the matter of Maghreb, indeed one speaks of “Tunisian, Moroccan”; another group characterizing this year is the “Albanians”. In the

argumentation is also taken into examination the religious subject and the theme of Islam is introduced. This aspect seems to be more linked to the attempt of supporting a theory bound to fear and suspect, it is not by chance that in the same year the term terrorism appears among the significant words too.

In 2013 the reflection on the theme of immigration opens to a more various discussion mainly oriented to considering immigration as a mass phenomenon caused by serious tensions inside the country of origin. From the characteristic words the Syrian matter emerges. The immigrant is called “migrant or refugee” and the theme of war as the cause of the migratory phenomenon and the presence of children in those long voyages are faced.

Reading through the terms used more frequently and with a statistically significant difference inside *Corriere della Sera*, confronting to other newspapers emerges that the words recalling a deviant behavior are used more frequently: jail, thefts, robberies, escapes. An aspect of strong localism is also expressed in the newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, it speaks of events happened in Lombardy, the reference to the San Vittore Milanese jail also manifests that the narration seems to lean to associate the immigration theme with the local criminality one. In *la Stampa* too the image of deviance is vehiculated, but with a lesser frequency (blitz, to arrest, aggression). In *la Stampa* the use of terms such as island, ship, landing, Lampedusa appears more emphatically, giving this way room to the events bound to the landings on the Sicilian island, fact that doesn't take place for what regards the significant words found inside *Corriere*. The politics sphere is reserved a particular attention too: Fini, president, Berlusconi, premier and elections are among the most used terms. The *Corriere* reports politics bound terms too (parties, politics), but their variety and frequency results being inferior compared to that of *la Stampa*.

If one considers the variable year, there are no evident differences compared to the reflections already emerged during the headline and article analysis. Year 2013 confirms the tendency to open the evaluation to humanitarian nature themes less bound to the fear of being aggressed, but more lean to consider immigration mainly as the expression of an international tension and humanitarian emergency. The emotional dynamics are expressed by means of the use of the narrations concerning the presence of children and the cases of death.

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During the years indeed emotions seem to have undergone a substantial change, passing from a fear relationship to a role of help and solidarity.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In media language the immigrant is represented in a negative way and the terms constantly found in relation to immigration are emergency, invasion, landings, criminality, desperation and terrorism (Cotesta, 1999; Maneri, 2009; Cesareo, Bichi, 2010). This emphasizes an idea of urgency and exceptionality, united to a feeling of uncertainty. Such an image is vehiculated especially in the articles dating back to year 2003 in which the term “emergency” recalls a feeling of danger and fear in the Italian citizens, who seem to be overwhelmed by the presence of these new inconvenient neighbors coming to our country, as the media report us, mainly to steal, to push and to prostitute themselves. During year 2003 in Italy was spreading the idea that foreigners were different, alien characters (Dal Lago, 1999; Colombo, 2012; Zanfrini, 2011), whom to defend from; “the immigrant as an enemy” is a thought which has by now become part of the common sense in an almost uniform manner.

Doing a forward time jump of ten years we notice how the emergency remains a constant referring to immigrants, it is however modified the meaning the word is used with and the events leading to talking of migrants in terms of urgency. Year 2013 indeed portrays foreigners as desperate persons who come to Italy in search of a better future which their homeland cannot offer them. The emergency therefore lies in the fact that Italy is not able to face the always numerous arrivals of clandestines, not having the economical and material resources to receive them: the sense of fear hovering about among Italians is not linked to a deviant foreigner anymore, but rather to the invasion of immigrants themselves, who on the one hand are received with a sensation of exasperation and worry, mostly concerning a possible abstraction of jobs, but on the other hand with a feeling of compassion and mercy for these people who have nothing but their own lives and families. In 2013 the image of the foreigner as a deviant does not disappear but it is outclassed by the one of the desperate migrant. In both years, with a different degree, solidarity and reception are set against refusal, discrimination, exploitation traffics, grief and death. Escaping from misery or persecution situations towards better perspectives,

thousands of persons begin a migratory voyage and, while hoping to find a better situation, they often find distrust, closure and exclusion which hurt their human dignity. The numerous waves of migrants which pressmen define “invasions” makes the situation dramatic and important. The rhetorical tool of numerical exaggeration (over-characterization) is indeed frequent, used to strengthen an argumentation without justifying it with the use of data or statistics (Van Dijk, 2005). Even though the actual illegal immigrants are a few tens of thousands, a high number of migrants is associated to illegality, following a cognitive shortcut dictated by the common sense (Dal Lago, 1999). Such a narrative ambiguity is constant although ten years have passed.

Together with the great quantity of foreigners, actual but also suggested by media, entering our country we are brought to believe (and newspapers articles confirm such idea) that non-European are represented by peoples generally considered economically poor, with stories of warfare behind them: foreigners are the ones who are not part of western Europe, their countries are not developed and wealthy. Moroccan, Algerian, Rumanian, Gipsy, Albanian immigrants are included in that circle. The discrimination and the treatment reserved to the peoples listed before doesn't apply to Japanese, North Americans or other foreigners who formally would be part of the “non-European” category. Migratory flows are accepted when taking place between developed countries or when regarding the wealthy subjects of the world (Dal Lago, 1999). As Bauman (2002) noticed all societies create foreigners, but each and every one of them creates its own type of foreigner and does it its own way. Furthermore while characterizing foreigners the media are used to make a distinction between “us” and “them”, tracing a sort of boundary line: what emerges is often a positive representation of us opposed to a negative representation of them (van Dijk, 2005).

While throwing the immigration alarm though it is very rarely remembered that Italy is fairly often a land of passage for migrants who prefer to continue their voyage to reach other countries. Italy therefore finds itself to fill a role of “fixed waypoint” towards North Europe or of “last shore” alternative to traditional immigration countries. The change is never easy to be recognized while “taking place” (Melucci, 1998), and considering what has been said, it is clear how the definition of foreigner changes according to the social-cultural landscape acting as the background for the events;

such a landscape is described in the two years in particular by the political theme which, by means of the inherent measures, discussions, debates, let us understand what the priorities in matter of immigration are, describing the weak points and the interventions requested by the people: as we had repeatedly noticed, political life is influenced by the social sphere which in turn is influenced by the former (De Leo, 2003). Two dimensions seem to be important to understand the transformations which contribute to the modification of the relationships between migrants and hosting country: on the one hand the spreading of a complex connectivity (Bosisio, Colombo *et al.* 2005) defined as a globalization always connected with local (permits, passports, citizenship). On the other hand a transformation of the concept of difference which is becoming one of the most manifest fields of clash and one of the “main stakes for most of the current social conflicts” (Bosisio, Colombo *et al.* 2005, pp. 46).

Nowadays the presence of foreigners is no longer a transitory problem, the main preoccupation is “how to get rid of them”; nowadays the priority sits in “how to live together” with non-involvement on a day by day basis. With the passing of time the presence of differences has been more and more accepted. It has been understood that different cultures produce different persons and it is right being that way, because from there derives the uniqueness of each of us. It has been accomplished what Simmel (1989) noticed: “one fears foreigners because they are the ones who come to stay”, but just because of this a resident has to change too. The task of journalism is find out the nervations of society and catch its changes. But when it is a matter of the theme of “immigration” the pictures shot often appear blurred and bent to political advantages, becoming truth shards crushed by the dominant rhetoric (Corradi *et al.*, 2010). The newspapers are the place where society reflects on itself, while applauding the most recent bill or exhibiting the most recent landing. “Foreigner” is often meant as Otherness: the values of non-involvement and contain Otherness instead different meanings, the former refers to the image of foreigner, of a relationship with somebody different from one’s own order of belonging while the latter refers to the construction of an identity which depends on the presence of the other. Both situations therefore are not talking about values, but of identity functions meant as processes needing continual constructions.

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