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**A contrastive analysis on the representation of NGOs in
Italian and Dutch newspapers**

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Abstract

In this thesis will be studied how NGOs and their activities in rescue operations are represented in Dutch and Italian newspapers. This subject arose from the broader discourse around the refugees crisis and has been largely covered by the media in the last years.

Through the use of content analysis, supported by discourse analysis this papers aims to see the main themes covered by the media narration and the frame used in the articles considering the context in which NGOs operate and the context in which the news are produced.

The introduction will provide some knowledge on the subject of this study and the research question that the research wants to answers. Thereafter, the theoretical framework summarises concepts and theory used for the analysis, while the discussion explains the results by linking the finding with other relevant researches.

The results have shown that newspapers of both countries have published articles about the NGO during the same time period, namely in the summer of the three years analysed. The main theme covered by this narration seems to be the politic debate between state leaders on how to manage the situation. The description of rescue operation and the voice of migrants do not have much space in the news, this last finding is in line with other relevant researches on this topic. The frame analysis has shown a general negative trend by Italian newspapers and a more positive one by the Dutch newspaper as well as a change in time if considered both corpus together.

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1. Introduction

Since the beginning of the last decade the whole Europe is facing what is called the European refugees crisis. A topic which can be recurrently find through media and politics discourses all around Europe, and in general in the whole world, due to a humanitarian crisis that is still going on nowadays. Starting from 2011 the number of migrants who tried to reach Europe has constantly increased until reaching its peak in 2015. As explained by the DATA of Frontex (The European Border and Coast Guard Agency), in that year about 1,8 million attempts have been made to cross European borders through all the different migrant routes. Some countries in particular were involved in this issue: Italy, Spain and Greece for their geographical position as first port of arrival for the most used route through the Mediterranean sea (Frontex, 2019) and also Germany, The Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries as some of the countries that gave asylum to the highest amount of asylum applications as shown by EuroStat (European Statistical Office, 2019).

1.1 The NGOs question

With regards to this situation and especially about the arrival of many migrants through the Mediterranean route by sea, an important role is played by many NGOs and their rescue ships. As said before, starting from 2015 there has been an intensification of the attempts to reach Europe by sea. This situation pushed the European Union to reinforce the naval mission named Triton which was still not enough to control such a huge portion of water that is the Mediterranean Sea. Indeed, in 2016 the 40% of rescues were made by ships of NGO which contributed significantly to the savings.¹

However, in the last years the media coverage about these humanitarian operations seems to be changed in a short time from a positive to a negative view. In the whole Europe, governments and politicians accused NGOs operating in the Mediterranean Sea to encourage migration.

The more common accuses against these NGO's are the following: NGOs ships operate too close to African costs and therefore they represent a pull factor for migrants; the missions of search and rescue have augmented the numbers of deaths and shipwrecks; is not clear how NGOs are financed and they may be linked to migrants smugglers. In few words, these

¹ <https://www.internazionale.it/notizie/annalisa-camilli/2017/04/22/ong-criminalizzazione-mediterraneo>

accuses that spread around EU countries has raised the discussion about the ‘criminalization of solidarity’.²

Therefore, this research aims to study and compare how NGOs are represented in newspapers articles in Italy and the Netherlands. The reason of the choice of these two countries is because they are both experiencing very closely the migrants crisis, even though in different ways: on the one hand, The Netherlands was always seen as a tolerant and open country and as a safe port for refugees. However, since the high increase of immigrants in the last few years this view started to slowly change (Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015); on the other hand, Italy because of its position in the middle of Mediterranean Sea has been the main target land for all the refugees who tried to cross the border by boat.

This paper seeks to address the following research questions:

RQ: How are represented NGOs and their activities in newspapers articles in Italy and the Netherlands and how have their representations changed over time?

To answer to these questions, through a diachronic research, we will address the 3 following sub-questions:

SB1: Which are the main themes covered in the media narration about NGOs?

SB2: Which frame is used in the articles about NGOs?

SB3: Which words are used to connote a positive or negative representation of NGOs?

² <https://www.internazionale.it/notizie/annalisa-camilli/2017/04/22/ong-criminalizzazione-mediterraneo>

2. Theoretical Framework

The present section provides some historical context of the case of study by showing previous reports and researches made on the same subject. Moreover, this paragraph describes the linguistic field in which this study moves through, and thus it presents those theories and concepts that are used for the actual analysis.

2.1. Discourses of the refugee crisis

The discourse around humanitarian organizations, that is grown exponentially in the last years, falls under the broad and older discourse about the refugee crisis, which is has been largely studied by many scholars over the years. The following section will give some definitions provided by the UN Refugee Agency of those terms that are essential for this research and its subject. Often terms such as migrants, refugee and asylum seeker are confused with eachother. Furthermore, some other definitions have been added that refers to the main act around which rotate this research.

Definitions

Asylum-seeker

An individual who is seeking international protection. In countries with individualized procedures, an asylum-seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which the claim is submitted. Not every asylum-seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every refugee was initially an asylum-seeker. (UNHCR)

Migrants (Economic)

Persons who leave their countries purely for economic reasons unrelated to the refugee definition, or in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood. Economic migrants do not fall within the criteria for refugee status and are therefore not entitled to benefit from international protection. (UNHCR)

Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)

While there is no universally agreed-upon definition of an NGO, typically it is a voluntary group or institution with a social mission, which operates independently from government. (NGOsource.org)

Refugee

A person who meets the eligibility criteria under the applicable refugee definition, as provided for by international or regional instruments, under UNHCR's mandate, and/or in national legislation. (UNHCR)

Search And Rescue (SAR)

Operation to render assistance to persons in distress at sea regardless of the nationality or status of such a person or the circumstances in which that person is found in accordance with the applicable Maritime Law and Conventions. (European Migration Network)

Trafficking (human)

The organized illegal movement of persons for profit. The critical additional factor that distinguishes trafficking from migrant smuggling is the presence of force, coercion and/or deception throughout or at some stage in the process — such deception, force or coercion being used for the purpose of exploitation. While the additional elements that distinguish trafficking from migrant smuggling may sometimes be obvious, in many cases they are difficult to prove without active investigation. (UNHCR)

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Thet (2012) gives a definition of migration as the movement of people from one place to another that leads often to a permanent change of residence. Moreover, the author makes a distinction between internal- and international-migration. While the first refers to the displacement of people within the border of a country, international-migration refers to a movement from one country to another. Thet (2012) indicates the economic factor as the main motivation behind the choice of somebody to migrate. Assuming this, the author defines two terms that often return in the migrant and refugee narration: pull factors and push factors.

Pull factors are factors which attract a person to an area, these can be better jobs opportunity, higher wages or better condition of life.

Push factors are factors that for several reasons encourage a person to leave a place and move in another one. These can be for instance low job opportunity, poverty, natural calamities or underdevelopment. (Thet, 2012)

Krzyżanowski et al. (2018) suggests that discourse around the refugee is strongly ideologically charged and that it is often used in political and media discourse to legitimize some particular governmental countermeasures about the refugee issue. Therefore, the authors indicate that when studying the discourse of the refugee crisis it is crucial to consider on the one hand, the general changing of tendencies of political forces towards the right/populist wing and their related discourse; on the other hand, the simultaneous process of politicization and mediatization of immigration. With regard to the first, the authors define politicization as that systematic process that provide a political connotation to all those issues, questions, values and decision that usually are not political related. The main negative effect of this

process is that once politicized, the view on some topics become constructed within particular political vision and one must take into account that this view represents only the interests of one political class. Furthermore, Krzyżanowski et al. (2018) introduces the notion of mediatization of politics defined as the process whereby politics rely more and more on the mass media and other mediated practices. As effect, media become increasingly powerful on the society and it shifts the political practices from political representation and policy making towards a narcissist attention seeking.

Agha (2011) gives another general definition of mediatization as a theoretical concept that describes the commodified nature of a communicative fragment. In other words, if a communication in a particular moment or instance is paid for, it is mediatized. Mediatization is a special case of mediation and different understandings of a mediatized message can be formed by a receiver that consequently creates a response. (Agha, 2011) Those ideas shaped by receivers are defined by Agha as the uptakes. They are voluntary acts that bring the responsibility back to the receiver's end in terms of understanding of the message. (Agha, 2011)

2.2. Criminalization of solidarity

In recent times, the discourse of the refugee crisis saw the rising of a new subject: the criminalization of solidarity. Duarte (2020) in her study on “The Ethical Consequences of Criminalizing Solidarity in the EU” observes that “the term criminalization of solidarity professes a radical criticism of the states’ regulation of certain acts of aid and builds on the notion’s fluidity in expanding its coverage.” (Duarte, 2020: pp.5). The author argues that the notion of solidarity can be interpreted and understood in different ways. However, in a common idea solidarity are associated with a positive attitudes and actions that people have towards other people. Therefore, the idea of solidarity that develops in this context refers to a kind that should not be criminalized. Duarte (2020) concludes that this strategy adopted by politicians, the purpose of which is to reduce illegal immigration, may have unintended and damaging consequences for the EU.

This kind of criminalization is facilitated by a flexible definition of smuggling which can be interpreted in different way and therefore used as scapegoat by politicians for the refugee issue. Smuggling can be defined as the illegal facilitation and assistance of people crossing international borders which violate laws and regulations. However, the motivation of

smuggling play a crucial role to understand the difference between criminals who undertake these practices for economic reasons and non-profit organizations who moves towards humanitarian actions.

Watson (2015) suggests that “the criminalization of smuggling relies on and reinforces oversimplified and pure categories that deny the complexity of undocumented migration, redefine and restrict humanitarian practices, reinforce problematic depictions of organized crime and humanitarian actors, and deny the culpability of the state in the prevalence and danger of smuggling.”(Watson, 2015: pp. 41)

The process of criminalization creates categories, such as the asylum seeker and the smuggler, which enables states to better understand and manage international migration. However, this process undermines and negates the real possibility for humanitarian smuggling (Watson, 2015).

Costello (2017) contributed to the annual report of the Refugee Studies Centre of the Oxford University with an article about the smuggling prohibition. The author suggests that one of the contemporary measures to combat ‘irregular migration’ is the criminalisation of human smuggling. Costello (2017) points out, as other authors mentioned before, that for prohibition of trafficking which refers to the coercive transports of individuals for exploitive purposes there is no doubt and is therefore requested by the EU facilitation directive. However, at the same time the EU suggests to states members to prohibit smuggling which constrains a several range of assistance to those in need. EU and national policy which criminalise the facilitation of entry of irregular migrants heavily affect civil society actors who mobilise for the rights of migrants. Costello indicates the three faces of these dynamics towards civil society actors: intimidation and suspicion; disciplining; formal criminalisation.

The research institute *Osservatorio di Pavia* with the contribute of the *Associazione Carta di Roma* published in 2017 the report *Navigare a vista* about the media narration of the Search And Rescue (SAR) operations that occurs in the Mediterranean Sea. This research analysed the presence of this subject in the Italian media (newspapers, television and social media) and looked into the main themes that were related to the argument. One of the most important result of this research showed a significant change in the frame and narratives about the SAR operations in the media. All the steps were largely covered by the media and moved in the years from a positive view toward a much more negative one. The report indicates that rescuers involved in such operation were firstly described as good human being while attempting to save others human lives and that until 2015 media focused mainly on the

describing rescue operations without any particular remark about it. However, this frame drastically shifted starting from March 2017 when many suspicious arose around the work of NGOs and other organization active in that context. According to the report, from this point on the humanitarian spirit is challenged by the claim of participating on the so-called business of migration. This change in a negative frame resulted also in a negative reception of charity organizations by the public opinion. The report refers to an opinion poll, led by Ilvo Diamianti on behalf of Desmos&Pi, on the level of trust Italians towards these organizations which gave as result a change of the perception in relation to NGOs that have a much lower degree of trust compared to other charity organizations.

Such change in the perception of NGOs in the public opinion can be linked to what is called the character assassination. Eric Shiraev defines it as *“a deliberate attempt to seriously damage the reputation, character, social status, or achievements of another person. The motivation for character assassination is typically rooted in the attackers’ (assassin’s) desire to harm the victim psychologically and reduce public support for the victim. This should ultimately devastate or even destroy his or her chances to succeed. In other cases, character assassination is conducted to hurt the cause that the victim symbolizes or defends.”* (Shiraev, 2010: pp. 1)

These attacks are performed through different means like articles, interviews, books or rumours. Often is possible to see this kinds of attempts in political and electoral debates. These attacks often do not rely on the actual work or political tendencies of the victims. Instead, the attacks concentrate on contextual factor related to the victims’ behaviour and personality and even more on its background, missteps or anything else that could damage a person’s reputation (Shiraev, 2010).

One of the methods of the character assassination suggested by the author is the use of anonymous lies, as rumours; misquoting and reinterpreting the words of the victims; the use of names in order to demonize and give to the victim a ridiculous tone.

One should note that this theory concerns a public attack through media of one person. Related to the subject of this study, this could be the case of the captain of an NGO ship, Carola Rackete who after being arrested in Lampedusa have been associated with several fake news with the intent to undermine her reputation³. However, as seen by the results of the opinion poll cited before, this kind of communication attacks have had a strong impact on the whole NGOs world and their perception in the public opinion (Diamianti, 2017).

³ <https://www.wired.it/attualita/media/2019/07/01/carola-rackete-sea-watch-bufale/>

Francesca Pierigh wrote another interesting report about the *media coverage of refugees and migrants in Europe* published in 2017 by CCME and WACC Europe. It gives some remarkable results which are relevant for this research. One of the topic analysed was the presence of the people in the story, which means how much space is given in the media to the representation of the migrants. This refers to the actual description of the migrants' age, nationality, gender, occupation and whether they are directly quoted or not. The results showed that less than a quarter of articles about migration or refugees mention a refugee or a migrant, while most of the story have as subject politics debate on migration (Pierigh, 2017). As suggested by the author, the direct quotation of a person implies a more truthful representation of a person's words and as consequence a truthful representation in the media (Pierigh, 2017). The findings of this research are consistent with other researches on the same topic that indicate that *"the voice of refugees and migrants in the news are given very little space"* (Pierigh, 2017: pp. 35)

2.3. Media coverage and representation

Nowadays most of the people relies on media to acquire news and knowledge on events that occur around the world. When those events are far away from the daily life and take place in remote area, such as the middle of the Mediterranean sea for this case of study, the narrative voice of media assumes a crucial role and it becomes the only source to understand that particular context. One should be aware that the result of the media production process is a representation of the subject which should be understood within the context of its creation. (Siapera, 2010). Therefore, media assumes a powerful position to reach out the public and convey public opinion. Siapera (2010) suggests that mass mediated images contribute strongly to the dissemination of stereotypes by providing images that people can easily understand and memorize.

The concept of social representation was firstly introduced by Serge Moscovici (1973) who defined a social representation as a system of values and ideas with two main functions: one is to create an order and therefore to allow individuals to orientate in the society and master it; the second function is to enable the communication within a community through a shared code for naming and classifying different situation in their world. Briefly speaking, all representations aim to "make something unfamiliar, or unfamiliarity itself, familiar" (Moscovici, 1984b: pp. 24).

Höijer (2013) in her study on Social Representation Theory provides a number of communicative mechanisms involved in the process of representation generating a collective knowledge of the described events. From the theory of Moscovici, Höijer (2013) describes in details the two communicative mechanisms that produce a social representation. These are: *anchoring* and *objectifying*.

Anchoring is described as a cultural assimilation and it occurs when new social representations are repeatedly anchored to old and well-known ones. The result is that the new unknown representation becomes familiar by attaching to it something that is already familiar.

The other mechanism proposed by the study is *objectifying* which is defined as the process that makes the unknown familiar by transforming it into a concrete reality. It is that active conversion of abstract ideas into something real and existing in the physical world. Within the mechanism of objectifying the author originates the mechanism of *personification* which is the process whereby the figure of a specific person is attached to an abstract concept and presented as part of it (Höijer, 2013)

This research will also take into consideration the concept of framing which has been developed in the study of media representation. Framing can be seen as the way in which the news are reported. Entman (1993: pp.52) defines framing as: “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular definition of a problem, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.”

Different meanings can be given to a particular topic depending on the way it is reported in a given text, different communicative and linguistic procedures are used to emphasize or diminish the importance of some aspects of the text which as results affect the reception of the message by reader (Entman, 1993).

Lecheler, Schuck, and de Vreese (2013) observed that negative frames produce in the readers a negative emotional response, this effect is even more highlighted in socio-political related controversies because of the large use of a highly emotional language. Other researches showed that framing is less likely to have any effect on those readers who have a prior opinion, feelings or beliefs about the topic discussed. Therefore, the framing effects on emotion should consider the reader's inclination towards the case (Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004).

De Vreese (2002) suggested two types of frame based on the nature of the topic analysed. These are issue-specific frames and generic frames. While the first are strongly related to the subject of study and are thus applicable only for that specific case, the latter can be used to analyse different topics, in different topics and regardless the context in which they take place.

In addition, considering communication as a dynamic process, it involves framing in different steps. De Vreese (2005) indicates frame-building and frame-settings which bring to individual and societal consequences of framing. The frame-building process takes place in the interaction between journalist, elite and societal movements that give as outcome the frame in texts. Frame-settings refers to the interaction between media and individuals' prior knowledge and predisposition, as results this process may affect the interpretation of issue and events. The result in other words is that at an individual level there may be modified behaviours towards particular issue based on the exposure to certain frame. On the societal level, framing may shape process that took place at the societal level, such as decision-making and collective actions (de Vreese, 2005).

3. Research Methods

The aim of this study is to capture the media coverage about NGOs in Italy and in the Netherlands. The research method used in this paper is based on the general contrastive approach which aims to compare and analyse corpora collected within languages and cultures (Ten Thije, 2016).

3.1. Content and Discourse analysis

This paper adopts a semiotic perspectives that enables to deconstruct and debunk the meaning transferred through words (Rigney & Brillenburgh, 2019). Semiotic allows analysis to go beyond the first meaning of a word and understand new concepts developed around this word.

This research will make use of both Discourse and Content Analysis. These two methods used to study a text will lead to more organic results, they will give insights on a particular human communication but from different point of views, whose results complete with each other's.

Discourse Analysis is a method that generally consist of two elements: it relates to the struggle of power and ideology in society and it focuses its interest on the way that language contribute in these societal conflicts. (Breeze, 2011)

Fairclough (1989) provides a model for Critical Discourse Analysis which relates to three dimensions of discourse which are: the object of analysis, the process whereby the object is formed and received and the socio-historical context that affects this processes. Each of this dimension requires a different kind of analysis which are the analysis of the text (description), the analysis of the process which formed the text (interpretation), the analysis of the context in which the process took place (explanation).

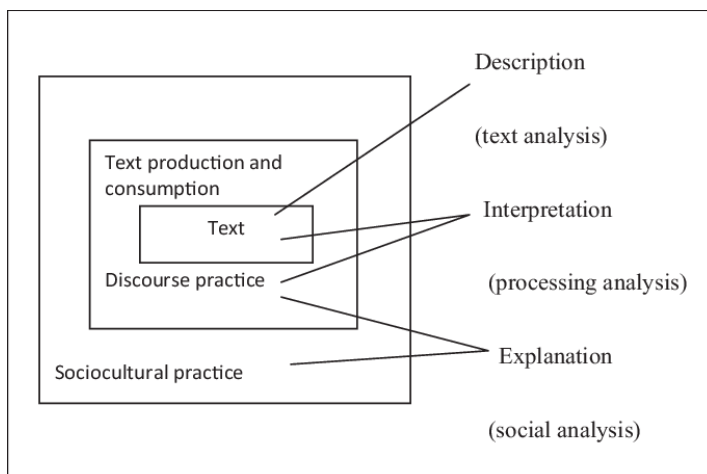


Figure 1 Fairclough's model

“Discourse Analysis assumes that languages a medium within which prevailing power relations are articulated. The use of discourse reproduces these predominant configurations of power, and disrupting and challenging them is one of the central features of what we call politics.” (Hopf, T. 2014: pp. 31)

Hopf (2014) suggests that any given text underlies some political questions and that the meaning of any conversation is not rigid but it actually depends on the context in which it took place and also the relationship that exists with other conversations. Furthermore, is possible to say that Discourse Analysis is more than words and text, but it also look to the daily attitude of each of us that ultimately creates our social world.

However, Breeze (2011) in his work summarized different criticisms on this method that have arisen over the years. The author suggests that researchers who use this method are often accused to move too fast from the analysis of the data to the stage of interpretation and explanation of those data in terms of social theory. This issue comes from the idea that even the interpretation of the researcher is subjective and in the context of Critical Discourse Analysis it's an interpretation related to a political view which can be challenged from any other political dimension. “Thus the whole scholarly project of CDA can be seen as heavily conditioned by political choice, rather than scientific criteria” (Breeze, 2011: pp. 501)

While Discourse Analysis involves different aspects which are in- and outside a text or discourse, Content Analysis focuses primarily on the text. Content Analysis is a research method which can be defined as *“a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding.”* (Stemler, 2000: pp. 1)

In other words, through the use of particular categories created a priori, the researcher selects the specific parts of the text which belong to one or more categories in order to easily analyse a given text. Through this method is possible to see how often some specific arguments or words recur in the examined content.

Indeed, Weber (1990) suggest that a category is a group of words with similar meaning or connotations. For the specific case of this contrastive study, the use of the same categories for both Dutch and Italian corpora will allow this research to see similarities and differences in two different context, and with the use of word frequency count, to identify words of possible interest for the case of study.

Weber (1990) stresses also the importance of *Reliability* for this kind of research method. In order to have valid results the classification procedures must be reliable or rather consistent. This means that “different people should code the same text in the same way” (pp. 12) If this happens, it means that the results of the study can be taken as valid and objective. Furthermore the author explain the concept of reliability in terms of *Stability* and *Reproducibility*. While the first refers to the reproduction of the same results of the analysis in different times, the latter refers to the reproduction of the same results of the analysis made by different people.

3.2. Digital Humanities

Nowadays is fundamental to mention the Digital Humanities in a research like this. The new informatic technologies had a strong impact on our everyday life and changed our approach to it. In the same time, this happened for the academic world, also in those fields who are not traditionally related to technologies as humanities.

In the last years many researches have been done on this topic, to give more insight and definition on such a broad argument as Digital Humanities. (Terras, Nyhan, & Vanhoutte 2013)

A project called Advanced Computing in the Humanities of the University of Bergen explores how digital humanities can be thought:

“Computer technology has mediated in the development of formal methods in humanities scholarship. Such methods are often much more powerful than traditional research with pencil and paper. They include, for instance, parsing techniques in computational linguistics, the calculus for expressive timing in music, the use of exploratory statistics in formal stylistics, visual search in art history, and data mining in history. Although scientific progress is in the first place due to better methods, rather than solely due to better computers, new advanced methods strongly rely on computers for their validation and effective use. Put in a different way, if you are going to compare two texts, you can do it with traditional pencil and paper; but if you are going to compare fifty texts with each other, you need sound computational methods.” (de Smedt et al., 1999, chapter 1)

Every scholar make large use of computer as a tool to collect data, analyse, share and acquire sources, publish their results etc. The use of digital devices in humanities research has opened

a whole new world and made possible some kind of research which were not even thinkable in the past. However, other researchers show some critics: while new software allows fast and efficient research, they lack of accuracy of details because of, for example, automatic tools which are not yet comparable with human ability.⁴

This study as well can be considered to belong to digital humanities, since the essential use of two software: Nexis Uni for the data collection and Nvivo for the proper analysis.

Nexis Uni has been used for the collection of the articles related for this work, this site provides a database of the most important newspapers around the world. In order to have coherent results this is the only search engine used to collect the articles.

Therefore, the sample selection for this analysis has considered articles from a total number of six newspapers: three for each country. The choice of these particular newspapers is based both on their relevance in their own country and their presence on the database aforementioned. In total six newspapers has been considered, three for each country. The Italian newspapers selected are: “Il corriere della Sera” , “La Stampa” and “Il resto del carlino”, while the Dutch newspapers are “De telegraaf”, “De volkskrant” and “NRC”. This newspapers provided a wide range of political orientations which The next section will provide some general info and background about these newspapers.

3.3. Italian newspapers

“Il corriere della Serra” was founded on the 5th may 1876 in Milan and it is now owned by the media group RCS. it is one of the oldest Italian newspapers and is currently the most widely read newspaper in its country⁵. It has a moderate and conservative political view.

“La stampa” was founded on 9th February 1894 in Turin and it is currently owned by the media group GEDI Gruppo Editoriale. It is on the fourth position in Italy for number of copies delivered each day. After the war it assumed a moderate and liberal orientation⁶.

The last one, “Il resto del carino” was founded on 21st march 1886 in Bologna. It is the seventh most popular newspaper in Italy with 125 thousand copies a day⁷. It has a moderate and conservative political view.

⁴ <https://www2.fgw.vu.nl/werkbanken/dighum/dh/dh-introduction.php>

⁵ <http://www.data24news.it/media/quotidiani-piu-venduti-classifica-dei-top-20/>

⁶ <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/la-stampa/>

⁷ <http://www.adsnotizie.it/>

3.4. Dutch newspapers

“De Telegraaf” was founded on the 1st January 1893. Based in Amsterdam, it has the highest daily circulation in the Netherlands. Owned by the “De Telegraaf Media Group” it follows a right-wing, conservative tradition.

“De volkskrant” was founded in 1919 and it is currently on the third position in terms of daily circulation in the Netherlands. It has a centre-left and progressive political orientation⁸

“NRC Handelsblad” was founded in 1970 in Amsterdam. It is now owned by a Belgian media group named Mediahuis. It is on the fourth position of daily circulation in the Netherlands with a liberal and left-centre political orientation.

3.5. Selection criteria

This research studies newspapers articles in two different countries and languages. In order to run a coherent analysis, this study made use of different criteria to select the proper articles useful for our purpose. These criteria are mainly two: the argument of the articles and the period in which they were published.

3.5.1. Argument

The argument of the articles played an important role in the formation of the corpus. In order to have similar results in both countries examined, this study used the same key-words translated in each language for the research of the articles in the Nexis Uni database.

The subject of our research are NGO’s and particularly those organizations actively involved in the rescue operations that takes place in the Mediterranean sea. Therefore, with the intention to concentrate the results on the specific topic of this study, alongside the key-word “NGO” the research made use of two other keywords, which are “migrants” and “rescue ship”.

With respect to the Italian newspapers the key-words translated are: “*ONG*”, “*migranti*” and “*nave di salvataggio*”, while for the Dutch newspapers the translation used for the data research are: “*NGO*”, “*migranten*” and “*reddingsschip*”.

In order to further reduce the selection this study selected only those articles which explicitly have NGOs as main argument or articles that mention at least once one of the key-words used for the selection of the corpora.

⁸ <https://www.eurotopics.net/en/148496/de-volkskrant>

3.5.2. Time period

Considering that the NGO's issues is strictly related to the European migrant crisis started in the first years of 2010, this research initially wanted to study the media coverage about NGO's during the time period that goes from 2010 until 2020. This first draft of data collection was partial and it considered only four newspapers which are "Il corriere della sera" for the Italian side, and "De telegraaf", "De volkskrant" and "NRC Handelsblad" for the Dutch side. This first data collection which covered the whole period of ten years is resulted in 637 articles from "Il corriere della sera" and 263 articles from the three Dutch newspapers. However, after the first draft of data collection was clear that most of the articles which are useful for this research were only published from 2017 and only few articles before this year. In particular, it is possible to see three main peaks in the publication of articles related of our subject of study. As showed in the following graph in Figure 2, these peaks cover three particular periods of time which are namely the summer of 2017, 2018 and 2019.

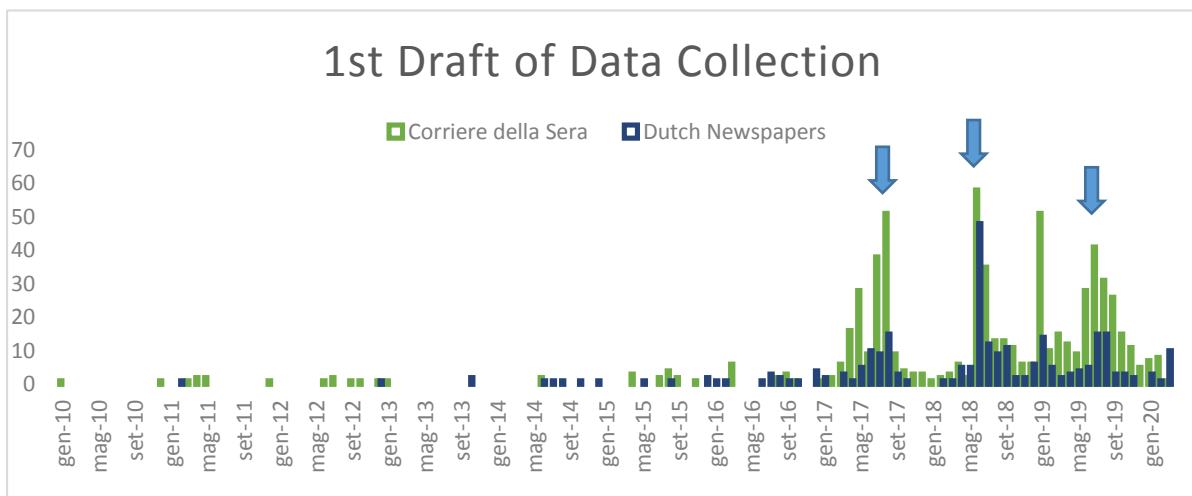


Figure 2

It is not difficult to relate this first funding to the fact that during the summer the attempts to reach Europe from the Mediterranean route by sea are much higher than the rest of the year.⁹ The graph indicates also that Dutch and Italian newspapers concentrate the number of publication on the same periods aforementioned and they follow a similar path in the media coverage of this issue.

⁹ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

Considering that for reason of time the number of selected articles must be significantly reduced in order to be analysed and also because of the preliminary findings, this analysis will focus only on the articles published during those three periods.

The articles were selected among these periods considering approximatively the same amount for each newspapers. With regards to the “De volkskrant” and “De Telegraaf” the number of articles is slightly lower than the other because their articles have a bigger word count of the others.

The selection resulted as shown in the following table in figure 3.

	Summer 2019	Summer 2018	Summer 2017	TOTAL
VOLKSKRANT	7	4	6	17
DE TELEGRAAF	6	5	9	20
NRC HANDELSBLAD	11	9	8	28
CORRIERE DELLA SERA	13	5	8	26
LA STAMPA	8	14	7	29
IL RESTO DEL CARLINO	12	7	13	32

Figure 3

In conclusion, the definitive corpus is composed of 152 articles, of which 87 are written in Italian and 65 in Dutch. As already mentioned, the difference in the number of articles is not so relevant because of the different length of each article. Indeed, the word count for each corpora of the two countries is very similar. For the Italian corpus the words count is 52.448, while for the Dutch one is 48.865.

4. Analysis

4.1. Qualitative Content Analysis

As indicated by Dornyei (2007) a qualitative content analysis derives from a quantitative analytical method to investigate written text which is based on counting words or phrases that belongs to specific categories created by the researcher. It becomes a qualitative research when the categories for the analysis are not predetermined but derived from an inductive study of the data (Dornyei, 2007).

Through the use of the software NVivo, this research used four different categories (nodes) in order to look into the main themes covered by the newspapers narration about NGOs. This categories were derived from a first analysis of the data and their correlation with the findings of others researches related to this one.

The categories created are: NGO voice, migrants voice, European debate and description of rescue operation.

4.1.1 NGOs' voice & Migrants' voice

These first two categories are derived from the report of Pierigh (2017) where the research looked into the presence of the voice of refugees and migrants in the media. The same concept has been adapted for the purpose of this study and therefore, on the presence of *the voice of NGOs* in the media. In other words, all the parts of the articles which directly or indirectly convey a message originated from somebody who works for an NGO or represents it.

Considering that the people who attempt to pass the border by sea are strictly related to the NGOs narration, the analysis also made use of the category that refers to the Migrants' voice. As the other one, it involves the presence in the articles of direct or indirect sentences uttered by a migrant. The choice to use such category is also related to the possibility to compare the results with other relevant researches.

With regards to the migrants' voice, only two newspapers fell into this category: Il corriere della Sera with 2.4% of coverage in its corpus and the de Volkskrant with 0.64% of coverage. The other newspapers do not report directly or indirectly the voice of any migrants or person that attempted to pass the Mediterranean or being rescued.

Nodes reference example:

“«Siamo partiti alle dieci di sera con ottanta litri di benzina per il nostro Yamaha da 40 cavalli made in Cina. Ma già quattro ore dopo avevamo perso l'elica. Siamo rimasti alla mercé delle onde per dodici ore mentre il vento ci spingeva verso Est. Comunque sapevo bene che la benzina non sarebbe bastata per raggiungere le coste italiane e neppure maltesi. Speravamo di essere raccolti da una nave delle Ong», spiega Mohammad Kondù, un ventenne della Costa d'Avorio.” (Corriere della Sera, 2019)

'We zitten met driehonderd mensen op een boot', klinkt het via een krakerige telefoonlijn. 'Drie nul nul. Er zijn honderd kinderen, honderd vrouwen. We komen uit Syrië. We hebben haast, het water komt de boot binnen. Kom alstublieft snel. Alstublieft maak haast, alstublieft. Ik ben Mohanad Jammo, een arts. Help ons.' (de Volkskrant, 2017)

There are different results for the NGOs' voice nodes. The coverage percentage for this node in each newspaper's corpus is as follow: Corriere della Sera 6.37% Il resto del carlino 4.20% La Stampa 9.94% De telegraaf 4.00% NRC Handelsblad 7.77% de Volkskrant 8.71%.

Newspapers	Corpus coverage
Corriere della Sera	6.37 %
Il resto del Carlino	4.20 %
La Stampa	9.94 %
De Telgraaf	4.00 %
NRC Handelsblad	7.77 %
De volkskrant	8.71 %

Figure 4 NGOs voice node coverage

The presence of this category in the corpus is not really high in general and it seems to have the same results in both countries. Il resto del Carlino and De Telegraaf are the two newspapers which give less space to the voice of NGOs, while La Stampa and de Volkskrant are in first position by reaching respectively 9,94 % and 8,71 % of coverage in their corpus.

4.1.2. European debate

After a first reading of the articles one of the themes that emerged clearly refers to an European debate. In the whole corpus recurs often a call for a European intervention to solve

the problem, a request that comes from different sides, NGOs as well as politicians from a number of European states. Many argued that Europe should face the situation as a whole, and to don't leave alone the countries at the borders to cope with it. Such debate has often led to heated controversies between some European governments.

The coverage percentage for this node in the corpus of each newspapers is: Corriere della Sera 19.12% Il resto del Carlino 16.30% La Stampa 11.64% De Telegraaf 8.72% NRC Handelsblad 8.07% de Volkskrant 7.80%

Newspaper	Coverage
Corriere della Sera	19.12 %
Il resto del Carlino	16.30 %
La Stampa	11.64 %
De Telegraaf	8.72 %
NRC Handelsblad	8.07 %
De Volkskrant	7.80 %

Figure 5 European Debate node coverage

All the newspapers in both countries seem to cover this topic quite largely. However, in Italy the presence of this element in the news is higher than in The Netherlands. The results show that in articles of Il Corriere della Sera the presence of this debate reaches almost one fifth of its whole corpus.

4.1.3 Description of rescue operation

The excerpts that falls in this categories relate to all those parts of an article that describes the actual rescue operations at sea. In this way it could be possible to see how much space is given to the narration of the savings which can be considered as a truthful way to represent the context in which NGOs operate.

The coverage of this node in the corpus of each newspapers resulted as:

Corriere della Sera 5.24% Il resto del Carlino 1.79% La stampa 8.10% De Telegraaf 0.96% NRC Handelsblad 2.24% de Volkskrant 3.41%

Newspaper	Coverage
Corriere della Sera	5.24 %
Il resto del Carlino	1.79 %
La Stampa	8.10 %
De Telegraaf	0.96 %
NRC Handelsblad	2.24%
De Volkskrant	3.41 %

Figure 6 Rescue operation description node coverage

As shown in the table, the Dutch newspapers do not give much space to the description of these particular operations while the Italian newspapers seem to give enough relevance to it. In Italy La Stampa covers more than 8 % of its corpus with description of rescue actions while in The Netherlands De Telegraaf barely cover it with less the 1 % if its corpus.

4.1.4. Framing

The same method used for the content analysis has been applied to examine the frame present in the article. For practical reason of time, the categories created to determine the frame are just two: positive and negative frame. While in the positive's one fall all those parts of the articles that have a positive tone towards the NGOs issue, in the category for the negative frame are added all the parts of the article that refers to the NGOs issue in a negative tone. These excerpts can be formed by words of the articles' authors as well as quotations of references of others with regards to the same issue.

A first result show that the negative frame has more references than the positive one (172 vs. 121). In terms of corpus coverage the positive frame resulted as follow:

Corriere della Sera 5.13% Il resto del Carlino 2.65% La Stampa 16.96% De Telgraaf 5.96% NRC Handelsblad 17.49% de Volkskrant 9.57%.

Newspaper	Coverage
Corriere della Sera	5.13 %
Il resto del Carlino	2.65 %
La Stampa	16.96 %
De Telegraaf	5.96 %
NRC Handelsblad	17.49 %
De Volkskrant	9.57 %

Figure 7 Positive frame coverage

The analysis of the negative frame shows different results in the corpus coverage of this node: Corriere della Sera 9.21% Il resto del Carlino 19.45% La Stampa 11.68% De Telegraaf 13.56% NRC Handelsblad 7.53% De Volkskrant 7.86%.

Newspaper	Coverage
Corriere della Sera	9.21 %
Il resto del Carlino	19.45 %
La Stampa	11.68 %
De Telegraaf	13.56 %
NRC Handelsblad	7.53 %
De Volkskrant	7.86 %

Figure 8 Negative frame coverage

The comparison of these two tables provide evidence of unbalance in Italian articles towards the presence of negative framing, for example the results show that for the Italian newspapers Il resto del Carlino a positive framing cover only the 2.65 % of its corpus while the negative framing reaches the 19.45 % presence in its corpus. De Telegraaf seems to have a similar pattern, with 5.96 % for the positive frame and 13.56 % for the presence of negative frame in its corpus. On the contrary NRC Handelsblad gives more space to a positive frame: 17.49 % of its corpus, than to a negative frame: only 7.53 % of its corpus. The other newspapers (Corriere della Sera, La Stampa and de Volkskrant) seem to be quite balanced and give pretty much the same amount of space in the news to both sides.

By looking at the distribution of the framing in the time it is possible to see if the orientation towards a positive or negative frame has changed in the three periods taken into consideration, which are the three summer from 2017 until 2019. The results do not make a separation between Dutch and Italian newspapers but they show a general trends of the whole corpus. The table below indicate how the frame analysed in the articles resulted to be more negative in the summer 2017 and shifted to a positive trend in the summer 2019.

Time period	Positive frame	Negative frame
Summer 2019	65,57 %	37,43 %
Summer 2018	47,67 %	52,33 %
Summer 2017	36,72 %	63,28 %

Figure 9

4.2. Discourse Analysis

Through the use of theories and concepts illustrated in the theoretical framework, this kind of analysis has been used to better understand those words used in the articles to represent NGOs and it will support the main research method (content analysis) adopted for this study. Some specific words have been looked closely to understand their true meaning and their role in this discourse.

One term that took the attention during the reading of the articles is the word *taxi*, used in different way. In Italian it appears often as ‘*taxi del mare*’ that is possible to translate in English as ‘*sea taxi*’. In Dutch it appears also as ‘*Mediterranean taxi's*’ translatable as ‘*Mediterranean taxi*’

Following the Fairclough’s model of analysis with the three dimension: description, interpretation and explanation; it is possible to say that the word ‘*taxi*’ recurs often in the articles (13 articles in both Dutch and Italian newspapers) and its use to refer to the NGOs activities seems quite interesting. It appears in the articles sometimes as part of a quotation of politician but it is also used by the journalist itself. By using the Fairclough’s model is possible to say that the analysis of this excerpts fall in the *Description dimension*

In the *interpretation dimension* the analysis of this utterance looks into its formation and how it developed. In this case a *taxi* and a rescue boat provide two services operating in totally different contexts but are linked to each other by the only feature that they share together, namely the transportation of people. The final step of the Fairclough theory is the *explanation dimension* which in our case can be used to understand the final goal of this representation with the purpose of discredit the activities of NGOs by minimizing or totally deleting the whole context in which they operate.

Other words are used to undermine the image reputation of NGOs and their activities in Italy as well as in The Netherlands. It is possible to read in the articles references to the rescue ship as ‘*pirate ship*’. However, it appears in Dutch only once, in an article of the NRC Handelsblad while in Italian for three times by articles of *Il resto del Carlino* and every time it is mentioned as a citation of Italian politicians. For instance:

Il ministro dell'Interno ha prima definito “nave pirata” l'imbarcazione Ong, poi a chiesto l'intervento dell'autorità giudiziaria (Il resto del carino, 27 June 2019)

*In Rome zei minister Toninelli van Infrastructuur dat de Lifeline daarom als een **piratenschip** moet worden beschouwd. (NRC Handelsblad, 22 June 2018)*

Furthermore, this attempt to the image reputation of NGOs are perpetrated through personal attacks of NGOs representative figures. One of this is the case of Carola Rackete, captain of the rescue ship Sea-Watch 3 that has been the subject of different attacks from Italian politicians. This are also reported in Dutch newspapers which do not refer to any similar behaviour of the Dutch politician towards the issue. Italian politicians through the media attacked personally Carola Rackete as a representative of the NGOs world by spreading fake news and by putting her person and background in a bad light. Some examples:

*Ma per il leader della Lega non è un problema: “Infrange leggi e attacca navi militari italiane, e poi mi querela. Non mi fanno paura i mafiosi, figurarsi **una ricca e viziosa comunista tedesca!** Bacioni”. (Il resto del Carlino (6 July 2019)*

Salvini noemde Rackete een 'crimineel' nadat ze vrijdag toch met haar schip de haven van het eiland Lampedusa was binnengelopen om de uitgeputte migranten af te zetten na ruim twee weken op zee. (de Volkskrant, 3 July 2019)

*Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken Matteo Salvini noemde het incident een „**criminele actie, een oorlogshandeling**”. (De Telegraaf, 1 July 2019)*

*Giorgia Meloni, leider van een hardrechts partijtje dat op lokaal en regionaal niveau samenwerkt met Salvini, zei dat **de Sea Watch maar tot zinken moest worden gebracht**. (NRC Handelsblad, 27 June 2019)*

Interesting is the finding of a particular way of character assassination accomplished by the use of names. With regards to the figure of Carola Rackete it appears three times the word 'sbruffoncella' and only in Italian, without references in the Dutch newspapers. Is quite difficult to provide a solid translation in English for this term, it is close to 'loudmouth', somebody that is pretentious and that praise himself by showing-off. Furthermore, it derives from a jargon that suits more for child than adults. Some examples:

*LA CAPITANA della Sea Watch ha fatto saltare i nervi al Capitano Matteo Salvini. Il ministro dell'Interno ha prima definito “nave pirata” l'imbarcazione Ong, poi a chiesto l'intervento dell'autorità giudiziaria (“c'è un'evidente **flagranza di reato**, che aspetta qualcuno a emettere un ordine di arresto?”), quindi ha definito la comandante della nave “**una sbruffoncella che fa politica**”. (Il resto del Carlino, 27 June 2019)*

In general also as shown by the frame analysis, the negative references towards NGOs are more present than the positive ones. The latter, are often uttered by people who actually work in NGOs and by some politicians in both countries under investigation. These positive references refer often to some speech or declaration to defend the NGOs world by these attacks perpetrated by politicians and others. For example:

*Het redden van levens is een humanitaire plicht. **Reddingen op zee moeten niet gecriminaliseerd worden**", aldus de Duitse minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Heiko Maas op Twitter. (NRC Handelsblad, 2 July 2019)*

*«Tutte le Ong, quelle attive nel Mediterraneo ma anche quelle che non lo sono più, hanno subito un danno d'immagine enorme. Ci sono stati dei crolli nelle donazioni che mettono a repentaglio le attività. **Del resto se si continua a criminalizzare i volontari e la solidarietà c'è il rischio di una disumanizzazione di tutta la società**» (La Stampa, 19 March 2018)*

It should be noted that a high number of articles which is not represented in data showed a neutral framing by just describing the situation.

5. Discussion and Limitations

Considering the findings of the content analysis is possible to say that the results with regards to the migrants' voice ties well with previous studies and report on the same issue. As already shown in TF other researches have shown the little space that is given to refugees and migrants voice. Therefore, the scarcity of the presence of migrants' voice in this study confirms a general trend of the media coverage on this topic (Pierigh, 2017).

Furthermore, the space given to NGOs voice and the possibility that media give them to express their opinions by themselves slightly grow in comparison with the migrants' voice. The findings do not show any significant difference in the two countries and all the newspapers give pretty much the same amount of space to NGOs voice in their articles. However, it stays quite low and it never reaches the 10 % of coverage of the newspapers' corpus.

The real and actual activities in which NGOs are involved are not significantly covered by newspapers, while the European debate that arose around the NGOs world seems to take the biggest part of the topic covered by such discourse. The coverage of this specific node reaches the highest percentage in the corpus coverage and it is therefore possible to say that is the most common topic related to the subject of this research.

The framing seems to be quite different for each country. In general, Dutch newspapers have a more positive approach towards this action while the Italian newspapers seem to be more negative about it. Moreover, by looking at the general trend of the framing in the three period analysed is possible to see a development from a negative tone to a more positive one.

However, one should consider for the framing has been analysed by only one person and therefore the results in order to be reliable should be confirmed by the same findings of other researchers. Furthermore, another limitation relies on the fact that the analysis, for reason of time, is also been simplified by creating the two categories positive/negative while the framing can be better analysed by complicating the research and looking on possible different shapes of it.

The discourse analyses looked into the representation given by the media of NGOs and their activities in the rescue operation. Some words in particular are considered significantly in the construction of such representation. For instance the use of the word 'taxi' as well as 'pirate ship' which both convey a negative message can be understood through the communicative mechanism proposed by Höijer (2013) aforementioned in the TF, namely the anchoring

mechanism that indicates the act of connecting an unknown and new social representation (rescue operation activities) with a well-known and consolidated representation (taxi service). In addition, all the personal attacks moved by politicians and media towards activists and NGOs representative fell into the theory of character assassination explained in the TF. Shiraev (2010) suggests that through these attacks one aim to hurt the cause that the victim symbolise or defend. This seems to be the case of Carola Rackete and the numerous personal attacks received by different parts which consider her as a symbol of the whole NGO world. Furthermore, Shiraev (2010) shows that one of the possible methods used to attack the victim publically is trough nomination. This happens by attaching a name to the victim in order to give a ridiculous tone. This could be the case of the different named referred to the captain of the rescue ships by different politicians.

It is important also to say that by looking at the data collected in the first draft as shown in the Figure 2, there is a significant difference in terms of number of articles published by the newspapers of the two countries taken under investigation. In the database provided by Nexis uni the Italian articles are much more then the Dutch ones. This can be due to the fact that NGOs operate mainly outside the Italian coasts and because of the policy of “closed ports” implemented by the Italian government that became largely discussed in the media.

6. Conclusion

This study proposed a contrastive analysis of the representation of NGOs and their activities in the Mediterranean sea portrayed by Italian and Dutch newspapers. Through the use of content analysis and discourse analysis this research looked into the main topics covered by the media narration about NGOs and compared the countries with each others in order to find similarities or discrepancies in the story telling of the same subject.

The findings show a similar path for the newspapers in both country that covered equally the same events that occurred in the NGOs' issue. The results showed that the highest peaks in the publication of news about this topic occurred in the summer of the last three years which are the same period of the highest number of arrivals by sea.

In general, the Italian media show a more negative approach towards NGOs while in The Netherlands it seems to be more positive. The findings of the frame analysis indicate a shift towards a more positive depiction of NGOs in the last year.

The representation of this topic is not clear and the results have shown that most of the articles relate to politics debate -Such debates has been a constant topic in the news in the whole time period analysed.

On the contrary the description of rescue operation and the narration about the NGOs' world is very limited. These themes are very scarcely present in the refugee discourse under investigation. Furthermore, the space given in the news to migrants' voices and stories are almost totally absent, this result in particular is consistent with other similar researches on this topic.

This paper has identified some particular word used to represent NGOs both in positive and negative ways. However, future research could focus more on these words by analysing their impact on the debate.

Further research could be done by doing the same analysis on newspapers in other countries as Spain and Greece which are also strongly connected with the refugees crisis. Since the frame analysis was made only by one person, other research could use different people to analyse the articles and have more reliable and not biased results.

Additionally, further possible research could look into the sexist and patriarchal language used by populist politician in these discourses. The analysis could be extend to social media which are by now one of the most common communication mean.

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Appendix

Corpus “Il Corriere della Sera”

Articles headline	Publication date
«Migranti, se aumentano i flussi sarà sospesa la ripartizione»	26 September 2019
l'Europa ora cambi passo	23 September 2019
Bimbi soccorsi in mare, lite sui porti	29 August 2019
Il pm fa evacuare la Open Arms	21 August 2019
Lo psicologo Alessandro «A bordo disperati pronti al suicidio I giudici hanno detto sì»;	15 August 2019
No allo sbarco di 135 migranti Salvini blocca la Guardia costiera	27 July 2019
Barche e tecnici italiani E i libici pescano migranti; il reportage con la guardia costiera	25 July 2019
Conte avverte il Viminale «Non si può fare tutto da soli e per i rimpatri serve di più»	11 July 2019
Carola: libera, vince la solidarietà Salvini: una vergogna, cacciamola	3 July 2019
La Corte di Strasburgo dice no alla Sea Watch Stop anche dall'Olanda	26 June 2019
Alt di Salvini: Sea Watch fuoriggge Sbarcano malati e donne incinte	16 June 2019
Morti in mare, l'Ue e l'Italia denunciate alla Corte penale; Tribunale dell'Aja Migranti	4 June 2019
«Il decreto Sicurezza viola i diritti umani»	19 May 2019
«Sulla Diciotti sequestro di persona» Tribunale dei ministri, l'accusa a Salvini	25 January 2019
«Decreto sicurezza incostituzionale» I ricorsi delle Regioni di centrosinistra	8 January 2019
L'ira del leader leghista finito sotto assedio: è una montatura, cercano di screditarci	18 July 2018
Accuse a Roma sui morti nel naufragio La replica: «Mai coinvolti nei soccorsi»	1 July 2018
Patto Conte-Macron sulla Lifeline Berlino, Madrid e L'Aia frenano	27 June 2018
«Alimenta l'odio per distrarre, è un clima fetido M5S? Una pena»	22 June 2018

Ora il premier accelera: dobbiamo troncare il business dei migranti e chi lo favorisce	17 June 2018
Salvini apre il fronte immigrati Attacco all'Europa e alla Tunisia	4 June 2018
Stretta libica sulle Ong per tenerle più lontane Spagna, record di arrivi Gli sbarchi tra i bagnanti	11 August 2017
Fuoco libico contro la nave di una Ong Crescono le organizzazioni pro codice	9 August 2017
Gentiloni: con il codice vince lo Stato No del Vaticano a politiche restrittive	9 August 2017
E ora arriva anche la nave anti-migranti; La C-Star	6 August 2017
«Basta con il servizio taxi del mare Dobbiamo chiudere tutti i porti»	5 August 2017
Dall'Ue via libera al codice per le Ong Il Viminale: linea dura con chi non firma	17 July 2017
La soccorritrice: «Così si punisce la solidarietà»	4 July 2017
Migranti, più regole per le Ong; Approdi, attrezzature: l'idea di un codice per le navi. Previsto anche il sequestro Juncker e Merkel: «L'Italia non sarà sola».	1 July 2017

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Navi Ong, più sfida che solidarietà	18 August 2019
Migranti bloccati sulla Open Arms La Procura: è sequestro di persona	17 August 2019
Nomadi e migranti, la rabbia di Salvini; “No ai ricatti tedeschi, mi sono rotto delle Ong. Minacce da una zingaraccia, la pagherà”	2 August 2019
Migranti, la provocazione delle navi Ong	10 July 2019
Maxi multe e navi confiscate alle Ong; Linea dura sui migranti, ma i 5 Stelle stoppano i superpoteri del Viminale	10 July 2019
E il Viminale prepara la stretta: multe fino a un milione	7 July 2019

Caos migranti, è guerra tra Salvini e Ong; La sfida al ministro: tre navi in mare. Salta l'accordo con Malta, tensione con Berlino	6 July 2019
Il pm smonta il decreto sicurezza: nessuna urgenza	3 July 2019
L'Europa: non è una criminale, liberatela; Parigi e Berlino contro l'Italia. Salvini s'infuria: "Nessuno ci può dare lezioni"	30 June 2019
Sea Watch tenta il blitz, stop dei militari; Stallo a Lampedusa. L'Olanda: non ci riguarda. A bordo parlamentari Pd, Leu e Radicali	28 June 2019
Carola, comandante salva migranti Le ong tra volontari e business	27 June 2019
Italia contro la Ue: stop all'identificazione; Minaccia di Salvini su chi sbarca. E poi: "Capitana sbruffoncella". Di Maio lo critica	27 June 2019
Sea Watch, migranti suddivisi in otto Paesi; Sbarco a Catania. Ma il Viminale rilancia: "Ora blocchiamo tutte le navi delle Ong"	31 January 2019
Asse Conte-Mattarella: pressing su Tripoli; Palazzo Chigi si smarca da Salvini. Di Maio attacca Macron: "Ipocrita sull'Africa"	21 January 2019
Salvini attacca: la colpa è delle Ong; "Non torno indietro, i porti restano chiusi". Il premier Conte: sono scioccato	20 January 2019
Migranti, Salvini alza il tiro sull'Europa; Niente sbarco a Catania: ora tocca agli altri Paesi. E Toninelli si allinea	22 August 2018
Ma l'Est tradisce: "Strada verso l'inferno"; I Paesi di Visegrad voltano le spalle all'Italia. Fico: "Servono azioni dure"	16 July 2018
Migranti, Fico si smarca dal governo Di Maio e Salvini: opinioni personali; Il presidente della Camera a Pozzallo: aprire i porti. E difende le Ong	1 July 2018
Guerra alle Ong: sequestrate quella nave; Linea dura del Governo. I 244 profughi della Lifeline sulle nostre motovedette	22 June 2018
Migranti, linea dura con l'Europa Conte:	21 June 2018

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Salvini: clandestini, pacchia finita “Le ong non faranno i vice scafisti”; Primo giorno da ministro, sbarchi a Pozzallo: vado subito in Sicilia	3 June 2018
Medici senza frontiere cambia idea “Troppi ostacoli, attività sospese”; Anche Save the Children verso il blocco. Nave Iuventa, altri indagati	13 August 2017
“Con la Marina si lavorava in sicurezza Le Ong? Rispettino le regole del governo”	12 August 2017
Gentiloni elogia Minniti “Con lui vince lo Stato”; Il ministro: no all'accoglienza senza limiti	9 August 2017
ORA SIAMO NOI I TAXI DEL MARE	7 August 2017
Tratta dei migranti, la Chiesa divisa “Non tutte le Ong sono trasparenti”	5 August 2017
“Ridavano i gommoni agli scafisti” Le intercettazioni inguaiano l'Ong; Trapani, le accuse ai membri dell'imbarcazione sequestrata	4 August 2017
“Difenderemo questo territorio con le unghie”; La Lega in piazza contro i migranti: “Questo è business, non accoglienza”	4 August 2017
Codice per le ong, è flop.	1 August 2017
Casini: navi in Africa, una svolta; “Le Ong ribelli non sbarcheranno più migranti nei nostri porti”	28 July 2017
La nave anti Ong dell'ultradestra “Sveleremo il business dei migranti”; Il portavoce di Generazione Identitaria: ma non chiamateci fascisti	23 July 2017
“In mare è il caos: scontri tra guardacoste libici e Ong”	13 July 2017
Migranti, missione a Parigi Minniti a caccia di alleati; Il ministro punta a un'intesa con Francia e Germania	2 July 2017
Migranti, solo chiacchiere dalla Ue E Macron: io chiudo la frontiera; Muro della Francia sugli arrivi per motivi economici. I	30 June 2017

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Traffici e scafisti, ombre sulle Ong Ora scende in campo l'Antimafia; Roberti convoca i procuratori. Gratteri: serve l'intervento degli 007	18 May 2017

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Dissequestrata la Sea Watch Salvini attacca: giudici buonisti	2 June 2019
Ancora sbarchi in 3 settimane gli stessi arrivi dei primi 4 mesi	25 May 2019
Nel decreto sparisce la parola "migranti" Ma le navi delle Ong rischiano la confisca	22 May 2019
Decreto sicurezza via i poteri al pm che indagò Salvini per la nave Diciotti	21 May 2019
Sea Watch, il pm fa sbarcare i migranti Salvini: denuncio chi ha aperto i porti	20 May 2019
La nave Sea Watch viola il blocco e si ferma davanti a Lampedusa	19 May 2019
L'Onu contro il decreto Sicurezza "Fomenta ostilità e xenofobia"	19 May 2019
La Sea Watch salva 65 persone Salvini la diffida "Mai in Italia"	16 May 2019
Dal muro al confine alle leggi anti-Ong: la svolta autoritaria di Budapest	28 August 2018
Blitz estremista contro la Ong pro-migranti nel Mediterraneo	6 ottobre 2018
Fico: "Bisogna salvarli La Libia non è né un Paese né un porto sicuro"	24 July 2018
La Libia contro le Ong: "Noi salviamo vite"	19 July 2018
"L'Italia viola il diritto internazionale I respingimenti sono vietati dalla Corte Ue"	13 July 2018
Migranti, Fico si smarca e irrita Di Maio Salvini: i morti? Sulla coscienza delle Ong	1 July 2018

Nave Open Arms salva 60 disperati Braccio di ferro nel Mediterraneo	1 July 2018
Sea Watch 3 sotto ispezione, la Libia riporta i migranti a terra	12 febbraio 2019
Sea Watch a Catania Il governo prepara la stretta sulle Ong	1 febbraio 2019
Il governo accusa Sea Watch "Ha messo a rischio i migranti"	29 gennaio 2019
Nave Open Arms salva 60 disperati Braccio di ferro nel Mediterraneo	1 July 2018
La strage dei bimbi nel Mediterraneo rimasto senza Ong	30 June 2018
"Un fallimento il vertice Ue A Conte dico: i nostri nemici non sono Parigi o Berlino"	25 June 2018
MIGRANTI, IL DUELLO FRANCIA-ITALIA Lo schiaffo di Macron: "Populisti come la lebbra" Di Maio: "È un ipocrita". Salvini: "Basta lezioni" Scontro con Roma alla vigilia del mini vertice Ue Merkel prova a mediare e chiama il premier Conte	22 June 2018
La stretta ungherese Carcere per chi aiuta i migranti irregolari	31 May 2018
"Giusto salvare migranti" Il gip dissequestra la nave dell'Ong "Open Arms"	17 April 2018
«Clima avvelenato così criminalizzano la solidarietà»	19 March 2018
L'Ong tedesca al contrattacco "Prove false, ridateci la Juventa"	20 September 2017
"Criminalizzare le Ong ha portato al fenomeno delle barche fantasma"	19 September 2017
"Accordi con i trafficanti di uomini" Sequestrata nave dell'Ong tedesca	3 August 2017
Bruxelles stoppa l'Italia "Il codice di condotta per le Ong non va bene"	14 July 2017
Un piano per gli sbarchi La Guardia costiera detterà legge sulle Ong	2 July 2017
«Le Ong sono sempre più sole L'Europa venga sollecitata anche sugli interventi in	29 June 2017

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Di Maio contro le organizzazioni "Porti chiusi alle navi sospette"	17 May 2017
L'accusa dei militari libici ai volontari: "Mandano segnali ai trafficanti"	6 May 2017

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'Niets doen is ook een besluit met gevolgen'; Sea-Watch Kapitein Rackete, redder voor de Libische kust	9 November 2019
Geweld aan boord reddingsschip Open Arms, meerdere migranten 'suicidaal'	17 August 2019
Redders van bootmigranten staan zwaar onder druk	14 August 2019
Open Arms smeekt om een haven	9 August 2019
Hof: Sea-Watch krijgt tot 2020 voor aanpassen schip	1 August 2019
EU verschuilt zich achter boeman Salvini	17 July 2019
Maak een einde aan de dodelijke Europese migratiepolitiek	10 July 2019
Balanceren tussen mild en streng	5 July 2019
VVD-plan tegen oppikken migranten splijt coalitie	4 July 2019
Kapitein doet slechts haar 'morele plicht'	2 July 2019
Sea Watch 3: Kapitein gearresteerd na afmeren in Lampedusa	1 July 2019
Sea Watch op ramkoers met Salvini	27 June 2019
Ruzie Frankrijk en Italië escaleert: ambassadeur terug	8 February 2019
Sea-Watch 3 Nederland weigert opname migranten	29 January 2019
Migratie Nederland wil nieuwe migranten op Sea-Watch 3 niet helpen	22 January 2019
Wij doen hier op volle zee onze plicht, nu	4 January 2019

Rutte aan wal nog	
Spanning op migrantenschip loopt op	2 January 2019
Italië: een dodelijke chaos op zee	19 July 2018
'Libiërs laten migranten aan hun lot over op zee'	18 July 2018
Italië medeplichtig aan geweld tegen migranten'	26 June 2018
Duitse hulporganisatie Schip dat vaart met Nederlandse vlag botst met Italië over bootmigranten	22 June 2018
Identiteitslozen zijn vanaf nu officieel verboden in Orbans Hongarije	21 June 2018
Migrantenschip Migratie is een kwestie voor heel Europa, niet alleen voor Italië	12 June 2018
Italië wachtte niet meer op hulp uit EU	12 June 2018
Italië tart EU met migrantenboot	11 June 2018
Soros' organisatie vertrekt uit Boedapest	16 May 2018
'Herhaal onze fout niet: wees streng én human voor bootmigrant'	6 September 2017
Vluchtelingen Italië legt beslag op reddingsboot Duitse ngo	3 August 2017
Verzet tegen 'taxi' op zee voor migranten	25 July 2017
Actiegroep Defend Europe Extreemrechtse activisten willen migranten stoppen bij de kust van Libië	13 July 2017
Overleg in Tallinn Europese steun voor 'gedragscode' voor hulporganisaties bij migratiecrisis	07 July 2017
Toestroom migranten: vooral op papier EU-steun voor Italië	30 June 2017
Een omstreden taxidienst voor migranten	24 June 2017
Natuurlijk zijn mensenrechten een breekpunt in de formatie	19 June 2017

Wij hebben geen migratiebeleid	08 April 2017
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Duits reddingsschip niet welkom in Italië	27 August 2019
Migranten Ocean Viking verdeeld over volgende landen	23 August 2019
Stembusgang nog geen zekerheid	13 August 2019
Excuses kapitein Sea-Watch 3	1 July 2019
Weer onenigheid om Sea-Watch	20 May 2019
Sea-Watch redt weer tientallen migranten	15 May 2019
Opname migranten	26 January 2019
Salvini houdt zijn havens gesloten voor migranten	22 January 2019
Opvang afdwingen	11 January 2019
In zes uur naar Italië	22 September 2018
Alleen kinderen mogen reddingsschip bij Catania verlaten	22 August 2018
Italië weert ook marineschepen	9 July 2018
Duitsers: asielschip zaak van Nederland	26 June 2018
Tijd voor Kurz en co?	16 June 2018
Minister stopt vluchtelingenstroom	11 September 2017
Libië-route op slot	15 August 2017
Op heterdaad	5 August 2017
Italië treedt op tegen smokkel	3 August 2017
Hulpclubs woest op Europa	13 July 2017
Geen strobreed in de weg	28 June 2017
Oorlog op de Middellandse Zee	15 May 2017
Kustwacht Libië stopt migranten	12 May 2017

'Redders helpen smokkel mensen'	23 March 2017
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Corpus “de Volkskrant”

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Reddingsschip Open Arms mag naar Italië	15 August 2019
Mogelijk 150 doden bij schipbreuk voor kust Libië	26 July 2019
Artsen zonder Grenzen zet reddingsschip in	22 July 2019
Kapitein Rackete in Italië op vrije voeten	3 July 2019
Kapitein Carola Rackete van Sea-Watch: heldin of een crimineel?	2 July 2019
Kapitein Sea-Watch opgepakt in haven van Lampedusa	1 July 2019
Nederland schiet geredde migranten niet te hulp	21 June 2019
Nederland mag Sea-Watch niet aan de ketting leggen	8 May 2019
Dit schip blijft ze als enige redden	31 January 2019
Hoe Hongarije met zijn 'Stop Soros'-wet de deur dichtgooit	21 June 2018
Hulporganisaties vrezen chaos voor de kust bij Libië	6 July 2018
Italië weigert weer reddingsschip	22 June 2018
Rome: migranten zaak Nederland	18 June 2018
Leggen Frankrijk en Italië hun migratieruzie bij?	15 June 2018
Migrant helpen? Dan riskeer je de cel, in Hongarije	4 June 2018
Hulp migranten op zee gestaakt	14 August 2017
Zeeslag om de bootvluchtelingen	12 August 2017
Hulporganisatie had contact met smokkelaars	5 August 2017

Humanitaire vissers in een woeste zee vol desperate drenkelingen	5 July 2017
Verdrinken migranten schuld van EU	26 June 2017
'Migranten horen alles van elkaar'	27 June 2017
Geld gevraagd om reddingsacties tegen te gaan	15 June 2017
Golven van onbehagen over hulporganisaties	12 May 2017