

ESSENTIALLY CRIMINALS:
A TRANSATLANTIC CONTENT ANALYSIS
OF IMMIGRATION COVERAGE
AND READERS' REACTIONS

by
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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: Essentially Criminals: A Transatlantic Content Analysis of Immigration Coverage and Readers' Reactions

This dissertation investigated the relationship between news coverage of immigration and readers' reaction to such coverage. Quantitative content analysis was used to study the subject with a comparative approach across regions that constitute borderlands between first and second world countries: the state of Arizona in the United States of America and Italy in the European Union. Coders analyzed content of 800 stories published by four daily newspapers in 2013. Degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants was assessed from 1,470 online comments posted by readers of those stories. Hypotheses stemming from theories of national identity were tested to evaluate frames used to talk about immigration in the outlets considered and audiences' feedback while controlling for regional particularities.

News coverage of immigration was generally unfavorable to immigrants in both Arizona and Italy. Readers commenting online on immigration did generally not empathize with immigrants. No statistically significant correlation was found between degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed in online comments and stories' degree of unfavorableness or favorability to immigrants. The study also concluded that the Associated Press style change banning "illegal immigrant" from a

journalist's vocabulary resulted in a sharp decrease of use of the phrase in the pair of Arizona dailies examined. Frames criminalizing immigrants appeared with comparable frequency across all four newspapers considered. Nationalistic and patriotic attitudes recorded in the studies carried out across multiple countries did not provide the sociological lens suited to explaining the tone of journalistic coverage of immigration addressed in this study and the public's reaction to such coverage. However, stories framed episodically provided more positive representations of immigrants than stories framed thematically, and readers' reaction seemed less antipathetic to immigrants.

Previous comparative research of immigration coverage recommended that journalists write fewer human interest stories and more articles providing context and analysis of the issue. Representations of immigrants in the four dailies and attitudes emerging from online comments analyzed in this study, instead, suggest that journalists should focus on human interest stories to reframe immigration issues and reverse the often stereotypical nature of immigration coverage.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In April 2013, after years of reflection and debate, The Associated Press decided that its *Stylebook*—“The Journalist’s ‘Bible,’” in AP’s own words; or, in those of The Poynter Institute, “the true arbiter of a journalist’s vocabulary” (Myers, 2012)—would no longer sanction the expression “illegal immigrant” (Colford, 2013). AP eventually espoused the argument, often made by human rights organizations and trade organizations of news media professionals, that illegal can only be actions, not people, and that labeling an immigrant as “illegal” has a number of problematic implications. Advocacy groups stress that the phrase carries a bias, and, in its most frequent use, is fundamentally inaccurate, because only a court of law can establish whether a person accused of breaking immigration laws did actually break them. Although the AP manual’s influence is limited to the North American press, the news of the stylistic change made it through some prominent news outlets around the world. It was relayed, for example, by *The Daily Mail* in Britain, Aljazeera.com in Qatar, the Italian wire service ANSA, the online news website of the Italian-language Swiss public broadcasting service RSI, and some other overseas outlets, such as the Spanish daily *El País*, that besides covering immigration for domestic interest, also try to appeal to one portion of the Latin American public (“Ap, Via Parola Illegali Accanto Immigrati,” 2013, “Per l’AP Mai Più Immigrati ‘Illegal,’” 2013; Golash-Boza, 2013; Pereda, 2013; Reilly, 2013).

AP shifted its stance on the phrase “illegal immigrant” in light of the fact that one part of the public has voiced its concerns about the recurrence of a number of (stereo)typical refrains conveyed by the expression. Other trade organizations of reporters

and editors around the western world have begun to take more seriously the observations made by academic researchers and civil society about the likely impact of labels attached to women and minority groups, namely immigrants. Such organizations too have been trying to create or adjust good journalists' toolkits designed to address questionable reporting on immigration.

Driving stylistic changes is, therefore, a continuous exchange of information between news media professionals and their publics, or at least the share of their publics that is engaged enough to actively look for a kind of interaction with the authors of the stories they read, watch, or listen to. This dissertation inserts itself into the context of this kind of dialogue.

The research addresses the relationship between news coverage of immigration and the public's perception of immigrants. The study examined the issue at three levels. First, it attempted to identify types of stories and images portrayed in coverage of immigrants. Second, it tried to evaluate whether and to what extent the current coverage of immigration affects the public's perception of immigrants. Third, it sought to find out whether and to what extent the public's reaction to different kinds of stories about immigration or involving immigrants affect, in turn, subsequent coverage of these topics.

This dissertation proposes a comparative approach across two continents, countries, and languages, which can help identify divergent phenomena that might not emerge otherwise. Kohn (1987, p. 713) praised the use of scholarly investigation that compares sociological phenomena in different countries:

Cross-national research is valuable, even indispensable, for establishing the generality of findings and the validity of interpretations derived from single-nation studies. In no other way can we be certain that what we believe to be social-structural regularities are not merely particularities, the product of some limited set of historical or cultural or political circumstances ... [C]ross-national research is equally valuable, perhaps even more valuable, for forcing us to revise our interpretations to take account of cross-national differences and inconsistencies that could never be uncovered in single-nation research.

Hallin and Mancini (2004), who have been studying “media systems” across countries and continents since the 1980s, echo: “Comparative analysis is valuable in social investigation, in the first place, because it sensitizes us to variation and to similarity, and this can contribute powerfully to concept formation and to the refinement of our conceptual apparatus” (p. 2). It also is very suited, they argue, “to test hypotheses about the interrelationship among social phenomena” (Hallin and Mancini 2004, p. 4). They specifically urge scholars involved in media studies across countries to engage with content analysis, starting with small-scale studies, to produce empirical data that can support other kinds of comparative research in the domain of mass communication (Hallin & Mancini, 2012).

This analysis focused on the United States of America, in particular the state of Arizona, and the European Union, in particular Italy. Learning more about the ways news media and audiences interact and influence each other can help us identify problematic journalistic practices and propose viable alternatives. In this case, it can aid us in discovering in what aspects European journalism can learn from U.S. journalism, which

has often been considered exemplary (Esser & Umbricht, 2014), and vice versa, so that they can continue to serve democracy at their best.

Background

The Associated Press Stylebook and Briefing on Media Law has accompanied linguistic and stylistic changes in news reporting for six decades. Its 2012 edition still listed “illegal immigrant” as a phrase “[u]sed to describe someone who has entered a country illegally or who resides in a country in violation of civil or criminal law.” The *Stylebook* admitted variations such as “*living in the country without legal permission*” and warned that “[u]se of these terms, as with any terms implying illegalities, must be based on reliable information about a person’s true status.” It also pointed out that “[u]nless quoting someone, AP does not use the terms *illegal alien, an illegal, illegals* or the term *undocumented*” (Darrell, Jacobsen, & Minthorn, 2012 p. 130).

As of October 2012, AP was still defending its preference for “illegal” over “undocumented” or “unauthorized” to refer to immigrants who are in a receiving country without proper permit. AP was arguing that entering a country and residing there without authorization are illegal acts and that adjectives such as “undocumented” and “unauthorized” were likely to make them appear as misdemeanors (Tenore, 2012a). *The New York Times* offered similar reasons to explain why it did not think its journalists should abandon the use of the phrases “illegal immigrant” and “illegal immigration.” *The Times* claimed that these phrases “are accurate, factual and as neutral as we can manage under the circumstances.” The paper dismissed claims that the expression “illegal immigrant” labels immigrants as criminals. Meanwhile, other news media outlets, such as

the *San Antonio Express-News* and *The Miami Herald*, had already dropped references to illegality (Tenore, 2012b), as had television networks ABC, CNN, and NBC (Planas, 2013).

A few months later, AP concluded that its stance on immigration labels was not consistent with other subject areas in which the *Stylebook* had made changes (Colford, 2013). For example, American journalists were asked to avoid labeling people with mental health issues as “psychotic,” “neurotic,” or “schizophrenic” and prefer phrases such as “diagnosed with psychosis,” “diagnosed with neurosis,” or “diagnosed with schizophrenia.” Labels were deemed less precise than diagnoses provided by credible sources. When illustrating its new policy on “illegal immigrant,” AP explained that consistency demanded a review of the “illegal immigrant” entry as well. The organization modified immediately its online resources to restrict the use of the phrase: “Except in direct quotes essential to the story, use *illegal* only to refer to an action, not a person: *illegal immigration*, but not *illegal immigrant*. Acceptable variations include *living in or entering a country illegally* or *without legal permission*” (para. 17). The up-to-date entry also recommends avoiding “illegal alien,” “an illegal, illegals,” or “undocumented” as nouns derived from adjectives. It admonishes not to describe people as if they had been convicted of violating immigration laws unless they were convicted, and not to categorize as having immigrated illegally people who were brought into the country as children. AP then urges journalists to “specify wherever possible how someone entered the country illegally and from where”—whether they crossed the border without the necessary documents and permits, or overstayed a visa (para. 20). Finally, reporters and editors are advised to report the nationality of the people involved (Colford, 2013).

A few hours after AP's announcement, *The New York Times* Public Editor Margaret Sullivan let the world know that her paper as well was "reconsidering the term 'illegal immigrant.'" She added that her position on this phrase "has changed over the past several months. So many people find it offensive to refer to a person with an adjective like 'illegal' that I now favor the use of 'undocumented' or 'unauthorized' as alternatives" (Sullivan, 2013, para. 7). Three weeks later, the newspaper disclosed it had updated its own internal guidelines: it has not banned the phrase "illegal immigrant," but "encourages reporters and editors to 'consider alternatives when appropriate to explain the specific circumstances of the person in question, or to focus on actions'" (Haughney, 2013, para. 3). More than 70,000 people had signed a petition asking the *The New York Times* to "drop the I-Word," and some of them were protesting in front of its headquarters when the new policy was announced publicly (Haughney, 2013).

By the end of May 2013, the *Los Angeles Times* and *San Francisco Chronicle* as well had internalized AP's recommendation (Edgar, 2013; Miller Thomas, 2013).

AP is the main news wire service in the United States. *The New York Times* is the daily with the second-largest circulation and the largest number of online readers in the country (*Top 25 U.S. Newspapers for March 2013*, 2013). As such, these outlets have been under the spotlight in the public debate over (mis)representations of immigrants carried by the news media. In September 2012, journalist and activist José Antonio Vargas challenged AP and *The New York Times*, announcing he would keep track of how often and in what contexts these outlets were using the phrase "illegal immigrant." He said that the phrase "dehumanizes and marginalizes the people it seeks to describe" (Hesson, 2012, para. 4). Vargas, who has worked for *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The*

Philadelphia Daily News, *The Huffington Post*, and was part of *The Washington Post* team that won a Pulitzer Prize in 2008, is an undocumented immigrant himself. He was brought to the United States from the Philippines when he was 12 and learned about his lack of papers at 16 when he tried to get his driver's license (Vargas, 2011). "We must stop dehumanizing an entire group of people," he said in an interview with *Pointer.org*, "actions are illegal, not people, never people. Calling people 'illegal immigrants' underscores the largely simplistic nature in which we report on and fully contextualize this issue to our readers" (Tenore, 2012b, para. 14). Vargas disclosed his undocumented status in 2011, when, he said, he could no longer bear the weight of the lies he had had to tell many people who trusted and loved him; paradoxically, confessing publicly that he is an "illegal alien" is what has spared him deportation, and highlighted, once more, the role of stereotypes often relayed by the media: "A Philippine-born, college-educated, outspoken mainstream journalist is not the face the government wants to put on its deportation program," Vargas wrote in an essay published by *Time Magazine* (Vargas, 2012, para. 10).

As a matter of fact, trade organizations representing Western media professionals started to become aware that their depictions of immigrants were, to say the least, imprecise years ago. And they began to push for changes in reporting style in 2011. In the United States, the Society of Professional Journalists "urge[d] journalists and style guide editors to stop the use of illegal alien and encourage continuous discussion and re-evaluation of the use of illegal immigrant in news stories" in the fall of that year ("The Use of 'Illegal Alien' and 'Illegal Immigrant' in News Stories," 2011, para. 7). When AP changed the "illegal immigrant" entry in its *Stylebook*, SPJ President Sonny Albarado

commented that the discussion over the controversial phrase is very similar to past linguistic debates in journalism: “Some might argue that the new style recommendation is less precise than ‘illegal alien’ or ‘illegal immigrant,’ but it’s important to note that a significant portion of the country’s population regards those terms as offensive. It wasn’t that long ago that keepers of journalism style fought dropping ‘Negro’ as a term for black or African-American people, yet news organizations adopted the newer style” (Albarado, 2013, para. 3).

The role of media representations in processes of marginalization—and, often, lack of involvement in processes of integration—is getting more scrutiny elsewhere in parts of the Western world confronted with large numbers of new immigrants. And journalists are trying to respond to the challenge of adopting a less derogatory style. In Italy, for example, the board of Italian journalists, together with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the National Bureau Against Racial Discriminations (UNAR), and FNSI, the most important union of Italian journalists, highlighted that immigrants appear in the Italian press way too often as protagonists of crime stories. Prompted by academic research that pointed out some seriously questionable practices in the representations of immigrants in the news, they also urged the media professionals of the peninsula to cease the common use of degrading terms such as “clandestino,” “badante,” “zingaro,” and “vu cumprà” to refer to immigrants (Adnkronos, 2012). “Clandestino” is a synonym for “illegal” often attached to immigrants in Italy. “Badante”—literally, “caretaker”—is a term used to describe a young female immigrant, often from Romania and other East European countries, who nurses old Italian citizens in lieu of their relatives. “Zingaro” means gipsy. “Vu cumprà”

is a mocking of the words uttered by immigrants, originally from Western Africa, who sell merchandise on Italian beaches. In June 2012, the board of journalists, UNHCR, UNAR, and FNSI published a booklet with recommendations for more accurate and sensitive coverage of immigration. Such guidelines include an invitation to give the same prominence to stories about crimes perpetrated by immigrants and Italian citizens. The document also calls for more responsibility, on the part of journalists, when mentioning the nationality of the protagonist of a crime. It stresses that pieces of information such as origin, religious belief, and immigration status should be reported only if they are relevant to the story and necessary to understand it (Meli, 2012). No current or recent Italian publication, however, can be compared to the *The Associated Press Stylebook*, and no news outlet said it would stop using “immigrato illegale” or “clandestino.”

The efforts by journalists’ organizations to provide guidelines for covering immigration testify, on both sides of the Atlantic, to an increasing consideration of journalism’s role in perpetuating stereotypes and fostering social marginalization. The professional organizations that represent journalists have engaged in this debate because at least some of their constituents thought it was important. These organizations pointed out that a considerable part of their audiences found the expressions they are trying to remove from “a good journalist’s vocabulary” offensive and debasing. In other words, when it comes to immigration, journalists seem to be receptive—at least to some extent—to the feedback their publics give them.

Other Similarities

In recent times, the United States and the European Union have been facing immigration issues that are very similar on many accounts, starting from the number of those who are more often seen as “undesired” newcomers. While the West is still struggling to recover from the toughest economic recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s, in the United States and the European Union such issues have been addressed with renewed political interest and measures that are also striking in their similarity.

The United States, with a population of more than 315 million (United States Census Bureau, 2013), counts about 46 million “international migrants” (*International Migration Report 2013*, 2013) and an estimated 11 million undocumented, and probably unauthorized, immigrants. The number of the latter has leveled off in conjunction with the economic crisis and the sharp reduction in employment opportunities (Preston, 2011). About 34 million documented immigrants (14 million of whom from a non-European country) live in the European Union and 51 million people live in a European country in which they were not born (“Migration and Migrant Population Statistics,” 2014). About 8 million undocumented residents have been estimated in the European Union (European Commission, 2009). There too, their number has decreased because of the most recent downturn (Bowcott, 2010). The 27 member states of the European Union combined have a population of about 500 million, but only 400 million people reside in one of the European countries that form the border-free Schengen Area implemented in 1995 (“Schengen Area,” 2012). Anybody may cross internal borders within this area without having to go through systematic border checks, just as anybody may travel from coast to

coast in the United States without having to go through border checks between one state and the next.

Even though reduced job opportunity due to the global recession set off in 2008 has contributed to curbing immigration from developing countries to the wealthier “North” (*International Migration Report 2013*, 2013), as the recovery appears to progress slowly, immigrants are often still seen as a threat and considered a problem to solve, particularly when they are identified as “illegal immigrants” (Stelzenmüller & Raisher, 2013; *World Migration Report 2013*, 2013). Undocumented immigrants are more easily blamed and become the main target of policies aimed at providing an answer to the demand for a solution to “the problem.” Interestingly, more severe immigration policies have first been elaborated regionally instead of at the national (in the case of the United States) or supranational (in the case of the European Union) level. Tougher laws have initially been proposed and passed in geographic areas that are most directly affected by migratory flows: areas that have become entry points for undocumented immigrants because they are structurally porous. The Sonoran Desert, between Mexico and Arizona, can’t be guarded inch by inch and around the clock. Nor can the Mediterranean Sea between the shores of Northern Africa and those of Greece, Italy, and Spain. The stretch of dry land and that of water are porous due to the characteristics that make them inhospitable and have turned them into immense cemeteries of desperate people headed north, toward what they thought would be a better existence. The Sonoran Desert keeps returning the remains of thousands of those who didn’t make it: more than 2,200 people since the beginning of the millennium. A body is found, on average, every other day within a few miles of the frontier in Arizona (“1999-2011 Recorded Migrant Deaths,”

2012). The statistics don't include those who die on Mexican soil, before crossing the border, and those who are rescued but were so weak that they die later at the hospital. Meanwhile, two to five immigrants, depending on the year, lose their lives every day in the Mediterranean Sea, of dehydration or drowning in the sinking wrecked boats they embarked on ("Mediterraneo, Oltre 2mila gli Immigrati Morti in Mare nel 2011," 2011). As for those who get lost in the desert between the state of Sonora and Arizona, they usually don't make big news. The simultaneous death of a number of immigrants large enough to spark or revive public indignation is the exception, not the rule ("Lampedusa, Recuperate Oltre 200 Salme. Schulz: l'Italia è Stata Lasciata Sola," 2013, "Lampedusa, Recuperati Altri 14 Corpi. Il Bilancio delle Vittime Sale a Quota 289," 2013).

In the United States, Arizona has been a pacesetter in introducing severe anti-immigration measures. Senate Bill 1070, the "Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act," is one of the strictest anti-immigration regulations in the country (Archibold, 2010). It has inspired laws of the same kind proposed in another 10 states, including Alabama's House Bill 56, which is now seen as the toughest in the United States (Lawson, 2013). The Arizona legislature approved SB 1070 in April 2010, reckoning that federal immigration laws were insufficient. The bill allows law-enforcement officials to verify the immigration status of the people they suspect may be on U.S. soil unlawfully, though inquiring officers "may not solely consider race, color or national origin" in questioning the immigration status of a person (Pearce, 2010, p. 1). Detractors of SB 1070 pointed out that stating that law-enforcement officials "may not solely consider race, color or national origin" acknowledges the potential of racial profiling and sanctions it. In addition, the Arizona act not only punishes anyone who

employs, but also anyone who simply transports and shelters, undocumented immigrants (Pearce, 2010, p. 6). The governor of Arizona signed SB 1070 into law on April 23, 2010. The bill, however, didn't go into effect until the end of June 2012, when the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the "show me your papers" provision suspected of sanctioning racial profiling while agreeing with the U.S. Department of Justice on the unconstitutionality of other parts of the law. In particular, the judges struck down the provisions that would have allowed state police to make arrests without a warrant in certain occasions and made it illegal for immigrants to apply for a job without a federal work permit or not to carry documents proving their status at all times (MacAskill, 2012; Supreme Court of The United States, 2012; The United States Department of Justice & Office of Public Affairs, 2010).

In Europe, policymakers in Italy over the past two decades have produced some of the harshest expressions of intolerance toward newcomers. In 2009, the Italian parliament adopted a bill—the latest of a series of so-called "Security Packets"—that made it a felony for a person without a passport issued by one of the member states of the European Union to enter Italy without authorization or overstay a tourist visa (Il Presidente della Repubblica, 2009). The provisions of the new regulation were not, at first glance, particularly original. Other European countries—namely, France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Switzerland (which is not a member of the Union)—had enforced for years immigration laws that allow prosecutors to pursue illegal entry and residence and judges to sentence violators to time in jail (Strinati, 2008). Two aspects, however, made the Italian bill stand out among those regulations. First: many laws on illegal immigration enforced elsewhere in Europe contemplate imprisonment of

lawbreakers in addition or in alternative to administrative penalties such as deportation and payment of a fine. The 2009 Italian bill, instead, mandated time to be served the only option for some infractions, which simply made entering or staying in the country illegally a criminal offense. Second: unlike French, British, German, and Swiss prosecutors, Italian district attorneys have no formal autonomy in choosing what crimes to pursue (Corda & Sala Chiri, 2008; Servizio Biblioteca - Ufficio Legislazione straniera, 2011). They do not respond to any governmental branch but only to the law. And, on this matter, the Constitution is concise and very precise: “The public prosecutor has the obligation to exert the penal action” (Assemblea Costituente della Repubblica Italiana, 1947, art. 112). So, if the law mandates time in jail for certain categories of violations of the rules on immigration, in theory, district attorneys have to prosecute those violators accordingly. There is no room for political appreciation of the issue. The everyday practice is, obviously, different from the ideal conduct sanctioned by the Constitution. Nevertheless, the application and fairness of the 2009 Security Packet soon appeared problematic. Both the Italian Constitutional Court and the European Court of Justice questioned key provisions of the legislation (Corte Costituzionale, 2010; European Court of Justice, 2011). The crime of “illegal immigration” (in Italian, “immigrazione clandestina”) was deleted from the Italian penal code in the spring of 2014 (“Ddl Sanzioni, Abolito Reato di Immigrazione Clandestina. Votano Contro M5S, Fdi, Lega,” 2014), a few months after hundreds of refugees had lost their lives in a series of wrecks while trying to reach the southernmost outpost of Italy, the 8-square-mile island of Lampedusa, and Italian police had had to prosecute the survivors; they also investigated allegations that a boat of the port captain’s office that was nearby did not immediately

intervene to rescue the castaways from the waves and refused to take onboard some of the dozens lifted out of the water by the crew of a civilian boat (“La Strage di Lampedusa, Polemica sui Soccorsi. Indagati i Migranti nel Giorno della Commozione,” 2013). In the meantime, local courts had been jammed with cases of clandestine immigration (“Lampedusa, Indagati 16 mila Immigrati. I Magistrati: «Siamo Obbligati dalla Legge»,” 2013).

Lawmakers and journalists share responsibility in setting the political and news agenda, which drives constituent’s preoccupations (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). These, in turn, provide politicians with justifications for proposing and passing most laws, including (anti-)immigration regulations. Theories about the way these factors interact lead the scholarly literature from which this dissertation flows. The study provides a quantitative content analysis of stories published by two Arizona and two Italian daily newspapers, and of online comments attached to those stories. By focusing on a controversial topic—immigration—this research explores one facet of the complex relationship between journalists and audiences. Particularly, this work seeks to identify what kind of response readers provide, via online comments, to news coverage varying in degree of (un)favorability to immigrants, and to investigate whether that response influences subsequent coverage.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Moral Panic

Academic research can help us identify some explanations of the phenomena behind the emergence of strong sentiments against immigrants among the public opinion and the political class—sentiments that tend to reinvigorate mutually. It is probably impossible to determine which came first: whether “public concern” about the role of immigrants in the receiving milieus ignited the political debate over immigration or politicians seeking electoral profit found it more easily by inflaming a part of the electorate.

Cohen (2002, p. 9) described the pivotal role of the media in this context:

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians, and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the object of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folklore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long-

lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way society conceives of itself.

Arizona and Italy's anti-immigration legislations suggest that immigration has become, once more, a source of moral panic with "long-lasting repercussions" in both the United States and the European Union. The news media have played a role in the debate by providing more negative representations of immigrants in geographic areas that are closer to the border. According to one study carried out in the United States, the media outlets of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas produce many more stories about issues linked to unauthorized immigration than the news outlets of other states (Branton & Dunaway, 2009).

Immigrants have historically been easy scapegoats in periods of economic crisis and often targeted in the public debate for political gain. They have often been considered the cause of social problems—such as stealing jobs from residents and taking advantage of welfare programs—and thought of as not only criminal but also "a pollutant" (Cisneros, 2008). The last, dramatic downturn, set off in 2008, has not escaped a pattern already "tested." A heated public debate over immigrants has focused this time on the legal or illegal status of the newcomers. This is only one of the myriad facets of immigration but fits neatly in the rhetoric of "securitization" and "criminalization" that has increasingly characterized discourse on migrations throughout the western world (Hughes, 2007; S. Kim, Carvalho, Davis, & Mullins, 2011; Maneri & Ter Wal, 2005; Maneri, 2012; Schinkel, 2009). Ackerman, Sacks, and Furman (2014) argue that such criminalization has a twofold origin and two complementary political goals: on the one

hand, it provides the fundamental commodity of the industry of incarceration which, at least in the United States, has become huge and very remunerative (*Warehoused and Forgotten: Immigrants Trapped in Our Shadow Private Prison System*, 2014); on the other hand, in economic downturns, (mistakenly) identifying undocumented immigrants as one of the main causes of economic difficulty distracts voters' attention from (other) structural socioeconomic issues.

In borderlands, populist agendas that target immigrants seem to find fertile ground sooner, and often more easily, than elsewhere. Borderlands are under direct pressure and confronted more directly with the upsides and downsides of migratory flows. In those regions, the public debate over immigrants and immigration has taken on very harsh expressions. And, as we have seen, political institutions have often tried to respond to the perceived malaise of the residents with tougher laws and or other policies aimed at discouraging the arrival of new immigrants and, in some cases, favoring the departure of those who came before.

Such phenomena seem to occur throughout the world wherever borders divide—in general, arbitrarily—geopolitical areas whose orographic and cultural differences are for the most part blurred. Theories related to the birth and development of nationalisms are particularly helpful when trying to understand and interpret some of the rationales that drive anti-immigration pushes on both sides of the Atlantic.

National Identity, Nationalism, Patriotism

Nationalism has been defined as a political principle that spurs a (nationalist) sentiment which, in turn, can provide the fuel of (nationalist) movements (Gellner,

1983a). The latter tend to form when a nationalist sentiment is frustrated by violations of the political principle; in the eyes of nationalists, the political principle is violated when the political structure of a state does not include all the people who are part of “the nation,” or when the political structure also includes members of other nations. In other words, nationalism finds fertile ground in societies where state and perception of “nation” do not perfectly match (Gellner, 1983a). Theorists have pointed out that the ideas of nation and nationality, developed in Europe in the 18th century, escape precise scientific definitions and did not emerge from intuitions of philosophers; yet, “once created, they became ‘modular,’ capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations” (Anderson, 1991a, p. 4). Anderson (1991b) proposes to define “nation” as “an imagined political community”; imagined as is, he argues, any group of people who don’t generally engage in interpersonal communication. The novel and the newspaper, he adds, allowed the diffusion of such imagery. The problematic nature of the concept of nation was acutely apparent at the end of the 19th century, when the nation-states were redefining themselves with more democratic political structures. Renan (1997) observed that the idea of nation is a historical construct, as are the concepts of race and language. He noted that a nation does not emerge from an ethnic or linguistic group but is “a soul, a spiritual principle” appropriated by people who share a past and memories and want to perpetuate them. As a consequence, ethnicity is not what drives the creation of nations but is one of the byproducts of nation building. Ethnic groups are born from people ascribing themselves to them or being ascribed to them by others (Barth, 1969). Nationalists are often members

of a self-defined ethnic group that appropriates traditions of other groups, or invents new practices it labels traditions, and justifies with them its difference from other groups to pursue a new social order or to maintain one already in place (Gellner, 1983b).

More recent research has analyzed nationalism from a less simplistic perspective, moving from a more inclusive terming: that of “national identity” intended as “national attachment” resulting from a feeling of “belongingness” to a particular geographic area or population. This attachment can be “blind,” “uncritical,” and militaristic and become what we generally call nationalism or chauvinism; or a kind of love for one’s homeland that is critical and appreciative of others’ attachment to their homelands, and gives shape to what we usually refer to as “healthy” or “constructive” patriotism (Curti, 1946; Morray, 1959). German scholars studying national identity sentiments in their country a decade after the fall of the Berlin Wall concluded that nationalism and patriotism are both expressions of “positive national identity” and should be considered “subdimensions” of the latter (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). The difference between these two expressions, however, is sometimes subtle. Nationalism can often be mistaken for patriotism. As Morray (1959, p. xiii) noted, it is worth remembering, a few months after the end of McCarthyism, in the middle of the Cold War:

Private citizens cannot receive literature from communist countries without raising doubts as to their loyalty to the United States. The open mind, the intellectual curiosity to hear all arguments, to examine all evidence, to communicate with all faiths and creeds, is not the habit of the patriot. It is no exaggeration to say that patriotism frowns on philosophy itself as dangerous

freethinking which may undermine loyalty to the state. Are we forced to make a choice between patriotism and liberal education?

Patriotism seems also to be demanding that we surrender our faith in democracy and in the right of peoples freely to determine their government. For reasons of state we declared our hostility to the freely elected government of President Arbenz in Guatemala. We led the campaign that left his government too weak to defend itself from a rebellion by military forces under Lieutenant Colonel Castillo Armas. The President of the United States congratulated the military rebels on their 'historic demonstration of devotion to the cause of freedom.' An American who protests this betrayal of democracy raises doubts as to his own patriotism. Does love of country compel us now to deprecate the democracy we thought before to be our special lesson to mankind?

Words such as these did not lose value after the end of the Cold War. Patriotism is one feature that no politician can afford to lack in. "I will never question the patriotism of others in this campaign, and I will not stand idly by when I hear others question mine," said Senator Barack Obama in one of the speeches that preceded his election as the first African-American president in the history of the United States of America (Zeleny, 2008, para. 2).

Billig (1995) took issue with the idea that nationalism and patriotism describe two different phenomena and labeled such a dichotomous definition of national identity a rhetorical device. "'Our' [British] nationalism is not presented as nationalism," he argued

in *Banal Nationalism*, “which is dangerously irrational, surplus and alien. A new identity, a different label is found for it. ‘Our’ nationalism appears as ‘patriotism’ – a beneficial, necessary, and, often, American force” (p. 55). Billig contests that globalization is reducing the relevance of nation-states: “There is a central paradox: the theories of national identity and postmodernity, which assert the decline of the nation-state, are being formulated at a time when a powerful nation, the United States of America, is bidding for global hegemony. The global culture itself has a national dimension, as the symbols of the United States appear as universal symbols” (p. 11). Billig pointed out that patriotism has often been alluded to, when not openly invoked, in warmongering rhetoric to justify and find public support for military interventions that seemed to be driven by electoral and economic interest, rather than “patriotic” goals. This has happened, he stressed, in all democratic countries, not only in the United States. Billig questioned the validity of surveys meant to measure nationalist and patriotic sentiments administered at the time, suggesting that they don’t actually gauge those sentiments but what the interviewees say about those sentiments.

Studies investigating the perception of national identity across countries, however, have attempted to assess how the concept of nationalism and that of patriotism relate to attitudes toward immigrants and other out-groups. This line of sociological inquiry is now shared by research institutes from 48 countries through the International Social Survey Programme (“History of the ISSP,” 2010). The ISSP addresses issues of national identity periodically. Most sociologists engaging with this topic worked on data collected in 1995 and 2003, creating indexes from survey questions about pride in national achievements and opinions on other topics including immigrants. The third ISSP study

about national identity was carried out in 2013 (“Archive and data,” 2010). As of August 2014, the results had not been published.

On the basis of ISSP data, Blank and Schmidt (2003) concluded that nationalism in West and East Germany was strongly correlated with denigration and sentiments of devaluation of out-groups and minorities, i.e., immigrants. Blank and Schmidt actually defined devaluation of out-groups and anti-Semitism as “results of nationalism” (p. 303) while noting that, conversely, “healthy” patriotism correlates with decreased rejection of out-groups. Similar findings applied to a larger scale study carried out more recently and aimed at measuring the influence of globalization on attitudes toward immigrants: Ariely (2011) concluded that “nationalism is positively related to xenophobic attitudes toward immigrants while constructive patriotism is negatively related to them” (p. 547).

Comparisons of ISSP data on national identity collected in the United States and Italy do not abound. Italy does not appear to have participated in the study in 2003. Blank and Schmidt (2001) worked on ISSP surveys administered in 1995 in Austria, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, United States, and Russia and found that American and Italian citizens felt “close” to their home country to similar degrees. Americans appeared more nationalist than Italians. They scored 3.32 on a 4-point scale, while Italians scored 2.91. Unlike Italians, Americans were particularly proud of their armed forces, which raised their overall “nationalism” score. But Americans came out as more patriotic than Italians as well. The American index for patriotism, also measured on a 4-point scale, was 2.81, in particular thanks to a higher pride in how U.S. democracy works; the Italian index was 1.97, in particular because of little pride in how Italian democracy works. At the same time, Italians were seeing immigrants as a threat more than Americans were. On a 5-point

scale meant to measure this opinion, with 5 being more threatening, Italian respondents scored 3.28 while Americans 2.91. More Italians than Americans felt immigrants were responsible for higher crime rates. Conversely, more Americans than Italians felt immigrants were stealing jobs from them. All this was before Sept. 11, 2001, and just a few years after the fall of the Iron Curtain unleashed mass migrations from Eastern to Western European countries.

Raijman, Davidov, Schmidt, and Hochman (2008) are among those who analyzed data collected through the ISSP survey on national identity in 2003. They concluded that in the period immediately following Sept. 11, 2001, nationalist and patriotic feelings were stronger in the United States than in three other countries considered: France, Germany, and Israel. The average score of the American respondents for chauvinistic sentiments was 3.7 on a 5-point scale; Israel scored 3.07; East Germany 2.74; West Germany 2.83; France 2.86. But American responders scored highest in patriotism as well: 3.88. Also measured on a 5-point scale, the perception of immigrants as a threat had risen slightly from 1995 to 2003 among U.S. responders, from a mean score of 2.91 to one of 2.98. The number of Americans who felt immigrants were responsible for higher crime rates had slightly diminished, as had the number of those who thought immigrants were stealing jobs from them. Americans, however, thought the government was spending too much to assist immigrants. Davidov (2010) observed that the mean score for nationalist feelings rose from 1995 to 2003 by less than half a percentage point, while that for patriotic feelings increased by 1 percent.

Stereotypes

Scholars have found copious evidence that people with darker skin—and an important part of immigrants in the Western world have historically presented this physical feature—are more often portrayed negatively in news stories, which reinforces stereotypical descriptions. In the United States, African Americans and Latinos are overrepresented as offenders, while Caucasians tend to appear as victims (Dixon, 2006; Dixon & Linz, 2000), which can contribute to overt and covert, or “modern,” racism (Entman, 1992). Modern racism, also called “symbolic racism,” has been defined as the result of a collection of attitudes toward a different social group that are expressed in a subtle way. People who perform modern racism avoid displaying overt discriminatory behavior. Rather, they hold opinions of an assumed inferiority of other racial or ethnic groups (McConahay, 1986; Sears & Henry, 2003). Such opinions are the same that nurture overt racism. Modern racists either realize that, if they discriminate blatantly, they are likely to incur harsh criticism and ostracism, or might be deeply convinced that only bald-faced xenophobic conduct is racist. The outcome is the same. Xenophobic attitudes are somewhat masked in modern racists, who tend to discriminate against racial or ethnic groups by raising issues that are not related to race or ethnicity.

A long line of communication research has led scholars to conclude that women and minorities are commonly portrayed in ways that reinforce negative stereotypes and perpetuate the hegemonic position of the white-male dominant group (Stabile, 2006). In Europe too, immigrants have been often identified as undocumented immigrants and, subsequently, as criminals. This identification might somewhat correspond, paradoxically, to reality, for undocumented immigrants “[are pushed] towards the fringes

of legality and beyond” by the very stricter laws enforced to fight against illegal immigration (Engbersen & Broeders, 2009, p. 881). However, indigenous populations have often connected immigration flows to crime rates in spite of statistical evidence, which has displayed, in the eyes of some scholars, a “form of prejudice against foreigners” (Ceobanu, 2010, p. 114). Research conducted over the past decade has highlighted a particularly problematic relationship between immigration and media in Italy (Binotto, 2006; Sciortino & Colombo, 2004), where “immigrants are mainly represented in association with criminal episodes” while “the everyday aspect of integration processes does not appear in communications” (Fondazione Censis, 2002, p. 5). A study by the University of Rome La Sapienza has confirmed that the Italian news media talk about immigrants mostly in terms of an “emergency” and of a phenomenon that poses problems to domestic security. The news outlets of Italy have been increasingly focusing on crime news in general. Conversely, they are more prone to blame foreigners than Italian alleged offenders; moreover, three quarters of the stories involving immigrants are crime stories. According to this study, the Italian news media seem to be obsessed with two main pieces of information through which they identify the protagonists of the stories they run: the geographic and ethnic origin of the immigrants involved, and their “legal” or “illegal” status, usually conveyed by the term “clandestine” (Morcellini et al., 2010; Morcellini, Binotto, & Martino, 2004). Two particular populations of immigrants—Romanians and Roma—have been seen as a threat to the security of the indigenous population (Costi, 2010; Morcellini et al., 2010).

Online Media

The opportunities offered by online communication and, particularly, social media have provided legacy media interaction with their audiences beyond that provided by letters to the editor and personal or phone conversations. Audiences can give immediate feedback about a news event. Readers, viewers, and listeners can also share such opinions among themselves even when they are distant from one another. Journalists receive almost instantaneous responses to their stories and from a much larger number of readers. Not coincidentally, in 2014, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and software developer Mozilla joined forces to enhance and perfect tools that allow readers' participatory role in news content creation and dissemination (Farhi, 2014; Kaufman, 2014). This closer and more direct relationship between producers and consumers of media messages can have implications for the public discourse on immigration, especially in terms of journalistic choices on the kinds of stories to run.

Scholarship concerned with this relationship has first aimed to understand how news media collect feedback from their audiences and how they use it. Research by Santana (2011) has, for example, tried to measure whether and to what extent journalists pay attention to letters to the editor, historically, and to online comments, in recent years. His study involving 439 reporters from 139 U.S. daily newspapers shows that virtually all journalists read online comments about articles published by their newspapers, that 7 out of 10 have changed the way they thought about their stories in terms of newsworthiness, and that 1 in 4 gets ideas for his or her stories from comments; about 23% of the respondents said that reading online comments led them to contact more sources; as many reporters ended up including more facts; over 38% began to pay more attention to

the words they were using (Santana, 2011). In 2010, Nielsen (2013) interviewed via online survey 583 U.S. journalists about anonymous online comments: 65% of the respondents said they read comments on their stories, and more than a third of them read comments “frequently” or “always.” Nine reporters out of 10 among those who took the survey, however, said they did not adjust their coverage in consideration of readers’ feedback provided this way: in Nielsen’s words, “[j]ournalists’ responses supported the view that comments had nothing to offer, were not thoughtful, were not on topic, and/or were written by a vocal minority of voices that did not reflect the broad readership” (p. 481). The study also found that only a quarter of the interviewees said their editors had—“sometimes,” “often,” or “always”—polished their stories to anticipate problematic commentary in online forums; some journalists, however, reported that they try to police commentary attached to their articles to remove offensive remarks toward potential casualties, and to make sure that such comments are not confused with journalistic work (Nielsen, 2013).

One stream of investigations has focused on the tone of letters and online comments. Online comments favor readers’ participation in the public sphere more than letters to the editor; they also allow the public to challenge institutional power more overtly, especially when profiting from virtual anonymity (McCluskey & Hmielowski, 2011). Readers who are allowed to post anonymous comments, however, are more likely to write uncivil comments than readers who have to attach their names to the opinions they want to make public and take responsibility for them (Nielsen, 2013; Santana, 2012).

As Santana's (2014) work shows, immigration, a topic that sparks controversy in two realms—politics and race—proves particularly susceptible to strong criticism, and

not only in conservative circles. Popkova (2014) carried out a textual analysis of online comments attached to stories dealing with immigration published by *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* in 2011, finding that even a section of the public generally considered rather liberal, such as the readers of these two dailies, tended to express opinions unsympathetic to immigrants and even a “critique of the newspapers’ liberal stances toward immigration” (p. 119). Online commentary has been linked to expressions of racism and xenophobia regardless of subject matter, pushing the media to seek ways to deal with such commentary. Hughey and Daniels (2013), however, warn that many news outlets’ decision to disallow readers’ comments to avoid offensive content only contributes to preventing the public from noticing that ethnic hatred and bigotry are alive and well. Loke (2012, 2013) notes that online comments are also showing the pervasiveness of modern racism.

The relationship between kinds of news stories and readers’ opinions expressed in comments is largely unexplored. This seems even truer when it comes to analyzing such a correlation considering a specific topic rather than in general. One study has recently produced data suggesting that online comments about news stories can influence the perception of news content regardless of that content (Anderson, Brossard, Scheufele, Xenos, & Ladwig, 2013). The surveys Santana (2011) and Nielsen (2013) administered to U.S. journalists returned data about what journalists claim the influence of online comments on their work is; still unproven is whether their journalistic attitude, hence their way of telling stories, actually is affected by online comments.

Agenda-Setting

According to traditional agenda-setting theory, the media tell their audience not what to think but what to think about. The agenda set by the news media determines the topics the public considers relevant (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Attribute agenda-setting refines the phenomenon that McCombs and Shaw illustrated four decades ago after analyzing news coverage of political issues in sight of elections in Chapel Hill, NC. Their original work “focused on an agenda of objects” (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 1997, p. x), and so did a large part of the studies carried out in what has been one of the most prolific approaches in mass communication research (McCombs, 2005). According to this theory, the salience the news media give one object, i.e., one topic, is transferred to the recipients of the messages.

Over the years investigations have concentrated on a different level of analysis than that of object, or topic, salience. In fact, to talk about one object, we can’t but describe it, hence select and mention attributes that we consider more salient than others. Attribute agenda-setting posits that the salience the media give some attributes is also transferred to the audience. Therefore, when the media cover with more prominence certain attributes of an issue, they are telling their audiences what aspects are salient as well as what topics are important—not only what to think about, but how to think about the topics (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs, 2005).

Framing

Framing is a term that has been used to describe different phenomena and theories. Entman (1993) argues that frames offer ways of talking about a topic, which in

turn affect the way that topic is perceived by the public. In this sense, frames are ways of conceiving of reality that can take on different “shapes” in the mind of the person who sends a message, in the expression of the message (the text), in the mind of the receiver of the message, and in the cultural context in which sender and receiver “operate.” There is no certitude that one frame conveyed by a message will equally influence the opinions of all the receivers of that message. However, the concept of framing is grounded in the assumption that there is “a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience” (Entman, 1993, p. 54). Entman describes the process of framing as “*select[ing] aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described*” (p. 52; emphasis in original). The process consists in choosing some characteristic of an “object,” concept, or phenomenon and using that characteristic to refer to that object, concept, or phenomenon while omitting all the other features that could also be used to describe them. The selected characteristics are thought to become more relevant and easily remembered by the public. According to Entman (1993), the powerfulness of a frame can be either quantitative or qualitative. Packing a story with references to a particular frame, he posits, does not guarantee its effectiveness; a frame mentioned only once but consistent with stereotypes culturally accepted, or collocated in a strategic position in the story (for example, in the headline, the lead, or the nut graf), however, can exert a stronger influence on a large section of the public.

Another definition of framing assumes that the way an issue is “described” affects the way audiences understand that issue. It also assumes that journalists characterize an

issue in a way that tends to reflect constructs through which the readers make sense of the world despite its extreme complexity. We can't dispense with "media frames"; they are a "necessary evil" for both journalists and audiences, as Gitlin (1980, pp. 6-7, emphasis in original) implies:

Media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports. Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual. Frames enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: to recognize it as information, to assign it to cognitive categories, and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences. Thus, for organizational reasons alone, frames are unavoidable, and journalism is organized to regulate their production.

Gitlin's reference to cognitive processes that allow us to process media messages resonates with the theories about the role of popular metaphors in our perception of the world elaborated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and several studies that have assessed the recurrence of metaphors that dehumanize immigrants, making it more difficult for the receiving population to empathize with them. Lakoff and Johnson observe that to navigate the complexity of the world "we live by metaphors." They argue that metaphors express, and teach, conceptual frameworks: ways in which we think about and act upon the objects they describe. "The essence of metaphor," they explain, "is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5). This

process entails reducing the complexity of the two things “compared” by focusing on one feature, or small set of features, of the metaphorical “object” and “hiding” most other features of the represented “object.” The implications of the process are relevant and can have a strong political dimension. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the features hidden by metaphors “can lead to human degradation” (pp. 236–237):

Consider just one example: LABOR IS A RESOURCE. Most contemporary economic theories, whether capitalist or socialist, treat labor as a natural resource or commodity, on a par with raw materials, and speak in the same terms of its cost and supply. What is hidden by the metaphor is the nature of labor. No distinction is made between meaningful labor and dehumanizing labor. For all of the labor statistics, there is none on *meaningful* labor. When we accept the LABOR IS A RESOURCE metaphor and assume that the cost of resources defined in this way should be kept down, then cheap labor becomes a good thing, on a par with cheap oil. ... The blind acceptance of the metaphor can hide degrading realities, whether meaningless blue-collar and white-collar industrial jobs in ‘advanced’ societies or virtual slavery around the world.

Scholars have performed various analyses of dehumanizing metaphors attached to immigrants. One of the most cited is the investigation of print media discourse on immigrants, particularly Latinos, coordinated by Santa Ana in California in the mid-1990s. That study outlined a set of “dominant,” “secondary,” and “occasional” metaphors in vogue at the time. Stories about immigration would compare immigrants to “dangerous waters,” taking the shape of “floods,” “waves,” “tides,” while California and, by extension, the entire United States would appear as a “sinking ship.” Immigrants would

also be seen as an “army” that was “invading” the country more often than as a “resource.” Similar metaphors have been observed in news coverage of immigration in Europe as well—for example in Austria (El Refaie, 2001) and Italy (Sciortino & Colombo, 2004). Other metaphors in use, not only dehumanizing but also debasing, would show immigrants as animals (“red meat of deportation,” “labor hunt”) or a “disease” that was “spreading” (Santa Ana, 2002; Santa Ana, Morán, & Sánchez, 1998). The preference for some metaphors over others has shifted over time. More recently, Santa Ana (2012) noted that immigrants have become more often described within the metaphor of “criminal” through the above-mentioned widespread use of the term “illegal.”

Other definitions of framing focus on storytelling techniques employed to structure a news text. For example, Iyengar (1991) refers to frames as journalistic ways of covering news by privileging either episodic or thematic presentations of a topic. Crime stories are inherently episodic: they describe in detail single instances of deviant behavior that become exemplary of public issues; but such stories address only superficially the broader context—historical and, often, socioeconomic—that may have provided fertile soil for deviant behavior to flourish. Stories about presumed trend changes and plans for policies aimed at dealing with societal issues, on the other hand, are generally thematic: they are likely to use episodic frames as anecdotes to introduce an issue but try to address that issue by offering analyses of more general observations. No story is only episodic or thematic but typically, “one frame or the other clearly predominates” (Iyengar, 1991, p. 14).

Attribute agenda-setting has been said to include framing theory. Iyengar's (1991) episodic and thematic frames imply two different ways of thinking about news stories, which takes us back to the-media-tell-us-how-to-think-about-what-we-think-about hypothesis of attribute agenda-setting. Even Entman's (1993) reference to the salience given to some aspects of reality sounds similar to the description of the core idea behind attribute agenda-setting. Kim, Han, Choi, and Kim (2012) argue that some definitions of framing make it difficult to distinguish framing from attribute agenda-setting. However, they contend that framing and agenda-setting move from different "theoretical premises": the framing effect relies on its being in tune with public's schemata, whereas agenda-setting operates at the mnemonic level by nurturing salience in the receiver's mind through salience in media messages. Agenda-setting functions, therefore, appear to be dependent on the frequency a topic or an attribute are mentioned in the messages sent by a media outlet. The framing model described by Entman (1993), instead, stresses that other aspects of a frame, such as prominence and consistency with cultural schemata, factor in. Entman (1993), therefore, warns that scholars engaged in content analysis should not be content with measuring frequencies of terms that promote a frame; to avoid "misrepresentative" results, researchers should assess the correlation between the public's mental schemata and the salience of the communicated frames. Ghanem (1997), however, argues that scholars working within framing theory have often focused on the frames, while those engaging with second-level agenda-setting have investigated the relationship between messages and audiences, that is the effects of the frames.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

The Internet has provided news media with increased interaction with their audiences. What journalists can learn from online comments, social media posts, and tweets about their readers or viewers' opinions can only be a partial portrait of audiences' perception of news. Still, what journalists can learn today from online feedback adds itself to what they get from the traditional letters to the editor and personal conversations. Feedback is nowadays virtually instantaneous, which multiplies opportunities for adaptation to audiences' "tastes" and potentially speeds up that adaptation. A large share of news professionals acknowledge that they pay attention to the feedback on their stories they get from online comments, and many use it to improve their everyday work. These possibilities for constant interaction of journalists and public offer an opportunity to assess the possibly mutual influence of news content about immigrants and immigration and feedback to that coverage. Mass communication theories such as framing and attribute agenda-setting can help us make sense of this potential relationship. They both consider media messages in terms of selection of characteristics used to describe and refer to issues, events, problems, or social groups and inevitable exclusion of other characteristics. They both also address the public's attitudes toward those issues, events, problems, and social groups assuming such attitudes are affected by exposure to media messages.

This dissertation, therefore, addressed three overarching questions: Do different kinds of stories spur different kinds of responses from the public, as we might hypothesize using framing theory? Or, rather, in a context of more traditional agenda-setting models, including attribute (or second-level) agenda-setting, do different kinds of

stories about immigrants and immigration have no diversified “effects” on the opinions of the public but simply reflect reality and, at most, contribute to stating, or reinforcing, the importance of the topic “immigration”? At the same time, do online comments influence representations of immigrants and coverage of immigration issues? Finding answers to these questions can help journalists make editorial decisions that are better informed in general, not only when it comes to reporting on immigrants and immigration. The editorial staff of news media can further profit from a better understanding of the relationship between coverage and feedback to develop a more effective and ethically conscious use of platforms that provide interaction with the public.

Theories of national identity focusing on the assumed different nature of nationalism and constructive patriotism can help explain some features of the most recent development of news coverage of immigrants and immigration, especially from a transatlantic perspective. They can aid in interpreting differences that are likely to be grounded in sociological reasons rather than mass communication theories. Research has showed that journalists take into account readers’ feedback to improve their newsgathering and storytelling skills. Scholarship has also demonstrated that some frames are more common than others and that the popularity of a frame shifts over time. Cross-national investigations of attitudes toward people’s nations and out-groups have suggested that nationalism and constructive patriotism are not mutually exclusive; they have also suggested, however, that the populations of some countries have a stronger nationalist component, while others have a stronger patriotic sentiment.

In a comparative cross-country analysis, this study examined how four regional newspapers in the United States and Italy portray immigrants and immigration, and how

that portrayal frames the ensuing discussion in online forums and, in turn, subsequent news coverage.

The first stage of this investigation provided background information necessary to contextualize the central findings connected to the research hypotheses. It sought to identify how immigrants are presented in two daily newspapers in Arizona (*The Arizona Republic* and the *Arizona Daily Star*) and two daily newspapers in Italy (*Corriere della Sera* and *la Repubblica*).

RQ1: How does Arizona and Italian coverage of immigration compare in relation to section (i.e., focus on world/international, nation/state, and local events, policies, and trends), format (news, opinion), subject (business, crime, culture, entertainment, health, politics, science, sports, style), episodic or thematic frame, and author of the story (i.e., whether the story carries a byline identifying the newspaper's reporter, is produced by a wire service such as AP, Reuters, ANSA, etc., or is attributed to unspecified authors)?

RQ2: How does the degree of unfavorableness or favorability (i.e., the degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed by editorials and opinions, and the degree of negative and positive representations of immigrants emerging from news stories) vary by section, format, subject, frame, and author of the story?

In light of the available comparative research on feelings of national identity (Blank & Schmidt, 2001; Davidov, 2010b; Raijman et al., 2008), and looking forward to more recent data, the United States were considered more nationalist and more patriotic than Italy overall. Because Italians seemed to feel threatened by immigrants more than

Americans, and xenophobic attitudes toward immigrants have appeared positively related to nationalism, Italy was considered a more nationalist country and the U.S. a more patriotic country. Drawing on theories of national identity and constructive patriotism, this study tested several hypotheses predicting regional differences in news coverage of immigrants.

H1: The metaphor “immigrant as criminal” appears more often in news stories in Italian newspapers than in Arizonan newspapers.

H2: Editorials and opinions express more sympathy for immigrants in Arizona, where national identity has a strong component of constructive patriotism, than in Italy, where national identity has a strong nationalist component.

H3: News stories about immigrants offer more positive representations of immigrants in Arizona than in Italy.

Because *The Associated Press Stylebook* is the most used style manual in U.S. newsrooms, this study also tested the following hypothesis:

H4: The Associated Press style change discouraging the term “illegal immigrant” influenced usage of the phrase in news stories and opinions about immigration or involving immigrants.

Drawing on framing and second-level agenda-setting, this study also tested hypotheses predicting that news coverage resonates with cultural frames of immigrants and immigration:

H5: The degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed by readers in online comments attached to a story corresponds to the degree that the story is unfavorable (or favorable) to immigrants.

H6: In Italy, where national identity has a strong nationalist component, readers react, in their online comments, more antipathetically to stories that are sympathetic as well as to those that are antipathetic to immigrants, whereas in Arizona, where national identity has a strong component of constructive patriotism, the public reacts more sympathetically to stories that are sympathetic as well as to those that are antipathetic to immigrants.

Furthermore, the study predicted a correspondence with reader response and ensuing news coverage of immigrants and immigration. In other words, there is a correlation between the degree of sympathy or antipathy for immigrants expressed in online comments on news stories published by a specific newspaper and degree of sympathy or antipathy for immigrants expressed by stories published after those comments.

H7: Shifts in coverage of immigrants and immigration correlate with the degree of sympathy or antipathy for immigrants expressed by previous readers' comments.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

This study employed quantitative content analysis to answer the research questions and test the hypotheses listed above. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) note that content analysis is used to achieve a number of goals, including verifying hypotheses regarding the characteristics of media messages, exploring the representations of different social and minority groups, and providing hard data necessary to then be able to investigate media effects. They explicitly link the method to some of the approaches illustrated above: “Content analysis is also used in a study of agenda setting. An analysis of relevant media content is necessary in order to determine the importance of news topics” (p. 153). Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (2008) argue, rather categorically, that “[c]ontent analysis is crucial to any theory dealing with the impact or antecedents of content. It is not necessary to every study conducted, but in the long run, one cannot study mass communication without studying content. Absent knowledge of the relevant content, all questions about the processes generating that content or the effects that content produces are meaningless” (p. 39).

This study did not aspire to find definitive answers to questions about powerful or limited effects of the media that have been sought for decades. It did, however, aim to look for insights into the relationship between the way some news stories (stories about immigration or involving immigrants) are “packaged” in two very specific markets (those of print media in Arizona and Italy), the way those stories are perceived by one part of

the public (the readers of those stories who invest time to comment on them), and one of the ways news media professionals who tell those stories react to such a kind of response.

Entman (1993) reminds scholars doing content analysis that not all frames are the same. Therefore, design of content analysis aimed at investigating frames must consider the relevance for the public of each frame. Some frames are more powerful than others. Frequency of specific terms is not the only, and not necessarily the most appropriate, way to measure the influence of a frame.

Population

This study analyzed content (news stories and opinion pieces) from four media outlets: one pair of daily newspapers published in Arizona and one pair of daily newspapers published in Italy.

One pair is *The Arizona Republic* and the *Arizona Daily Star*, the two largest dailies in the state. The other pair is *Corriere della Sera* and *la Repubblica* (typed with the definite article in lower case), the two largest dailies in Italy. *The Arizona Republic*, founded in 1890 and published in Phoenix, has a weekly circulation of 433,000—542,000 on Sundays. The *Arizona Daily Star* is the major paper in the area of Tucson. Founded in 1879, the *Daily Star* has a weekly circulation of 116,000—169,000 on Sundays. *Corriere della Sera* and *la Repubblica*, both considered authoritative mainstream dailies in Italy, compete for the title of largest newspaper as to circulation, between 373,000 and 430,000, and readership, for both around 3 million (Accertamenti Diffusione Stampa, 2013; Audipress, 2012). *Corriere della Sera* was founded in 1876 and has its main

newsroom in Milan, Italy's economic capital. *La Repubblica* was founded one century later in Rome, where its headquarters are still located.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) posited that journalism in the first world has evolved according to three “archetypes” that present specific features as well as overlapping principles and practices: the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model, the North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model, and the North Atlantic or Liberal Model. Sparrow (2006) argues that news media outlets operating within the same socio-economic and political environment—i.e., constraints—tend to “institutionalize” common patterns of professional practices that make them very similar to one another despite apparent differentiation. In a sense, therefore, each outlet—and, even more so, pairs or groups of outlets—can be illustrative of the population of outlets in that environment.

The U.S. press, evolving from partisan to market-based, developed a style of reporting that seems to reflect political orientations much less evidently than the Italian; conversely, even the Italian outlets that led the shift toward a more commercially-driven press are clearly identifiable within the political spectrum regardless of their editorial stances (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). *Corriere della Sera*, a historically moderate daily (“Corriere della Sera,” 2014), has a much larger conservative readership than *la Repubblica*, which positioned itself as a left-leaning newspaper (“Repubblica, la,” 2014) and has a larger progressive readership (Sani, 2001 as cited in Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

Sampling Stories

Samples of stories published by each of these four newspapers were collected and analyzed to investigate content relevant to the research hypotheses and questions. The search engines provided by the web sites of the four newspapers were used to identify all the stories published between January 1 and December 31, 2013, containing either the term “immigrant” or the term “immigration,” and the Italian counterparts “immigrato/-a/-i/-e” or “immigrazione.”

One year of coverage resulted in a population of 3,208 items (news stories and editorials, opinions, and letters to the editor): 529 items from the online archive of *The Arizona Republic* (AZCentral.com), 837 from that of the *Arizona Daily Star* (AZStarnet.com), 1,160 from that of *Corriere della Sera* (Corriere.it), and 682 from *la Repubblica* (Repubblica.it).

To make the data manageable and comparable, four samples of 200 stories each were created by random selection from each of the subpopulations. A collective sample of 400 stories per geographic area was deemed sufficient to allow data analysis in those “markets” with a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of 5% (Bartlett, Kotrlik, & Higgins, 2001).

This first phase of the sampling procedure yielded a sample that contained only 75% of stories actually addressing the topic of immigration. The remaining 25% was made of stories that barely mentioned the words “immigration,” “immigrant,” “immigrato,” or “immigrazione.” Many stories about politics fell in this category. For example, a number of news articles profiling candidates running for office mentioned that

the candidate, if elected, would have had to engage with immigration reforms, but the issue was not expanded upon. This pattern is not surprising. Hallin and Mancini (2004), in fact, note that a “focus on the strategies of political elites,” or the “political game, at the expense of the policy concerns that motivate ordinary citizens” (p. 141) emerge in both what they call the North-Atlantic or Liberal Model, and the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model of Western media systems—though with different degrees and more strongly in the Italian press.

All stories that mentioned immigrants or immigration only in this “en passant” fashion were removed from the sample and replaced by 200 stories selected in a few further rounds of randomizations. The final sample counted 800 stories, 200 per newspaper, that devoted at least one full sentence to the subject of immigration. While some stories did not focus on immigration and provided, for example, only single sentences or paragraphs quoting or summarizing a politician’s stance on immigration, such stories could carry (and often did) news frames resonating with cultural frames about immigration—i.e., powerful frames.

Coding Stories

Coders first took note of the date each sampled story was published. Then, with the goal of measuring readers’ interest, coders noted how many online comments were attached to it, how many times the story was “tweeted” (i.e., publicized by users of the social networking and microblogging site Twitter), and how many times the story was “shared,” “recommended,” or “liked” on Facebook. Where stories could be both “shared” and “recommended,” or “liked,” coders recorded the largest number appearing on the

page. Although, technically, the terms “share,” “recommend,” and “like” refer to slightly different “actions,” they were considered—and will be here used—interchangeably as they all perform the same function: advertising a web page through the popular social networking site launched in 2004 (Benton, 2011).

Coders then took note of the byline: whether the article reproduced text provided by a news agency, was signed by a reporter, or was attributed to no one in particular. Each story was then classified by format (news story, editorial/op-ed, letter to the editor), and by subject (business/finance/economy, crime/courts/accidents with casualties, culture/entertainment/style, politics, science/technology/health, sports).

In order to identify whether the story was presented through a predominantly episodic or thematic frame, each story was further classified according to the angle from which immigrants and immigration were reported on: whether the story addressed immigrants and immigration in general terms, as a societal or political issue; whether it reported a specific event such as a crime, accident, military combat, natural disaster, or other humanitarian emergency; whether it provided an example of integration of immigrants; or whether it announced or advertised activities or policies meant to foster immigrants’ integration.

Stories were further coded for the main role played by immigrants: victims of some kind of event or situation, responsible for some kind of negative event or situation, persons of success or other examples of good integration.

The variable “Role” was subsequently recoded to create a scale variable representing degree of positive or negative representation of immigrants portrayed in

news stories and editorials or opinions. A 3-point ordinal scale was employed in which the value 1 stood for “Negative representation,” 2 for “Neutral,” and 3 for “Positive representation.” Immigrants appearing as “responsible for some kind of negative event or situation” were recoded as “Negative representations of immigrants.” The category “responsible” included, for example, alleged perpetrators of crimes as well as the “mere” illegal status of immigrants in stories in which they did not emerge as “victims of some kind of event or situation” or “person of success” exemplary of good integration. The role “victim” was recoded as “Neutral representation,” as being a victim does not necessarily make a person’s representation positive. The category “person of success” was recoded as “Positive representation,” as examples of integration generally contribute to benevolent portrayals.

Using a 3-point ordinal scale, coders also assessed whether opinion pieces (editorials, op-eds, letters to the editor) expressed antipathy, indifference, or sympathy for immigrants.

Finally, a dozen variables were used to track specific linguistic words or phrases used to describe foreigners in relation to their immigration status. Coders counted the occurrences of terms such as “illegal,” “clandestine,” “undocumented,” “unauthorized,” “alien,” “refugee,” “asylum seeker,” (Merolla, Ramakrishnan, & Haynes, 2013; Stewart, Pitts, & Osborne, 2010), and when applicable, their translations or equivalents in Italian: “illegale,” “clandestino,” “sans-papier,” “irregolare,” “straniero,” “rifugiato,” “profugo,” “richiedente asilo” (Gaboardi, 2010; Morcellini et al., 2010; Quassoli, 2013).

Sampling Comments

The first up to five online comments chronologically attached to each story were captured to create a sample of readers' response to the coverage of immigrants and immigration exemplified by the coded stories. The first five comments chronologically posted were more likely to be about the story they were attached to, rather than referring to other topics developed through other comments in the same forum. Excluded were comments appearing in sub-threads, which were more likely to get sidetracked by main comments irrelevant to the topic of the story. All in all, a sample of 1,470 online comments was obtained. The sample included 484 comments attached to stories published by the online portal of *The Arizona Republic* (AZCentral.com), 355 comments from that of the *Arizona Daily Star* (AZStarnet.com), 324 comments from *Corriere della Sera* (Corriere.it), and 307 comments from *la Repubblica* (Repubblica.it).

Coding Comments

All four dailies analyzed in this study offer readers the opportunity to post online comments through a platform embedded in their web sites. *The Arizona Republic's* web portal (AZCentral.com) does not allow anonymous comments; it forces its readers to use a Facebook-related platform to post online comments. The *Arizona Daily Star* (AZStarnet.com) adopted a similar practice on June 18, 2013. *La Repubblica* on Repubblica.it. and *Corriere della Sera* on Corriere.it offer comment platforms that require a registration: readers who want to post comments must sign in and can do so either via their Facebook, Google+, Twitter, or LinkedIn account, or after creating a profile on the newspaper's message board. The latter option allows virtual anonymity

much more easily than the others, and this study found that it was the most popular choice among Italian commentators.

Coders identified which story each comment was attached to, and the date it was published. Comments were coded for four variables: in particular, using a 3-point ordinal scale, whether the comment expressed antipathy, indifference, or sympathy for immigrants; whether it was anonymous, whether it included insults; whether it included words typed in all caps and/or sentences that ended with exclamation points, as if to indicate raising one's voice and/or stressing words and ideas.

Intercoder Reliability

Coding was performed by two bilingual coders who had first-hand experience of both U.S. and Italian culture. The coders discussed single stories, operational definitions, and fundamental cultural references. Then they "tested" the coding protocols on individual cases in order to refine the tools. Finally, they formally tested the protocols. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) estimate that a subsample of 10-25% of each sample to code is sufficient to assess intercoder reliability. The coders analyzed independently the same 120 stories (30 stories per newspaper) and the same 140 comments (35 comments per subsample of comments). Differences were reconciled and used to further refine operational definitions before moving on to coding the remainder of the samples.

Intercoder reliability tests took into account chance agreement according to the conservative procedure that recommends estimating Scott's Pi, Cohen's Kappa, or Krippendorff's Alpha (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken Campanella, 2002). According to Landis and Koch (1977), agreement weighed through Kappa statistic is "substantive"

between .61 and .80, and “almost perfect” between .81 and 1.00 (p. 165). Wimmer and Dominick (2006) say that “[a]s a rule of thumb, most published content analyses typically report a minimum reliability coefficient of about 90% or above when using Holsti’s formula [for simple agreement], and about .75 or above when using pi or kappa” (p. 169). Other recent cross-national comparative content analyses have reported coefficients in line with Landis and Koch’s (1977) “substantive” agreement (Brüggemann & Kleinen-von Königslöw, 2009; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2012; Esser & Umbricht, 2013, 2014).

Simple agreement for formal variables in stories (newspaper, number of comments attached, section, format, byline, frequency of specific word and phrases) ranged from .85 to 1; Scott’s Pi, Cohen’s Kappas, and Krippendorff’s Alphas were all above .80 except for three variables (section, format, occurrence of “illegal” in headline) entailing two or three values, whose “almost perfect” simple agreement dropped to .74, .75, and .66 respectively. Simple agreement for content-based variables (byline, subject, episodic vs. thematic frame, role of immigrants, degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed by editorials and opinions) ranged from .83 to .92; Pi, Kappa, and Alpha coefficients ranged from .77 to .81.

Simple agreement for all variables coded in comments ranged from .84 to 1. Pi, Kappa, and Alpha coefficients were .60 (offensive content), .61 (use of exclamation points and words in all caps), .84 (degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants), and .97 (anonymity).

Analysis

The research questions were addressed through analysis of categorical independent and dependent variables: single or pairs of newspapers as independent variables; frequencies of words, phrases, frames, subject areas, and roles of immigrants as dependent variables. Much of the data collected were therefore weighed statistically on the basis of the Chi-Squared distribution. Some of the cross-tabulations included cells with values of less than 5, an occurrence to be expected considering the number of options comprised by some variables. The hypotheses concerning relationships between news content and readers' feedback were evaluated through comparisons of ordinal data, which can be treated like interval data (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The appropriate statistical tests were, depending on the relationships observed, those meant to compare means (*t* test), analysis of variance ANOVA (*F* test), and linear regression (Riffe et al., 2008; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006) (Table 1). Comparisons of means were applied when considering single or pairs of newspapers as independent variables and scores signifying degrees of unfavorableness or favorability to immigrants. Analysis of variance took into account newspapers in combination with other categorical variables such as subject areas, or format, as independent variables, and degrees of unfavorableness or favorability to immigrants as dependent variables. Linear regression was applied in analyzing the relationship between variables in an attempt to find out whether changes on an ordinal scale of a dependent variable corresponded to changes on an ordinal scale of an independent variable, and whether one variable could be associated with the other: namely, whether the data showed a correlation between degree of negative or positive representations of immigrants emerging from news stories or opinion pieces as

independent variables, and degree of sympathy or antipathy for immigrants expressed in online comments as dependent variables.

Table 1: Statistical procedures used to test hypotheses

Hypothesis	Test(s)
H1: The metaphor “immigrant as criminal” appears more often in news stories in Italian newspapers than in Arizonan newspapers.	t-test, ANOVA
H2: Editorials and opinions express more sympathy for immigrants in Arizona, where national identity has a strong component of constructive patriotism, than in Italy, where national identity has a strong nationalist component.	t-test, Chi-Square
H3: News stories about immigrants offer more positive representations of immigrants in Arizona than in Italy.	t-test
H4: The Associated Press style change of the entry “illegal immigrant” influenced usage of the phrase in news stories and opinions about immigration or involving immigrants.	t-test
H5: The degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed by readers in online comments attached to a story corresponds to the degree that the story is unfavorable (or favorable) to immigrants.	simple linear regression
H6: In Italy, readers react, in their online comments, more antipathetically to stories that are sympathetic as well as to those that are antipathetic to immigrants, whereas in Arizona, the public reacts more sympathetically to stories that are sympathetic as well as to those that are antipathetic to immigrants.	t-test, Chi-Square
H7: Shifts in coverage of immigrants and immigration correlate with the degree of sympathy or antipathy for immigrants expressed by previous readers’ comments.	--

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Research Questions

Immigration Stories by Section, Format, Subject

RQ1 asked how coverage of immigration compared in the pairs of Arizona and Italian newspapers studied.

As shown in Table 2, almost two immigration stories in three published by the two Arizona newspapers were about national or state policies or trends (Nation/State). Less than a third focused on local news. Not even 5% were about events occurring in other countries (World/International). Conversely, immigration and immigrants were subject and protagonists of almost half of the local news stories run by the two Italian outlets. In the latter, national policies and trends accounted for almost 4 stories in 10. About 14% of the stories were about international events. The proportions comparing U.S. and Italian news coverage of immigrants were statistically significant [$\chi^2(2) = 60.166, p < .001$].

The Arizona Republic produced three times as many stories about national and state policies and trends (154 stories, or 77%) as local news (44 stories, or 22%), whereas the *Arizona Daily Star* ran only a fifth more Nation/State stories (100, or 50%) than local stories (83, or 41.5%). Tucson's paper covered international news on immigrants and immigration more frequently (in 17 stories, or 8.5%) than Phoenix's daily, which barely touched on it—in 2 stories (1%). In Italy, *Corriere della Sera*'s main focus was on local

news (143 stories, or 71%) rather than national policies and trends (40 stories, or 20%), while *la Repubblica* concentrated more on Italian policies and trends (110, or 55%) than local events (48 stories, or 24%). *La Repubblica* also provided a much broader coverage of world news (42 stories, or 21%) than *Corriere della Sera* (17 stories, or 8.5%). These proportions were statistically significant as well [$\chi^2(6) = 186.981, p < .001$].

The stories listed in Appendix C provide examples of news stories and opinions on a few subjects published in different sections of the four newspapers investigated.

Table 2: Section by regional subsamples

			Section			Total
			World/ International	Nation/State	Local	
Newspapers by country	Arizona	Count	19	254	127	400
		%	4.8%	63.5%	31.8%	100.0%
	Italian	Count	59	150	191	400
		%	14.8%	37.5%	47.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	78	404	318	800
		%	9.8%	50.5%	39.8%	100.0%

$$\chi^2(2) = 60.166, p < .001$$

News stories were by far the largest part of the sample: 682, or 85%. Editorials and opinion pieces accounted only for 12% of the sample, or 99 stories. Letters to the editor were limited to 19 “stories” (2.4%) and to the two Arizona dailies, particularly Tucson’s *Arizona Daily Star*. As shown in Table 3, the web sites of the two U.S. newspapers published in 2013 comparatively fewer news stories regarding immigrants and immigration and more editorials and op-eds than did the pair of Italian dailies, whose sample contained no letter to the editor. The proportions were statistically significant [$\chi^2(2) = 43.3, p < .001$].

Table 3: Story format by region

			Format			Total
			News	Editorial or op-ed	Letter to the editor	
Newspapers by region	Arizona	Count	310	71	19	400
		%	77.5%	17.8%	4.8%	100.0%
	Italian	Count	372	28	0	400
		%	93.0%	7.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	682	99	19	800
		%	85.3%	12.4%	2.4%	100.0%

$$\chi^2(2) = 43.3, p < .001$$

Politics was the most prominent subject in the Arizona newspapers, comprising two thirds of the immigration stories studied. Crime and accidents, the second most prominent subject, was the focus of a fifth of the immigration stories. In the Italian newspapers, politics shared primacy among subjects with crime and accidents with more than 3 stories in 10 for each subject. Business, economics, finance was a far less popular subject overall, but a more popular one in Italy than in Arizona. Immigration was covered more frequently in culture, entertainment, style and sports in Italy than in Arizona as well. The proportions, summarized in Table 4, were statistically significant [$\chi^2(6) = 63.966, p < .001$].

Political stories included strategies by which to police immigration (including court rulings on the controversial ones), such as racial profiling practices (see, for example, Story sample 1.8: *The Arizona Republic*, “Documents: MCSO, ACLU differ on how to resolve racial profiling case,” August 23, 2013) and driving licenses for undocumented immigrants in Arizona (Story 1.10: *The Arizona Republic*, “Judge lets immigrant-license policy in Ariz. stand,” May 16, 2013); the deployment of more border

patrol officers and high-tech equipment along the U.S.-Mexico border (Story 2.11: *Arizona Daily Star*, “Some see ‘borders surge’ as too costly,” June 28, 2013); the shutdown of reception centers for Libyan asylum seekers (Story 4.11: *la Repubblica*, “Chiudono i centri, 13mila rifugiati in strada ‘Agli immigrati buonuscita di 500 euro,’” February 15, 2013), and the introduction of new immigrants’ quotas in Italy (Story 4.12: *la Repubblica*, “Jyrki Katainen: ‘Servono più risorse dall’Europa, no a una sede in Italia di Frontex,’” October 15, 2013); other countries’ and concerted strategies to deal with immigration (Story 2.13: *Arizona Daily Star*, “Israel to deport illegal African immigrants,” June 4, 2013). Political stories also included public debates, governmental and congressional decisions on U.S. immigration reform (Story 1.11: *The Arizona Republic*, “Migrant reform moves forward in U.S. Senate,” June 12, 2013), and politicians’ statements on immigration and reactions to personal attacks involving immigration policies (Story 3.13: *Corriere della Sera*, “Il Consiglio salva l’assessore che offese il ministro Kyenge,” August 1, 2013).

Articles about crime, courts, accidents included, for example, a story about immigrants hiding in a vehicle (Story 1.4: *The Arizona Republic*, “3 Chinese immigrants found in a car trunk in Arizona,” November 13, 2013), that of a family of immigrants who had overstayed their tourist visa but avoided deportation (Story 1.5: *The Arizona Republic*, “After 4 years, Phoenix couple no longer facing deportation,” July 17, 2013), the murder of two immigrants during a gathering before a funeral (Story 1.6: *The Arizona Republic*, “Phoenix double stabbing leaves two dead,” April 29, 2013), the arrest of immigrants in drug busts (Story 2.7: *Arizona Daily Star*, “Nearly \$1M worth of pot hidden in watermelon shipment,” December 13, 2013), the case of an Italian female

physician who was fatally hit by a car driven by an Indian man while she was rescuing the driver’s brother, badly beaten in a brawl (Story 3.5: *Corriere della Sera*, “Dottoressa uccisa, fermato fratello della vittima indiana,” September 10, 2013). Articles about crime, courts, accidents also included immigrants injured in the desert and rescued by border patrol (Story 2.6: *Arizona Daily Star*, “Migrants rescued after falling off cliff near Rio Rico,” July 5, 2013), reported on the shipwreck that killed hundreds of immigrants in the Mediterranean in October (Story 3.6: *Corriere della Sera*, “Tragico naufragio a Lampedusa. Il sindaco: «Il mare è pieno di morti»,” October 3, 2013), on immigrants trafficked by human smugglers (Story 4.5: *la Repubblica*, “Traffico di migranti dal Corno d’Africa, due insospettabili fra i 55 arrestati,” January 15, 2013), and on others persecuted by neo-Nazis (Story 4.6: *la Repubblica*, “Germania, 756 omicidi irrisolti: si indaga sulla cellula neonazi degli ‘omicidi del kebab,’” December 4, 2013).

Table 4: Story subject by region

			Subject					Total
			Business, Economy, Finance	Crime, Courts, Accidents	Culture, Entert., Style	Politics	Other	
Newspapers by region	Arizona	Count	15	91	40	250	4	400
		%	3.8%	22.8%	10.0%	62.5%	1.0%	100.0%
	Italian	Count	29	149	62	141	19	400
		%	7.2%	37.3%	15.5%	35.3%	4.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	44	240	102	391	23	800	
	%	5.5%	30.0%	12.8%	48.9%	2.8%	100.0%	

$$\chi^2(6) = 63.966, p < .001$$

Of the two Arizona outlets, *The Arizona Republic* was the one that covered politics more extensively. Tucson’s *Arizona Daily Star*, on the other hand, produced three times as many crime stories as Phoenix’s *Republic*. The *Daily Star* published more stories about culture, entertainment, style as well. Business, economy, finance received the same amount of coverage.

On the other side of the Atlantic, *Corriere della Sera* ran twice as many crime stories about immigration or involving immigrants as *la Repubblica*. The latter covered politics more frequently than the former. Even business, economy, finance received more attention from *la Repubblica* than *Corriere della Sera*. Culture, entertainment, and style did not diverge in the Italian subsample. These proportions (see Table 5) were statistically significant [$\chi^2(18) = 148.797, p < .001$].

Table 5: Story subject by newspaper

		Subject					Total
		Business, Economy, Finance	Crime, Courts, Accidents	Culture, Entert., Style	Politics	Other	
The Arizona Republic	Count	7	22	10	158	3	200
(AZCentral.com)	%	3.5%	11.0%	5.0%	79.0%	1.5%	100.0%
Arizona Daily Star	Count	8	69	30	92	2	200
(AZStarnet.com)	%	4.0%	34.5%	15.0%	46.0%	1.0%	100.0%
Corriere della Sera	Count	10	98	28	57	7	200
(Corriere.it)	%	5.0%	49.0%	14.0%	28.5%	3.5%	100.0%
la Repubblica	Count	19	51	34	84	12	200
(Repubblica.it)	%	9.5%	25.5%	17.0%	42.0%	6.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	44	240	102	391	23	800
	%	5.5%	30.0%	12.8%	48.9%	2.9%	100.0%

$$\chi^2(18) = 148.797, p < .001$$

Thematic and Episodic Frames

Following Iyengar’s (1991) definition, reporting that prominently features a case study or a specific event constitutes episodic framing of the issue addressed; reporting that addresses a topic in terms of a societal or political issue tends to be thematic in nature.

The whole sample of stories (N = 800) provided an equal share of episodic and thematic frames through which immigrants and immigration issues were portrayed.

Episodic framing was more frequent in the Italian newspapers than in the Arizona dailies. Conversely, thematic framing was more frequent in Arizona than Italy. The proportions, illustrated in Table 6, were statistically significant [$\chi^2(2) = 22.449, p < .001$].

Table 6: Episodic and thematic frame by region

			Frame			Total
			Thematic	Episodic	Unclear	
Newspapers by country	Arizona	Count	230	166	4	400
		%	57.5%	41.5%	1.0%	100.0%
	Italian	Count	164	233	3	400
		%	41.0%	58.3%	0.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	394	399	7	800
		%	49.3%	49.9%	0.9%	100.0%

$$\chi^2(2) = 22.449, p < .001$$

News stories were told by the pair of Arizona newspapers using thematic and episodic frames with the same frequency: 156 stories were framed “thematically”; 150 “episodically.” Eight editorials and op-eds in 10 (78.9%) and almost all letters to the editor (18, or 94.7%) used a thematic frame. The proportions were statistically significant

$[\chi^2(4) = 30.817, p < .001]$. Unsurprisingly, stories and opinions about crime and accidents were almost all “packaged” in an episodic frame (88 in 91, or 96.7%), whereas 8 stories and opinions about politics in 10 (199 in 250) were thematic. Business stories were also mostly thematic (12 in 15, or 80%). Stories about culture, entertainment, style were slightly more often episodic (23 in 40, or 57.5%). Again the proportions were significant: $[\chi^2(12) = 187.760, p < .001]$.

Overall, 6 Italian news stories in 10 (224 out of 372) were episodic, while 6 editorials and opinions in 10 (17 out of 28) were thematic. The proportions were statistically significant $[\chi^2(2) = 22.783, p < .001]$. The relationship between subject and thematic or episodic frame in the Italian subsample was generally similar to that recorded by the pair of Arizona dailies combined. Virtually all crime and accident stories (142 in 149, or 95.3%) were framed episodically. At the same time, however, only 64.5% of the stories and opinions about politics (91 in 141) were told through a thematic frame, whereas a good third of them (50, or 35.5%) were episodic. Seven business stories in 10 (21 out of 29) were thematic. Italian stories about culture, entertainment, style were also more often framed thematically (40 in 62, or 64.5%) than episodically. The proportions were statistically significant in this case as well $[\chi^2(12) = 161.251, p < .001]$.

In other words, Italian stories about politics were told less often using a thematic frame than were Arizona stories; Italian stories about culture, entertainment, style were more often thematic, whereas Arizona stories of this kind were more often episodic.

Favorable and Unfavorable Stories by Format, Section, Subject

RQ2 asked how the degree of unfavorableness or favorability to immigrants varied by section, format, subject, frame, and author of the story. As described in the methods section, the degree to which stories were unfavorable or favorable to immigrants was measured on 3-point ordinal scales with value 2 being “neutral.” The main findings are summarized below and in Tables 7 and 8.

Both Arizona and Italian news stories were on average “unfavorable” to immigrants in that they conveyed fairly negative representations of immigrants. Such representations were slightly more negative in the pair of Arizona dailies ($n = 272$, $M = 1.60$, $SD = .711$) than in the Italian outlets ($n = 347$, $M = 1.75$, $SD = .660$). The difference was small but significant [$t(560.285) = -2.674$, $p = .008$].

Both Arizona and Italian editorials and opinions were on average fairly sympathetic to immigrants and to comparable degrees: no significant difference was found between the seemingly more sympathetic nature of editorials and opinions published by the two Arizona outlets ($n = 71$, $M = 2.51$, $SD = .606$) and the slightly less supportive tone of Italian editorials and opinions ($n = 28$, $M = 2.32$, $SD = .670$). At the same time, Arizona editorials and opinions seemed to offer mildly negative representations of immigrants ($n = 52$, $M = 1.79$, $SD = .776$), while Italian editorials and opinions offered neutral representations ($n = 26$, $M = 2.08$, $SD = .744$), although the difference was not significant [$t(76) = -1.569$, $p > .05$], at least in part because of the small size of the subsamples.

An independent samples *t*-test computed on the Arizona subsample showed no significant difference between the average degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from news stories ($n = 272$, $M = 1.60$, $SD = .711$) and that emerging from editorials and opinions ($n = 52$, $M = 1.79$, $SD = .776$) [$t(322) = -1.698$, $p > .05$]. However, a one-sample *t*-test revealed that the mean degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants in news stories itself was significant [$t(271) = 37.166$, $p < .001$].

As noted above, editorials and opinions were also coded specifically for degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants (which, unlike in the case of news stories, could be easily identified as such): Arizona opinion pieces were overall sympathetic to immigrants ($n = 71$, $M = 2.51$, $SD = .606$) and, as confirmed by a one-sample *t*-test, significantly so [$t(70) = 34.832$, $p < .001$].

The mean of news stories' degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants can't be compared to the mean of opinions' degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants because they refer to variables that measure two different constructs. However, they provide some indication that editorials and opinions published by *The Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* were more favorable to immigrants than news stories were.

Therefore, the data seem to suggest that, in Arizona editorials and opinions, degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants does not strongly correlate with degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants made explicit by such editorials and opinions. In fact, a simple linear regression considering these two variables showed a

fairly weak ($R^2 = .274$), though significant, relationship [$F(1, 50) = 18.859, p < .001$]. Editorials and opinions may well express understanding of immigrants' hardships and support for immigration friendly policies, but the images of immigrants used to talk about immigrants while arguing in favor of them are not necessarily positive.

An independent samples t -test computed on the Italian newspapers combined showed, contrary to the Arizona subsample, a significant, though small, difference between the average degree of negative or positive representations of immigrants emerging from news stories ($n = 347, M = 1.75, SD = .660$) and that emerging from editorials and opinions ($n = 26, M = 2.08, SD = .744$) [$t(371) = -2.398, p = .017$]. Again, editorials and opinions were also coded specifically for degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants: Italian opinion pieces were also overall sympathetic to immigrants ($M = 2.32, SD = .670$) and, as confirmed by a one-sample t -test, significantly so [$t(27) = 18.344, p < .001$], although they were on average less sympathetic than Arizona's. A one-sample t -test proved significant the mean degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants in Italian news stories ($M = 1.75, SD = .660$) as well [$t(346) = 49.458, p < .001$].

As with the Arizona stories, the data provide some indication that editorials and opinions published by *Corriere della Sera* and *la Repubblica* were slightly more favorable to immigrants than news stories were. In addition, the data seem to suggest that, in Italian editorials and opinions, the degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants correlated more strongly with the degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants made explicit by such editorials and opinions than that in Arizona editorials and opinions. A simple linear regression considering these two variables showed a

moderate ($R^2 = .646$), and significant, relationship [$F(1, 24) = 43.733, p < .001$]. Italian editorials and opinions expressed positions slightly less understanding of immigrants' hardships and less supportive of immigration friendly policies than Arizona editorial and opinions did. Consequently, such positions were more in line with the images of immigrants used to talk about immigrants, which were not necessarily positive.

A one-way ANOVA comparing the mean degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from Arizona news stories among section groups (world/international, nation/state, local) proved inconclusive. All three means accounted for slightly negative representations of immigrants. The means for world/international news, nation/state stories, and local stories did not differ significantly [$F(2, 269) = .374, p > .05$]. Conversely, negative or positive representations of immigrants emerging from Italian news stories did differ by section: nation/state stories portrayed immigrants virtually neutrally ($n = 119, M = 1.93, SD = .621$), whereas in international ($n = 53, M = 1.77, SD = .697$), and even more in local stories ($n = 175, M = 1.62, SD = .648$), immigrants appeared under a slightly negative light. The differences among the means were small but significant [$F(2, 344) = 8.169, p < .001$]. A Tukey's HSD post-hoc test showed that only the difference between the means for nation/state and local news was significant.

Arizona editorials and opinions focused only on nation/state and local events, expressing positions sympathetic to immigrants (averages around 2.50) that were not significantly different from each other [$F(1, 69) = .052, p > .05$]. Italian editorials and opinions followed a similar pattern (averages between 2.25 and 2.50), also statistically not significant [$F(2, 25) = .085, p > .05$].

A one-way ANOVA was computed comparing the mean degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from Arizona news stories among subjects. Attention was paid in particular to crime, politics, culture, and business stories, which constituted most of the sample. Not surprisingly, crime stories provided overall the most negative representations of immigrants ($n = 84$, $M = 1.39$, $SD = .515$). Stories about politics produced slightly less negative images ($n = 153$, $M = 1.57$, $SD = .696$), while stories about culture, entertainment, style portrayed immigrants positively ($n = 24$, $M = 2.50$, $SD = .722$). The few business stories present portrayed immigrants slightly negatively ($n = 7$, $M = 1.71$, $SD = .756$). Differences among groups were significant [$F(6, 265) = 9.430$, $p < .001$]. A Tukey's HSD post-hot test showed that the only mean significantly different from the others was that of stories about culture, entertainment, style.

An analysis of variance was computed comparing the mean degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from Italian news stories among subjects as well. Once more, crime stories provided overall the most negative representations of immigrants ($n = 144$, $M = 1.51$, $SD = .502$). Stories about politics produced slightly less negative images ($n = 118$, $M = 1.86$, $SD = .691$). So did stories about culture, entertainment, style ($n = 44$, $M = 1.86$, $SD = .702$). Business stories portrayed immigrants neither negatively nor positively ($n = 25$, $M = 2.00$, $SD = .816$). Differences among groups were significant [$F(6, 340) = 8.255$, $p < .001$]. A Tukey's HSD post-hot test showed that only the difference between business and culture stories was not significant.

Arizona editorials and opinions' relative sympathy for immigrants did not differ significantly by subject, at least in part because of the limited number of such stories

included in the sample [$F(3, 67) = .890, p > .05$]. The two Arizona editorials and opinions focusing on crime expressed sympathy for immigrants, as generally did those focusing on politics, business, and culture. The means went from 2.33 through 3.00.

Italian editorials and opinions' relative sympathy for immigrants did not differ significantly by subject either, again at least in part because of the limited number of such stories included in the sample [$F(4, 23) = 1.390, p > .05$]. Italian editorials and opinions focusing on crime (4 articles only) expressed slightly antipathetic positions, whereas those focusing on politics, business, and culture were generally sympathetic (means between 2.30 and 2.50).

Table 7: Negative or positive representation of immigrants in news stories by section, subject

	News stories			
	Arizona		Italy	
	n	mean	n	mean
Degree of negative/positive representation of immigrants	272	1.60*	347	1.75*
Section				
World/Intl.	17	1.71 ns	53	1.77*
Nation/State	150	1.57 ns	119	1.93*
Local	105	1.63 ns	175	1.62*
Subject				
Business	7	1.71*	25	2.00*
Crime	84	1.39*	144	1.51*
Culture	24	2.50*	44	1.86*
Politics	153	1.57*	118	1.86*

ns: not significant; * $p < .001$

Table 8: Antipathy or sympathy for immigrants in editorials, op-eds by section, subject

	Editorials, op-eds			
	Arizona		Italy	
	n	mean	n	mean
Degree of antipathy/sympathy for immigrants	71	2.51*	28	2.32*
Section				
World/Intl.	0	-	4	2.50 ns
Nation/State	60	2.50 ns	16	2.31 ns
Local	11	2.55 ns	8	2.25 ns
Subject				
Business	3	2.33 ns	2	2.50 ns
Crime	2	3.00 ns	4	1.75 ns
Culture	12	2.67 ns	10	2.30 ns
Politics	54	2.46 ns	10	2.40 ns

ns: not significant; * $p < .001$

Favorable and Unfavorable Stories by Episodic or Thematic Frame

Furthermore, in the Arizona subsample, the frame used seemed to bear some relationship with the degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from the stories. Episodic frames in Arizona offered on average ($n = 159$, $M = 1.75$, $SD = .752$) slightly less negative representations of immigrants than thematic frames ($n = 177$, $M = 1.51$, $SD = .675$). The difference, assessed through an independent samples t -test, was statistically significant [$t(334) = -3.090$, $p = .002$].

A similar analysis performed on the Italian subsample did not return significant results: the degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants in Italian thematic frames ($n = 140$, $M = 1.84$, $SD = .716$) was not significantly different from that emerging from episodic frames ($n = 232$, $M = 1.74$, $SD = .641$).

Put in a different way (see Table 9), in the Arizona stories, thematic frames portrayed immigrants as being responsible for some kind of negative situation (in 104 stories out of 230, or 45.2%) slightly more often than episodic frames (69 stories in 166, or 41.6%). This was largely due to the fact that in stories about illegal immigration or involving people who had entered or were residing in the country illegally, the role of immigrant was coded as “responsible for negative event or situation” whenever no other role—such as being victim of an event or situation, or being an example of integration—was prominent. The illegal status of large numbers of immigrants constitutes a problem for the receiving country. Consequently, many stories reporting on policies and political debates on (mostly illegal) immigration, which referred to immigrants through a thematic frame, were considered portraying immigrants as responsible for the situation. This was the case for many politics stories such as those reproduced in Story 1.8 (*The Arizona Republic*, “Documents: MCSO, ACLU differ on how to resolve racial profiling case,” August 23, 2013) and 1.9 (*The Arizona Republic*, “Gay issue may roil immigration debate,” February 10, 2013), for some business stories such as those in Stories 1.2 (*The Arizona Republic*, “Robb: Low-skill jobs need to pay,” August 22, 2013) and 1.3 (*The Arizona Republic*, “Mexico’s growing middle class, easy proximity make it trade partner to watch,” October 19, 2013).

Conversely, episodic frames represented immigrants as victims of some event or situation more often (in 60 stories, or 36.1%) than thematic frames (55 stories, or 23.9%). Episodic frames also described immigrants in terms of people of success comparatively more often (30 stories, or 18.1%) than thematic frames (18 stories, or 7.8%). The proportions were statistically significant [$\chi^2(6) = 46.664, p < .001$]. Through episodic

framing, journalists often recount the actions performed by lawbreakers, as in the articles reproduced in Stories 1.7 (*The Arizona Republic*, “Pinal County Sheriff’s Office: Five immigrants arrested in Maricopa with marijuana,” December 3, 2013), and 2.4 (*Arizona Daily Star*, “Drug busts keep Nogales border officers busy,” July 8, 2013). Reporters also tell the personal stories of specific people, however, providing a more nuanced and empathetic description of the context in which such people faced hardships and had to make difficult decisions. Such is the case of the stories reproduced in Story 1.5 (*The Arizona Republic*, “After 4 years, Phoenix couple no longer facing deportation,” July 17, 2013) and in Story 2.5 (*Arizona Daily Star*, “Family of border slaying victim vows to pursue suit vs. US,” August 13, 2013).

Table 9: Role of immigrants by episodic and thematic frame in Arizona stories and opinions

			Role of immigrants				Total
			victim of event or situation	responsible for event or situation	person of success	no identifiable role	
Frame	Thematic	Count	55	104	18	53	230
		%	23.9%	45.2%	7.8%	23.0%	100.0%
	Episodic	Count	60	69	30	7	166
		%	36.1%	41.6%	18.1%	4.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	173	48	63	400
		%	29.0%	43.3%	12.0%	15.8%	100.0%

$$\chi^2(6) = 46.664, p < .001$$

Frames seemed to be associated with different frequencies in the use of some of the linguistic expressions examined in this study. Particularly, the average use of the phrase “illegal immigrant” in stories framed thematically in the pair of Arizona dailies

(one occurrence in every other story: $M = .52$, $SD = 1.410$) was twice as frequent as that appearing in stories with episodic frame (one occurrence in four stories: $M = .27$, $SD = 1.017$). The difference between means was significant [$t(394) = 2.055$, $p = .041$].

“Undocumented immigrant” was used with similar frequencies in thematic ($M = 1.03$, $SD = 2.1$) and episodic ($M = .83$, $SD = 2.394$) frames, and the difference was not significant [$t(394) = .858$, $p > .05$].

Bylines

The degree of negative or positive representations of immigrants emerging from stories was also assessed in relation to the byline, i.e., whether the newspaper’s reporter was identified with his or her name, the story was provided by a wire service, or the author was unspecified and the story attributed to the newsroom staff without further explanation.

Four-hundred-fifty stories (56%) carried an actual byline; a wire service such as AP, Reuters, ANSA, etc. was the source of 130 stories (16%); 220 stories (28%) were attributed to unspecified authors: “staff,” “redazione online,” etc. AP accounted for the vast majority of the wire-service-based stories in the whole sample (88 AP stories in 129, or 68%) and in the English-language subsample (88 in 120, or 73%). Only 9 stories were directly attributed to (Italian) wire services in the two Italian papers analyzed.

One-way ANOVAs were computed comparing the degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from stories, measured on a 3-point ordinal scale, in relation to byline. The differences were not significant in the subsample of the stories run by the two Arizona newspapers, whereas they were significant in the Italian

subsample [$F(2, 370) = 3.517, p = .031$]. Stories in the Italian subsample provided on average negative portrayals of immigrants ($M = 1.77, SD = .670$). However, a Tukey's HSD post-hoc test indicated that stories without bylines provided on average even more negative representations of immigrants ($M = 1.69, SD = .594$) than did stories displaying the name of the reporter who wrote them ($M = 1.86, SD = .713$).

Disclosure of Immigration Status by Section, Format, Subject

The two Arizona newspapers combined used the phrase “illegal immigrant” in 76 stories out of 400 (19%); in 21 of these stories (28%, or 5% of the total), the phrase was quoted directly from a source, as the latest *AP Stylebook* permits. The phrase “undocumented immigrant” was used in 110 stories (28%) and quoted in 12 of them (11%, or 3% of the total). “Unauthorized immigrant,” the phrase favored by Santa Ana (2012) in his critique of current public discourse about immigration, was used in 10 stories only (2.5%). Forty-four stories published by the two Arizona outlets (11%) mentioned the so-called “Dreamers”: young non-U.S. citizens who were brought to the United States illegally when they were children and may qualify for programs deferring deportation (“Who and Where the DREAMers Are, Revised Estimates,” 2012).

The two Italian dailies used in only four stories (1%) the phrase “immigrato illegale” (illegal immigrant). In 40 stories (10%), they employed, instead, the equivalent word “clandestino” (clandestine) and, in another 27 stories (7%), the word “irregolare” (not in order, i.e., not having proper documents).

Both pairs of Arizona and Italian newspapers ran stories in which they described immigrants in generic terms as “foreigners” or “stranieri,” “xyz-born” or “di

origini.../originario di...,” or “extracomunitari” (people from countries that are not members of the European Union). *Corriere della Sera* and *la Repubblica* did so much more frequently (in 167 stories, or 42%) than *The Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* (55 stories, or 14%). The proportions were statistically significant [$\chi^2(14) = 85.125, p < .001$]. The pair of Italian outlets stressed the “being alien” of immigrants with an average number of references to this aspect that was five times ($M = 1.13, SD = 2.259$) that of the two Arizona dailies ($M = .22, SD = .663$). The difference was significant [$t(467.188) = -7.711, p < .001$].

Both pairs of dailies ran stories in which immigrants were referred to in the frame of a humanitarian issue (through terms such as “refugee” or “rifugiato/profugo” and “asylum seeker” or “richiedente asilo”). This representation was significantly more prominent in the Italian subsample, where it appeared in 83 stories (21%), than in the Arizona (18 stories, or 4.5%). The proportions were statistically significant [$\chi^2(13) = 56.533, p < .001$]. The “humanitarian frame” was similarly frequent in relation to the number of times the words “refugee,” “rifugiato,” “profugo,” “asylum seeker,” and “richiedente asilo” were mentioned. The mean frequency of occurrences in the two Italian papers combined (two occurrences in three stories: $M = .66, SD = 1.784$) was four times that of the two Arizona outlets combined (one occurrence in six stories: $M = .15, SD = 1.087$). The difference was significant [$t(659.402) = -4.906, p < .001$].

A series of one-way ANOVAs were computed comparing mean frequencies with which phrases and words identifying immigration status were used in relation to section (world/international, nation/state, and local stories), format (news, opinion), and subject (business, crime, culture, politics, science, sport). The main frequencies are summarized

in the next few paragraphs, illustrated in Tables 10 and 11, and discussed in more detail further on.

In short, format, section, and subject seem to have no bearing on the number of times “illegal immigrant” was used by the two Arizona newspapers and the number of times “clandestino” (the more popular synonym for illegal) was employed by the pair of Italian dailies. The differences among groups were not statistically significant.

The variations that were significant regarded the following words and phrases. The frequency with which “undocumented immigrant” appeared in *The Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* differed only in relation to section and subject: the phrase was much more common in nation/state stories than in local stories; it was also used three times more often in stories about politics than about crime. In the Italian outlets, the average use of “irregolare” (synonym for undocumented) varied only by section: it was four times as frequent in stories about national policies and trends as in stories about local events.

Words and phrases conveying a “humanitarian frame” varied only by section in the Arizona subsample; by format and section in the Italian subsample. At the same time, expressions depicting immigrants as an “out-group” varied in frequency by format and section in the pair of Arizona outlets, and only by subject in the Italian papers. *The Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* combined used the terms “refugee” and “asylum seeker” 10 times more frequently in stories about international news than about domestic and local issues. Similarly, the mean use of the expressions “foreign,” “foreigner,” “xyz-born,” and “born in xyz” in local stories appeared to be half of what it

was in nation/state news and a quarter of what it was in international coverage. In the Italian subsample, the words “rifugiato,” “profugo,” and “richiedente asilo” were 10 times as frequent in news stories as in editorials and opinions; they also appeared twice as frequently in news from the world as in local stories, and to be used 50% more often in national than local articles. The terms “straniero” (foreign, foreigner), “di origini...” or “originario di...” (journalistically equivalent to “xyz-born” and “born in xyz”), and “extracomunitario” were almost twice as frequent in politics as in crime stories; they also were employed much more often in stories about business and culture than in politics.

The frequency with which the phrase “illegal immigrant” appeared in the pair of Arizona newspapers did not vary significantly by section. Conversely, the phrase “undocumented immigrant” was more frequent in nation/state stories ($M = 1.28$, $SD = 2.429$) than local ($M = .39$, $SD = 1.746$) and world/international (none). A significant difference among sections was found [$F(2, 397) = 8.994$, $p < .001$]. Tukey’s HSD post-hoc test confirmed that the mean frequency of occurrences in nation/state stories was indeed greater than that in local stories. Words and phrases referring to immigrants within a “humanitarian frame” (“refugee,” “rifugiato/profugo,” “asylum seeker,” “richiedente asilo”) were tenfold more frequent in world/international stories ($n = 19$, $M = 1.16$, $SD = 3.905$) than in nation/state ($n = 254$, $M = .10$, $SD = .735$) and local stories ($n = 127$, $M = .09$, $SD = .564$). A significant difference was found among sections [$F(2, 397) = 9.010$, $p < .001$]. Tukey’s HSD post-hoc test revealed that no significant difference existed between nation/state and local stories. Finally, words and phrases referring to the immigrants’ being “alien”—their being from a different country—were more frequent in world/international stories ($n = 19$, $M = .47$, $SD = 1.020$) than nation/state stories ($n =$

254, $M = .26$, $SD = .718$) and local stories ($n = 127$, $M = .12$, $SD = .429$). A significant difference was found among sections [$F(2, 397) = 3.301$, $p = .038$], but Tukey's post-hoc test did not reveal its nature.

Like "illegal immigrant" in the Arizona subsample, the word "clandestino" did not come up with significantly different frequencies by section in the pair of Italian newspapers. Conversely, like "undocumented immigrant" in Arizona, the label "irregolare" was more frequent in nation/state stories ($n = 150$, $M = .21$, $SD = .671$) than local ($n = 191$, $M = .05$, $SD = .462$) and world/international ($n = 59$, $M = .03$, $SD = .183$). A significant difference among sections was found [$F(2, 397) = 6.197$, $p = .002$]. Tukey's HSD post-hoc test confirmed that the mean frequency of occurrences in nation/state stories was indeed greater than those in world/international and local stories. Words and phrases referring to immigrants within a "humanitarian frame" were more frequent in world/international stories ($n = 59$, $M = 1.08$, $SD = 2.582$) than in nation/state ($n = 150$, $M = .74$, $SD = 2.015$) and local stories ($n = 191$, $M = .46$, $SD = 1.169$). A significant difference was found among sections [$F(2, 397) = 3.045$, $p = .049$]. Tukey's HSD post-hoc test revealed that no significant difference existed between world/international and local stories. Finally, words and phrases referring to the being "alien" of immigrants were more frequent in Italian nation/state stories ($n = 150$, $M = 1.47$, $SD = 2.921$) than world/international stories ($n = 59$, $M = 1.07$, $SD = .1.628$) and local stories ($n = 191$, $M = .88$, $SD = 1.749$). However, no significant difference was found among sections [$F(2, 397) = 2.840$, $p = .06$], although according to Tukey's post-hoc test, such words were used more frequently in nation/state stories than in local stories.

Table 10: Frequencies of words and phrases conveying a “legality” frame by format, section, subject

	Arizona newspapers				Italian newspapers			
	"illegal"		"undocumented"		"clandestino"		"irregolare"	
	n	mean	n	mean	n	mean	n	mean
Format								
News	310	.41 ns	310	1.05 ns	372	.01 ns	372	.11 ns
Opinion	71	.39 ns	71	.63 ns	28	.04 ns	28	.11 ns
Section								
World/Intl.	19	.05 ns	19	-	59	.20 ns	59	.03**
Nation/State	254	.51 ns	254	1.28*	150	.15 ns	150	.21**
Local	127	.27 ns	127	.39*	191	.19 ns	191	.05**
Subject								
Business	15	.40 ns	15	.15*	29	.28 ns	29	
Crime	91	.27 ns	91	.36*	149	.19 ns	149	.07 ns
Culture	40	.28 ns	40	.05*	62		62	
Politics	250	.49 ns	250	1.35*	141	.18 ns	141	.16 ns

ns: not significant; * $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$

Table 11: Frequencies of words and phrases conveying “humanitarian” and “alien” frames by format, section, subject

	Arizona newspapers				Italian newspapers			
	humanitarian		alien		humanitarian		alien	
	n	mean	n	mean	n	mean	n	mean
Format								
News	310	.17 ns	310	.25 ns	372	.70*	372	1.06 ns
Opinion	71	.06 ns	71	.18 ns	28	.07*	28	2.00 ns
Section								
World/Intl.	19	1.16*	19	.47***	59	1.08***	59	1.07 ns
Nation/State	254	.10*	254	.26***	150	.74***	150	1.47 ns
Local	127	.09*	127	.12***	191	.46***	191	.88 ns
Subject								
Business	15	.07 ns	15	.33 ns	29	.45 ns	29	2.10*
Crime	91	.25 ns	91	.16 ns	149	.58 ns	149	.56*
Culture	40	.23 ns	40	.30 ns	62	.79 ns	62	1.90*
Politics	250	.10 ns	250	.23 ns	141	.70 ns	141	1.05*

ns: not significant; * $p < .001$; *** $p < .05$

Analysis of variance revealed no significant difference among mean frequencies of phrases and words identifying immigration status used by the pair of Arizona newspapers in relation to story format. An independent samples *t*-test was computed comparing means of the pair of Italian dailies, which did not have letters to the editor. The analysis showed that only the differences in average occurrences of words and phrases describing immigrants within a humanitarian frame were statistically significant [$t(169.874) = 5.228, p < .001$]. Words and phrases such as “rifugiato” or “profugo” (synonyms for refugee) and “richiedente asilo” (asylum seeker) were used ten times more often in Italian news stories ($n = 372, M = .70, SD = 1.840$) than they were in Italian editorials and opinions ($n = 28, M = .07, SD = .378$).

The phrase “illegal immigrant” appeared on average once in every other Arizona politics story ($n = 250, M = .49, SD = 1.386$) and once in four Arizona stories about crimes and accidents ($n = 91, M = .27, SD = .804$). Business stories carried the phrase slightly less frequently ($n = 15, M = .40, SD = .910$) than politics stories did. Culture stories used “illegal immigrant” as frequently as crime stories ($n = 40, M = .28, SD = 1.432$). No significant difference, however, was found among subjects [$F(6, 393) = .495, p > .05$]. The phrase “undocumented immigrant” was used at least once in every Arizona politics story ($n = 250, M = 1.35, SD = 2.548$) and once in three crime stories ($n = 91, M = .36, SD = 1.567$). It appeared seldom in business stories ($n = 15, M = .15, SD = .516$) and almost never in culture stories ($n = 40, M = .05, SD = .316$). A significant difference was found among subjects [$F(6, 393) = 4.150, p < .001$]. Tukey’s HSD post-hoc test revealed that the average use of “undocumented immigrants” in stories about politics was indeed greater than that in crime and culture stories. Unsurprisingly, references to the status of

“Dreamers” differed significantly between politics and crime stories [$F(6, 393) = 2.313, p = .033$]. “Dreamers” were hardly ever mentioned in the latter ($n = 91, M = .05, SD = .345$) while they were mentioned on average in every other politics story ($n = 250, M = .49, SD = 1.462$). The frequencies for all other words and phrases identifying immigration status coded did not vary significantly by subject.

Immigrants were called “clandestini” (clandestine) in almost one Italian story out of five about crime as well as politics, and in more than one business story in four. No significant difference was found, however, among subjects [$F(6, 393) = .457, p > .05$]. The same goes for “irregolari” (irregular), which was used less frequently than “clandestini”: the term appeared rarely although more often in politics stories than in crime stories; no significant difference was found among subjects [$F(6, 393) = 1.627, p > .05$]. References to immigrants within a “humanitarian frame” were fairly present across subjects, with non-significant differences [$F(6, 393) = 1.554, p > .05$]: immigrants were called “rifugiati,” “profughi,” or “richiedenti asilo” more than once in two Italian crime stories, more than twice in three politics stories, and more than three times in four culture stories. Finally, what did vary significantly by subject in Italian stories was the immigrants’ “being alien” [$F(6, 393) = 5.699, p < .001$]: immigrants were referred to as “stranieri” (foreign or foreigners) or “di origine.../originario di...” (the equivalent of xyz-born, born in xyz) on average about twice per business ($n = 29, M = 2.10, SD = 3.687$) and culture story ($n = 62, M = 1.90, SD = 3.171$), once per story about politics ($n = 141, M = 1.05, SD = 1.928$), and once every other crime story ($n = 149, M = .56, SD = 1.105$). Tukey’s HSD post-hoc test revealed that the mean use of such phrases in crime

stories was smaller than that in business and culture stories but not different from the use in politics stories.

Prominence of Frames

References to the status of immigrants were fairly rare in headlines in both subsamples. The adjective “illegal (immigrant)” appeared in 11 headlines (3%) in the two Arizona newspapers combined; all but one were published after the AP banned the phrase from its *Stylebook*. “Clandestino” was used in 17 Italian headlines (4%). The occurrences of “undocumented” and “irregolare” in headlines were negligible. The proportions were not significant [$\chi^2(2) = 2.722, p > .05$].

References to the frame of “otherness,” of immigrants’ “being alien,” were more common in Italian headlines (24, or 6%) than in Arizona headlines (1 headline in 400). The same went for references to a “humanitarian” frame: immigrants were “rifugiati,” “profughi” (refugees), or “richiedenti asilo” (asylum seekers) in 28 Italian headlines (7%) and 5 Arizona headlines (1%). The proportions were significant [$\chi^2(2) = 40.042, p < .001$].

Hypotheses

The mean of the instances of the metaphor “immigrant as criminal,” appearing through the phrase “illegal immigrant,” decreased over time in the Arizona newspapers analyzed after the AP’s stance on the expression shifted (the trend is illustrated further on). Expectedly, this did not happen with statistical significance in the Italian newspapers. The phrase “immigrato illegale” was hardly ever used in the Italian dailies, which referred to immigrants most frequently in terms of “straniero” (foreign or

foreigner) and “rifugiato/profugo/richiedente asilo” (refugee, asylum seeker). In the Italian outlets, therefore, the metaphor “immigrant as criminal” was assessed through an index including all occurrences of “immigrato illegale,” “clandestino,” or “irregolare”.

H1 predicted that the metaphor “immigrant as criminal” appears more often in the Italian press than in the Arizona press. Throughout the year, the average frequency with which the Arizona outlets used the metaphor “immigrant as criminal” ($M = .41$, $SD = 1.259$) was not substantially different from that of the Italian dailies ($M = .30$, $SD = .863$), as the independent t -test performed to compare them did not return statistically significant results [$t(706.008) = 1.539$; $p > .05$]. There seems to be no appreciable difference in the average number of times the metaphor “immigrant as criminal” appeared in the Arizona and Italian newspapers examined. **H1** must therefore be rejected. A one-way ANOVA performed to test differences among newspapers returned non-significant results as well [$F(3, 796) = 2.068$; $p > .05$].

Degree of Antipathy or Sympathy for Immigrants in Editorials, Opinions

According to **H2**, editorials and opinions express more sympathy for immigrants in Arizona than in Italy.

Editorials and opinions were largely sympathetic or neutral toward immigrants both in Arizona and Italy. An independent samples t -test was computed comparing the mean degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed in editorials and opinions published by the two Arizona newspapers and that expressed in editorials and opinions by the two Italian outlets. The former’s average degree of sympathy ($n = 71$, M

= 2.51, SD = .606) was not significantly greater than that of the latter ($n = 28$, $M = 2.32$, $SD = .670$) [$t(97) = 1.331$, $p > .05$]. More than half of the 71 editorials and opinion pieces run by the two Arizona dailies combined (40 articles, or 56%) were sympathetic to immigrants; 27 editorials or opinions (38%) were neutral; only 4 such articles (6%) were antipathetic.

The Italian newspapers analyzed only published 28 editorials and opinions about immigrants and immigration: 12 (or 43%) were sympathetic; 13 (or 46%) were neutral; only 3 (or 11%) were antipathetic to immigrants. A Chi-Square goodness of fit test was performed to assess these proportions. No statistically significant difference was found between the proportions for Arizona and Italian newspapers [$\chi^2(2) = 1.779$; $p > .05$]. Contrary to what was predicted, editorials and opinions did not seem to express more sympathy for immigrants in Arizona than in Italy, despite different components of constructive patriotism and nationalism in the two geographic regions.

Role of Immigrants

Immigrants were portrayed as victims in 303 stories, or 38% of the whole sample ($N = 800$). They appeared as responsible for some kind of negative event in 308 stories, or 38%. They were described as successful people in 99 stories, or 12%.

The roles played by immigrants in news stories varied significantly between Arizona and Italian newspapers. As detailed in Table 12 and Figure 1, immigrants appeared as victims in about 3 stories in 10 in the pair of U.S. dailies and in almost half of the Italian articles analyzed. Conversely, they were portrayed as responsible for some kind of negative situation in almost half of the Arizona stories and in a third of the Italian

ones. Immigrants were examples of integration in 11.6% of the stories both in Arizona and Italy. A goodness-of-fit test proved these proportions statistically significant [$\chi^2(3) = 24.495; p < .001$].

Table 12: Number of stories by role of immigrants

	Role of immigrants				Total
	victim of negative event or situation	responsible for negative event or situation	person of success (example of integration)	no identifiable role or unsure	
Arizona newspapers					
Count	92	144	36	38	310
%	29.7%	46.5%	11.6%	12.3%	100.0%
Italian newspapers					
Count	175	129	43	25	372
%	47.0%	34.7%	11.6%	6.7%	100.0%
Total					
Count	267	273	79	63	682
%	39.1%	40.0%	11.6%	9.2%	100.0%

$$\chi^2(3) = 24.495, p < .001$$

The greater number of stories portraying immigrants as victims in the Italian press can largely be explained by the many stories that made headlines worldwide about sinking boats that killed scores of desperate people making the perilous journey across the Mediterranean in 2013. Coverage of such stories tended to carry on for weeks. Conversely, immigrants who lost their lives in the desert while crossing the U.S.-Mexico border did not produce stories of comparable resonance and prominence.

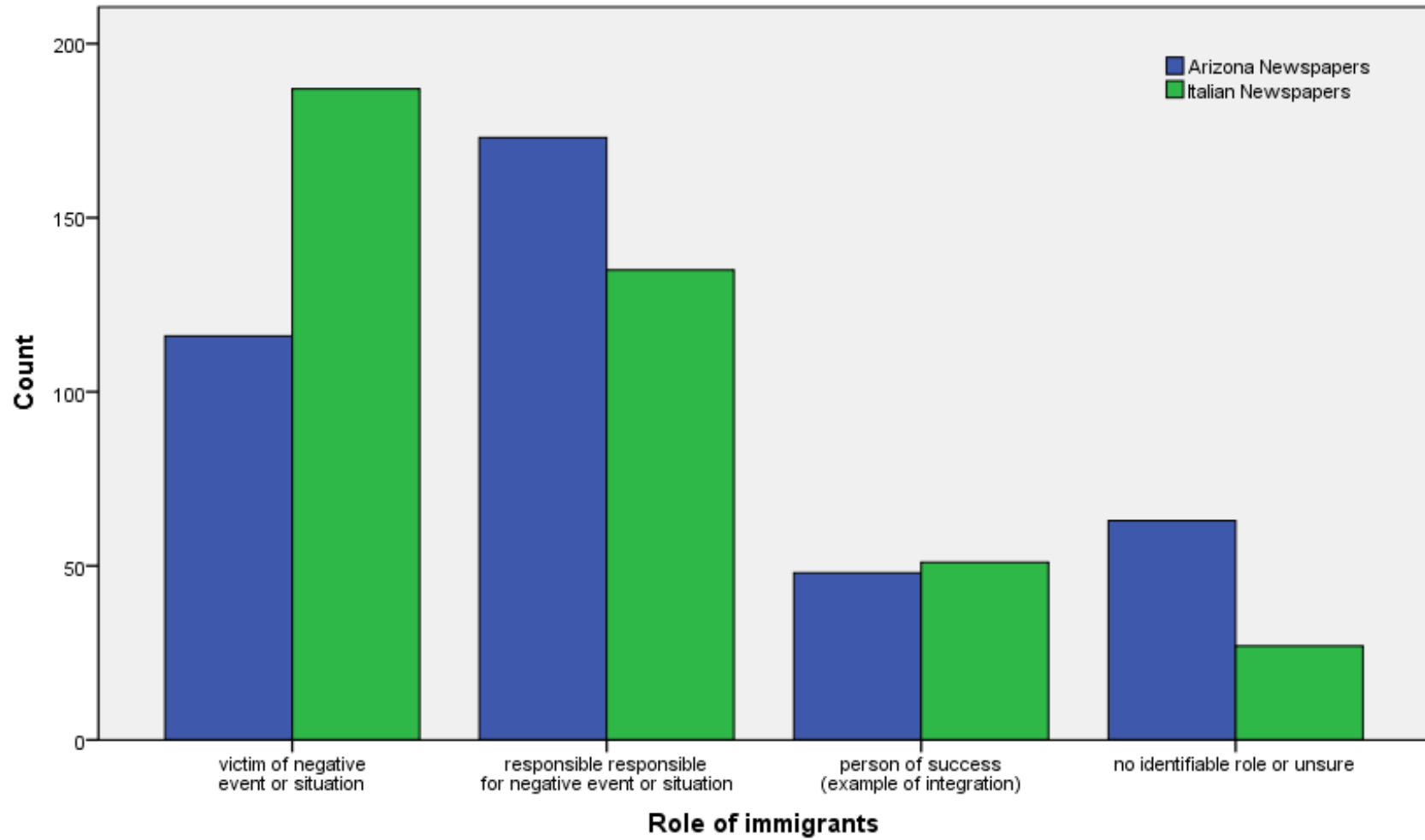
In a good number of stories, immigrants were perceived responsible for some negative event or situation because of the negative nature of being illegally in the receiving country. Cases like these are exemplified in Story 1.2 (*The Arizona Republic*, “Robb: Low-skill jobs need to pay,” August 22, 2013), Story 1.8 (*The Arizona Republic*,

“Documents: MCSO, ACLU differ on how to resolve racial profiling case,” August 23, 2013), and Story 1.9 (*The Arizona Republic*, “Gay issue may roil immigration debate,” February 10, 2013).

Immigrants were portrayed responsible for negative events in a number of crime stories, such as those reproduced in Story 1.7 (*The Arizona Republic*, “Pinal County Sheriff’s Office: Five immigrants arrested in Maricopa with marijuana,” December 3, 2013), Story 2.4 (*Arizona Daily Star*, “Drug busts keep Nogales border officers busy,” July 8, 2013), Story 3.3 (*Corriere della Sera*, “Aggredito dopo un contatto sotto i portici, finisce in ospedale”: Assaulted after contact under the porticos, ends up in the hospital, February 4, 2013), and Story 3.4 (*Corriere della Sera*, “Chiede il biglietto a tre peruviane sul bus, picchiata controllora Atm”: Conductor asks three Peruvian women about ticket, gets beaten, January 4, 2013).

Immigrants were victims of negative events or situations in stories such as those reproduced in Story 1.5 (*The Arizona Republic*, “After 4 years, Phoenix couple no longer facing deportation,” July 17, 2013), Story 2.5 (*Arizona Daily Star*, “Family of border slaying victim vows to pursue suit vs. US,” August 13, 2013), Story 3.6 (*Corriere della Sera*, “Tragico naufragio a Lampedusa. Il sindaco: «Il mare è pieno di morti»”: Fatal shipwreck off Lampedusa. The mayor: “The sea is full of dead people,” October 3, 2013), and Story 4.3 (*la Repubblica*, “Lampedusa, vittime salgono a 339. Salvati oggi quasi mille migranti”: Lampedusa: death toll rises to 339. Today rescued almost one-thousand migrants, October 11, 2013).

Figure 1: Number of stories by role of immigrants



Examples of integration typically emerged in stories about business, finance, economy and culture, entertainment, style. For example, immigrants were key players in the engineering and manufacturing of electric cars (Story 1.1: *The Arizona Republic*, “Silicon Valley-area hub becomes Tesla factory town,” May 19, 2013); a Latin-American immigrant was the poet chosen by President Barak Obama for the 2013 inauguration (Story 2.9: *Arizona Daily Star*, “For inaugural poet, a journey home to America,” November 29, 2013); statistics showed that many Chinese immigrants in Italy are businesspeople (Story 3.1: *Corriere della Sera*, “L’avanzata cinese. Un residente su sei ha un’impresa,” May 14, 2013); and a story about demographic changes pointed out that multiculturalism is good for business (Story 3.2: *Corriere della Sera*, “In azienda è l’ora del misto,” June 7, 2013).

Degree of Negative or Positive Representation of Immigrants

H3 predicted that news stories about immigrants express more sympathy for immigrants in Arizona than in Italy.

An independent samples *t*-test was performed comparing the average degree of negative or positive representations of immigrants emerging from news stories in the two Arizona dailies ($n = 272$, $M = 1.60$, $SD = .711$) and that of their Italian counterparts ($n = 347$, $M = 1.75$, $SD = .660$). The test indicated statistically significant differences [$t(560.285) = -2.674$, $p = .008$]. However, the substantive difference between the two means was minuscule. The Arizona newspapers considered provided slightly more negative representations than the Italian dailies.

In any case, both means were indicative of negative representations. H3 must be rejected. In fact, the opposite of this hypothesis was technically true of the media outlets considered in this study.

Effect of AP Style Change About “Illegal Immigrant”

H4 predicted that AP’s ban on the use of the phrase “illegal immigrant” affected the frequency with which the expression appeared in daily coverage of immigration in the pair of Arizona newspapers.

The data seem to show that the change introduced in the *AP Stylebook* on April 2, 2013 (Colford, 2013) was adopted by the two Arizona dailies. The phrase “illegal immigrant” appeared with fairly high frequency (up to 20 times per week) from January until early June. Then its usage dropped.

At first sight, mean frequencies seemed to show an even clearer dismissal of “illegal immigrant” immediately following AP’s ban. Between January and March, the use of “illegal immigrant” had recorded a few peak means above 3.5 mentions per story. From April on, it virtually didn’t cross the average of one mention per story. However, the change was not statistically significant until a few weeks after the new guidelines were introduced. The frequency with which “illegal immigrant” appeared in quotations, as permitted by the *Stylebook*, remained very low (overall closer to zero than .50) with the exception of one week in February, when it appeared twice in the only story involving immigrants that week. An independent samples *t*-test of the mean occurrences of “illegal immigrant” before and after April 2, 2013 did not confirm that the average use of “illegal immigrant” in the two Arizona dailies combined dropped significantly from

more than one mention per story in the 18 stories sampled ($M = 1.33$, $SD = 2.275$) to one mention every third story in the remaining 382 stories ($M = .37$, $SD = 1.178$). The mean frequency of this phrase before AP issued its latest guidelines was not significantly different from that recorded starting the day after the correction of the *Stylebook* [$t(17.432) = 1.787$, $p > .05$]. Lack of statistical significance was likely due to the small number of references emerging from the sample for the time period preceding AP's change in style. In fact, "illegal immigrant" appeared at least once in 8 of the 18 stories sampled between January and March (44%), and in 68 of the 382 stories sampled between April and December (18%). The proportions were significant [$\chi^2(1) = 7.929$, $p = .005$].

By the end of June, however, the use of "illegal immigrant" had more than halved. As shown in Table 13, in the first six months of 2013, *The Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* combined had printed it in more than one story in two ($n = 157$, $M = .67$, $SD = 1.737$). In the second half of the year, the average dropped to one mention in four stories ($n = 243$, $M = .25$, $SD = .775$). The difference was statistically significant [$t(196.557) = 2.865$, $p = .005$]. The phrase appeared at least once in 43 of the 157 stories sampled between January and June (27%) and in 33 of the 243 articles sampled between July and December (14%). These proportions were statistically significant as well [$\chi^2(1) = 11.816$, $p = .001$].

The findings supported H4: the AP style change of the entry "illegal immigrant" seems to have influenced usage of the phrase in news stories and opinions about immigration or involving immigrants.

Table 13: Use of the phrase “illegal immigrant” before and after AP style change

	Arizona combined		The Arizona Republic		Arizona Daily Star	
	n	mean	N	mean	n	mean
Frequency of phrase not quoted from source						
January-June	157	0.67**	82	0.83***	75	0.49 ns
July-December	243	0.25**	118	0.30***	125	0.20 ns
Frequency of phrase quoted from source						
January-June	157	0.15 ns	82	0.16 ns	75	0.15 ns
July-December	243	0.04 ns	118	0.06 ns	125	0.02 ns

ns: not significant; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .05$

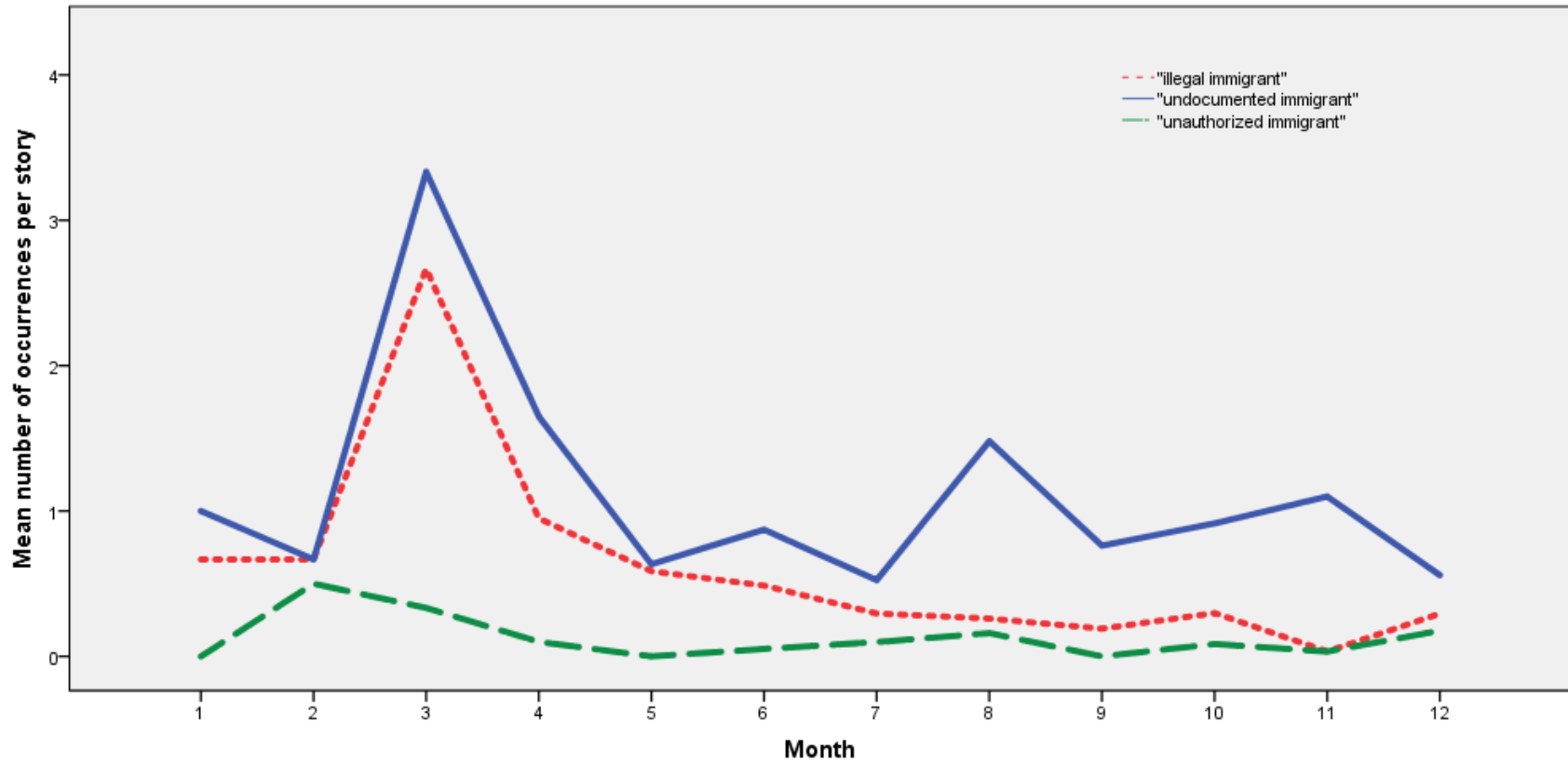
The average use of “illegal immigrant” was overall more frequent in stories run by *The Arizona Republic* (about one mention every other story: $M = .52$, $SD = 1.449$) than by the *Arizona Daily Star* (fewer than one mention in three stories: $M = .31$, $SD = 1.029$), although the difference between the two means was not statistically significant [$t(359.019) = 1.631$, $p > .05$]. *The Arizona Republic*, however, saw the frequency of the phrase decrease from an average of about four mentions in five stories [$M = .83$, $SD = 1.936$] in the 82 stories sampled from January through June, to fewer than one mention in three stories ($M = .30$, $SD = .927$) in the 118 stories sampled in the rest of the year. This difference was significant [$t(107.005) = 2.314$, $p = .023$]. On the other hand, the reduced use of the phrase recorded by the *Arizona Daily Star*, from an average of one mention in two stories ($n = 75$, $M = .49$, $SD = 1.483$) to one in five ($n = 125$, $M = .20$, $SD = .596$), was not statistically significant [$t(88.526) = 1.636$, $p > .05$]. Still, interestingly, overall the *Arizona Daily Star* did not employ “illegal immigrant” much more often than *The Arizona Republic*, even though the former claimed it did not comply with AP’s new guidelines (Gonzalez, 2013).

Throughout 2013, “undocumented immigrant” was used much more frequently by *The Arizona Republic* (on average, at least once in each story: $M = 1.68$, $SD = 2.881$) than by the *Arizona Daily Star* (on average, once in five stories: $M = .19$, $SD = .668$). The difference was statistically significant [$t(220.333) = 7.126$, $p < .001$].

“Undocumented immigrant” too started being used less frequently, on average, after AP said that phrase was problematic. However, there had been a peak in mean usage in the last weeks of March. Additionally, change over time was not statistically significant.

Thus, whereas the use of “illegal immigrant” diminished significantly after AP’s ban on the phrase, a consistent decrease in the frequencies with which “undocumented immigrant” appeared in Arizona stories was not supported by the data. The phrase seemed to be the preferred substitute for “illegal immigrant” despite AP’s disapproval of it. “Young undocumented immigrants in Arizona fighting to get driver’s licenses received a setback on Thursday,” is the first sentence of the story reproduced in Story 1.10 (“Judge lets immigrant-license policy in Ariz. stand”), which *The Arizona Republic* ran on May 16, 2013. The word “immigrant” was used six times within the 282 words constituting the article—three times collocated next to “undocumented.” “The U.S. Senate on Tuesday officially opened debate on landmark immigration-reform legislation that would put most of the nation’s 11 million undocumented immigrants on a path to citizenship, amid efforts to bolster the bill’s border-security requirements,” reads the first paragraph of the story reproduced in Story 1.11 (“Migrant reform moves forward in U.S. Senate”), again from *The Arizona Republic* on June 12, 2013. The reporters avoided “illegal immigrant,” while “immigrant” appeared a dozen times in 1,521 words; “undocumented” accompanied it in seven.

Figure 2: Frequencies of phrases used to describe unauthorized immigrants in pair of Arizona dailies in 2013



An independent samples *t*-test comparing the average use of “undocumented immigrant” before and after April 2, 2013 ($M = 1.67$, $SD = 3.430$ and $M = .90$, $SD = 2.145$, respectively) did not return statistical significance [$t(398) = 1.434$, $p > .05$]. Nor did the slight increase in frequency recorded (from $M = .07$, $SD = .410$ to $M = .10$, $SD = .562$) in the second half of 2013.

On the other hand, the phrase “unauthorized immigrant,” favored by AP, never really took off, and remained very rare throughout the year.

Variation in mean use of the three phrases listed above over time is shown in Figure 2.

Popularity of Stories as Expressed by Usage of Social Networking Services

The degree of readers’ interest in stories about immigration or involving immigrants was assessed through their engagement with participatory media. Usage of the most popular social networking sites (Facebook and Twitter) and of each newspaper’s online forum was analyzed in relation to the sampled stories.

As Table 14 and Figure 3 show, Facebook was the social networking site most frequently used by readers to share content they found interesting. Online commentary “attached” by readers to stories was the second most popular method.

Almost 6 stories in 10 in the Arizona subsample and more than 8 stories in 10 in the Italian subsample were “shared,” “recommended,” or “liked” on Facebook. Most of the stories shared (58% of all the stories coded, and 83% of all the stories shared via

Facebook) were shared by 500 readers or fewer, and 53% of the stories shared via Facebook were shared by 100 readers or fewer. About 3 Arizona stories and 7 Italian stories in 10 were “advertised” or “shared” via Twitter. All in all, 95% of those stories were shared by fewer than 100 readers.

Posting of online comments about news stories is, however, an indicator of a stronger degree of engagement with public discourse about the topic of the stories. Almost 6 Arizona stories and almost 4 Italian stories in 10 were commented on by at least one reader. About 1 story in 4, in both subsamples, was commented on by more than 10 readers. Six Arizona stories and 49 Italian stories were commented on by more than 100 readers. All in all, more Arizona stories drew comments than Italian stories, but the Italian stories that generated comments drew many more comments than the Arizona stories did. This finding is visually illustrated in Figure 4. Because the two South-European dailies allowed anonymous comments while the two U.S., for most of 2013, did not, the finding seems consistent with arguments that praise anonymity for fostering participation in public debate online (McCluskey & Hmielowski, 2011).

Table 14: Average number of comments, Facebook “shares,” and “tweets”

	Comments		FB shares		Tweets	
	n	mean	n	mean	n	mean
Arizona Newspapers	400	11*	400	98*	400	1.27**
Italian Newspapers	400	44*	399 ^a	567*	400	22**

ns: not significant; * $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; a: a 55,000-recommendation outlier was removed

Figure 3: Average number of online comments, Facebook “recommendations,” and Twitter “shares” per story

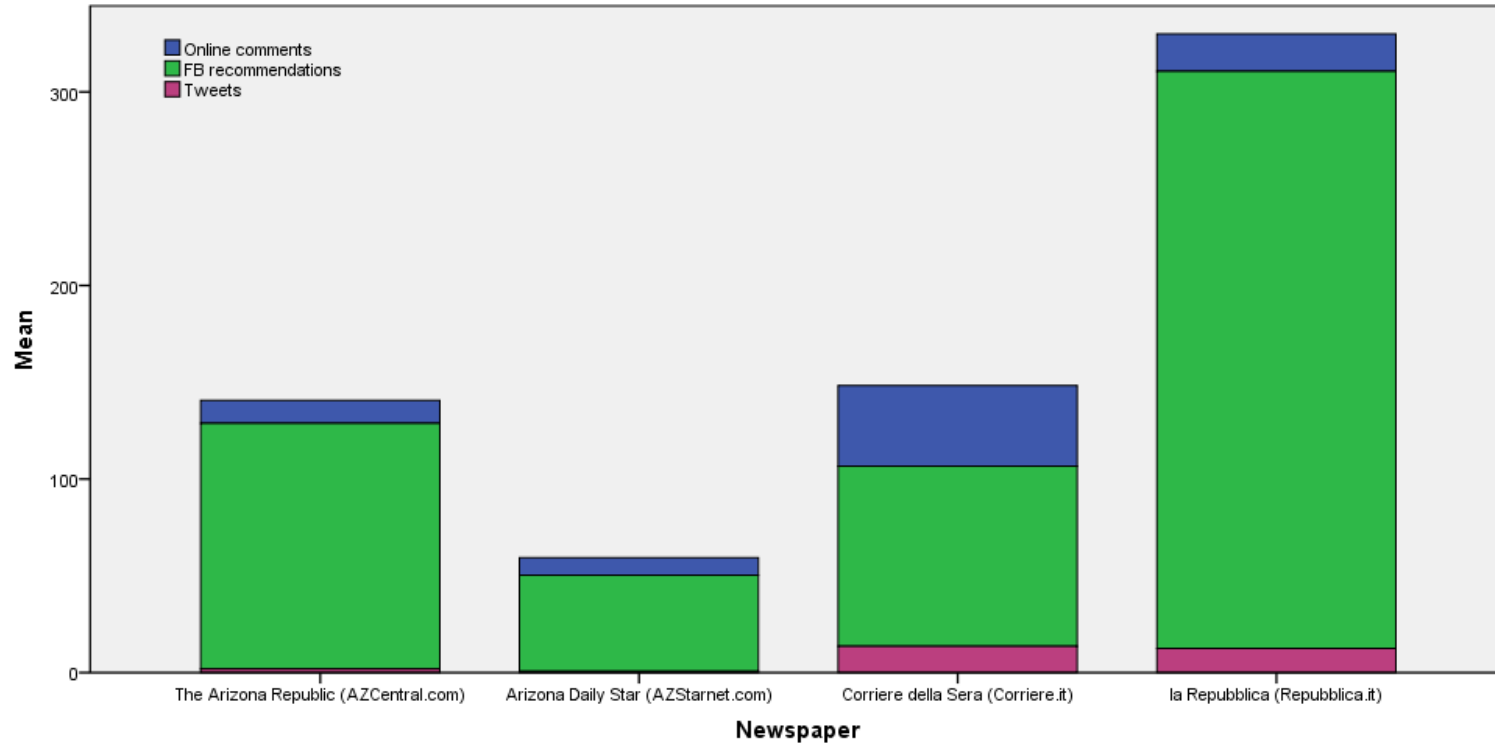
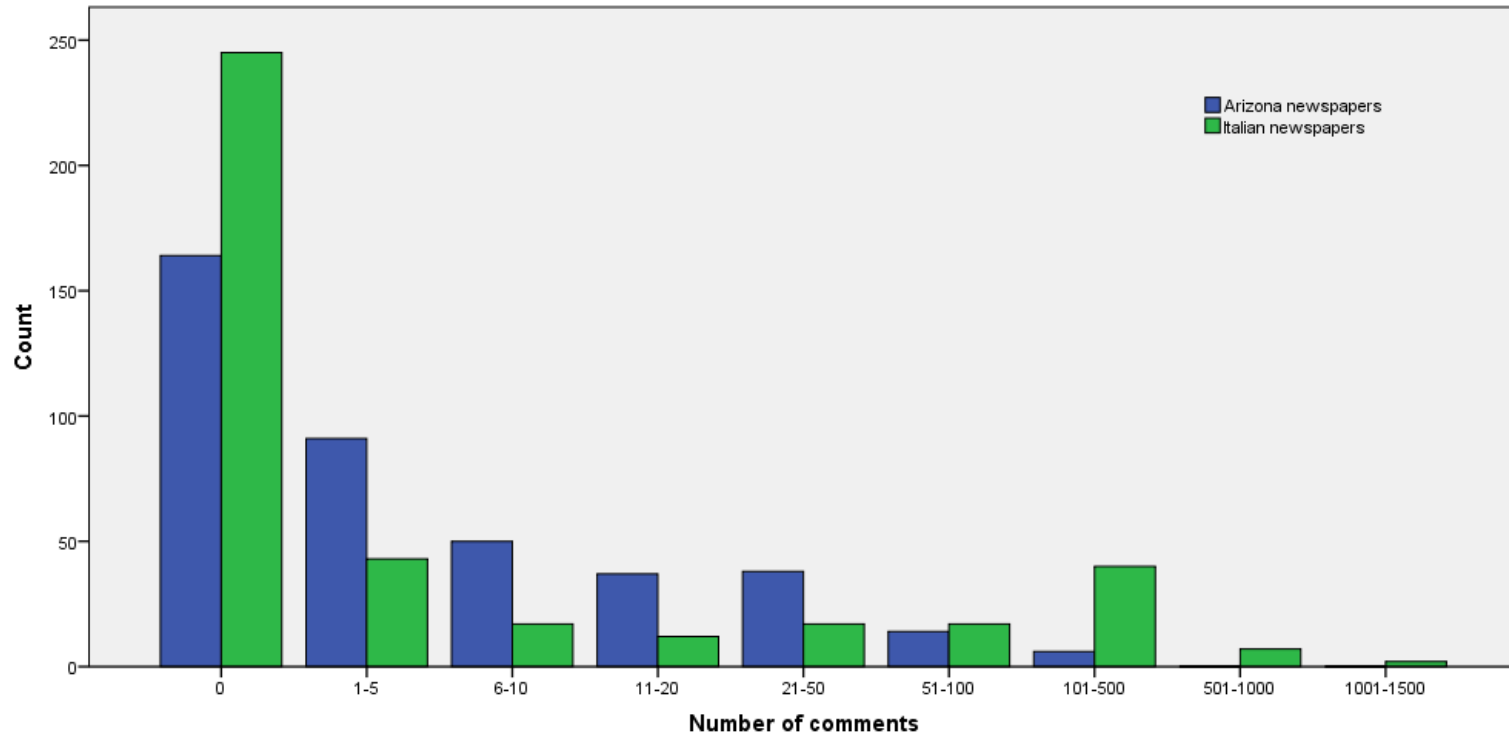


Figure 4: Number of stories by number of online comments attached to them



Analysis of Comments

In total, 1,470 online comments were evaluated. Each comment was coded for seven variables: date of publication, story to which it was attached, newspaper, anonymity, degree of antipathy or sympathy toward immigrants expressed, injurious or derogatory content, typographical marks “mimicking” raising one’s voice.

Almost half of all the comments sampled were antipathetic to immigrants. The rest were neutral (17%), sympathetic (19%), or not applicable, i.e., not related to the topic immigrants or immigration (14%).

Four comments in 10 were posted by anonymous readers, virtually all attributable to the Italian outlets. These, unlike their American counterparts, did not require their readers to identify themselves through a social networking site (i.e., Facebook) to participate in their online forums. Almost all of the comments posted on Corriere.it were anonymous, as 7 in 10 of those posted on Repubblica.it were. Only 10 comments were anonymously attached (i.e., they displayed patently fake names) to stories appearing on AZCentral.com; less than a fifth of the comments posted on AZStarnet.com were anonymous. The differences recorded were statistically significant [$\chi^2(3) = 889.752, p < .001$]. The *Arizona Daily Star* switched its web board to a social networking site-based platform disallowing anonymity on June 18, 2013, so as “to create a more courteous environment for discussion and to give readers an easier way to share Star content with friends” (Kornmiller, 2013). Many readers didn’t like the move and quickly pointed out that the number of comments on stories run by the *Arizona Daily Star* dropped from the thousands to the dozens overnight (Kornmiller, 2013). The degree of antipathy or

sympathy for immigrants expressed by readers of Tucson's daily did not change after the switch to non-anonymous posting. Online comments remained as unfavorable to immigrants in the second half of 2013 ($n = 207$, $M = 1.46$, $SD = .768$) as they had been in the first six months of the year ($n = 92$, $M = 1.50$, $SD = .763$). The minuscule variation, toward even more antipathy, was not significant, as showed by an independent samples t -test comparing mean degrees of antipathy in the January-June and July-December periods [$t(297) = .377$, $p > .05$].

Antipathetic comments expressed criticism and rejection of immigrants. They often did not support legal reforms aimed at allowing easier paths to residency, citizenship, and asylum. Some called for stricter rules governing entry, visas, and asylum rights. Others were critical of current immigration policies or enforcement. Take, for example, some of the comments posted by readers on Story 1.5 (*The Arizona Republic*, "After 4 years, Phoenix couple no longer facing deportation," July 17, 2013). Jeff Dingman, "Top Commenter," concluded that "Bottom line they are still convicted felons deport (sic) and they can take their kids with them. When the government picks and chooses which laws to enforce means we are no longer living in a democracy! How about I rob a bank and they can let me go too by choosing not to enforce the law against robbing banks." For Joy Kiggins-Smith, also "Top Commenter," "They may be laughing but it is because they beat the system and was (sic) rewarded for breaking the law. Too bad Obama doesn't believe in obeying the laws but I guess it is typical." Byron Jones, from Glendale, Ariz.: "Reading an article like this makes me about as furious as I can be. These people broke the law by staying in the country illegally and, on top of that, committed identity fraud, and somehow they're victims?!!! I wonder how they would've

been treated in Mexico if they were in that country illegally. Sick, twisted logic like this is precisely what is destroying this country far better than any enemy could ever do. I'll say it again: I AM FURIOUS!!!"

Sympathetic comments expressed acceptance of and openness to immigrants. Some were supportive of legal reforms aimed at allowing easier paths to residency, citizenship, and asylum. They also expressed empathy and sorrow for immigrants who suffer. For example, "Top Commenter" Jim McManus from Denver, Colo. spoke out on the same story this way: "What we don't grasp here is that an economy isn't a zero sum game. These decent people are making Arizona better. They don't deserve citizenship, though except the children. Proven hard working family people always get my vote. There aren't enough of them. We have a lot more in common with Catholics from Mexico than people from other parts of the world who seem to have no problem getting green cards 'legally.'" More strongly empathetic was Jose Lopez, another "Top Commenter": "I am amazed at the bigotry and lack of human compassion display (sic) in these comments; some get FURIOUS, others yeah yeah, etc. etc. etc. but no one says: 'Iam (sic) going to go looking for a job at a car wash, or restaurant, or pick fruit, of cut grass', in short we complaint (sic) while we gather the benefits of cheap labor. Get furious about it and see what your fury can do? Nothing, if you are willing to do their work, and they dont (sic) let you, then get furious, but in the meantime, opinions are just words with no substance, idle talk."

Neutral comments offered ambivalent positions on the subject of immigrants and immigration. Brian Henrie, "Top Commenter" too, replied to Joy Kiggins-Smith's criticism of the Obama administration on immigration management: "What did Bush do

about the “law?” Clinton? Bush Sr? Reagan? But it is only Obama’s fault.” Henrie may sound sympathetic to immigrants, but he may also just be defending the Democratic administration’s handling of immigration.

A closer look at differences between countries and single newspapers (see Table 15) showed that the two Arizona dailies’ stories were more often associated with a negative response expressed as antipathy for immigrants: 6 comments in 10 were antipathetic, while both neutral and sympathetic comments averaged at 16% of the total. Antipathetic comments were the largest share of those posted in Italy but they represented just over a third of the 631 total. Neutral comments were almost a fifth. Sympathetic comments were a little more than another fifth. Italian stories were also followed, however, by a larger number of comments that did not actually address immigration: about a fifth. By comparison, fewer than 1 Arizona comment in 10 could not be categorized. The results were statistically significant [$\chi^2(3) = 88.819, p < .001$].

As summarized in Table 16, online comments were on average antipathetic to immigrants both in the Arizona and Italian newspapers analyzed. An independent samples *t*-test was computed comparing the degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed in comments across the Atlantic. Comments published on the portals of the two Italian dailies were slightly but significantly less antipathetic ($M = 1.82, SD = .850$) than those published on the web sites of the two Arizona outlets ($M = 1.54, SD = .781$) [$t(985.210) = -6.044, p < .001$]. A one-way ANOVA was computed comparing the mean degree of antipathy and sympathy for immigrants expressed in comments among the four news outlets. A significant difference among means was found [$F(3, 1254) = 37.365, p < .001$]. A Tukey’s HSD post-hoc test showed that only the mean

degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed by readers of the Italian daily *la Repubblica* (M = 2.16, SD = .870) was significantly greater than those of the other subsamples. Readers of *la Repubblica* generally expressed in their comments a neutral attitude toward immigrants. Readers of *Corriere della Sera* (M = 1.56, SD = .738), *The Arizona Republic* (M = 1.58, SD = .790), and *Arizona Daily Star* (M = 1.47, SD = .765) all displayed on average the same degree of slight antipathy for immigrants.

In other words, readers of the two Arizona dailies seemed to provide a similar reaction to immigration stories, with comparable percentages of antipathetic comments, whereas readers of the Italian newspapers gave diverging feedback: readers of *Corriere della Sera* posted more than twice the antipathetic comments (50%) that readers of *la Repubblica* did (22%). They also posted less than half the sympathetic comments (13%) that readers of *la Repubblica* did (33%). *La Repubblica*, on the other hand, had by far the largest share of comments not about immigration: 3 in 10. Tested through Chi-Square goodness of fit, the proportions were statistically significant [$\chi^2(9) = 206.481, p < .001$].

Offensive (i.e., injurious or derogatory) comments were fairly limited in all subsamples, though twice as frequent in the two Arizona portals (78, or 9.3%) as in the Italian (30, or 4.8%). The difference was statistically significant [$\chi^2(2) = 11.712, p < .01$] and unexpected, considering that the European outlets allowed anonymous comments whereas the two American did not.

Examples of offensive comments ranged from a self-explanatory “Greedy !!@###\$,” directed at contractors looking to hire immigrants for construction work, to elaborate expressions of venting, such as this commenter’s: “First of all, let's get our

"immigration terms" correct! Those who sneak into our country by breaking our laws are called "illegal aliens" (has nothing to do with outer space and just as in Spanish and every other language - One word can have many meanings!). The word "immigrants" is used ONLY for those who come via the law which means legally. So these people's emotions belong to illegals who are criminals (you break the law and you are a criminal!). It is very arrogant for them to break our laws (and they are ALL FELONS BECAUSE EACH AND EVERY ONE HAS BOUGHT AND USED FRAUDULENT DOCUMENTS INCLUDING AMERICANS' STOLEN ID'S (WHICH WRECK AMERICANS' LIVES)). Every illegal has committed "fraud" which is a felony. Then they steal our jobs; tons of them commit crimes against Americans; go on Welfare, Food Stamps, and steal other social services that are meant for needy Americans nor (sic) foreign illegals. They make it easy for "terrorists", foreign criminals and people with deadly diseases to sneak in amongst them but they don't care, they are coming to steal whatever they can get from the U.S. We need to mandate the E-Verify System nationwide and without a job they will leave and that is what they need to do - LEAVE! Not demand our rights of citizenship. It's like if we snuck into Mexico and demanded the rights of Mexican citizens - HOW ARROGANT!"

Finally, the typographical marks “mimicking” raising one’s voice were used in about one story in four across the two regional subsamples, producing minuscule differences that were not statistically significant.

Table 15: Online comments by region and outlet

	Arizona newspapers				Italian newspapers			
	AZCentral.com		AZStarnet.com		Corriere.it		Repubblica.it	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Comments	484	100%	355	100%	324	100%	307	100%
Not anonymous*	474	98%	291	82%	16	5%	88	29%
Anonymous*	10	2%	64	22%	308	95%	219	71%
Comments by tone	484	100%	355	100%	324	100%	307	100%
Antipathetic to immigrants**	286	59%	207	58%	162	50%	67	22%
Sympathetic to immigrants**	88	18%	50	14%	41	13%	101	33%
Neutral**	92	19%	42	12%	74	23%	48	16%
Unrelated**	18	4%	56	16%	47	15%	91	30%

* $\chi^2(3) = 889.752, p < .001$; ** $\chi^2(3) = 88.819, p < .001$

Table 16: Degree of antipathy or sympathy expressed in online comments by region and outlet

	Arizona newspapers				Italian newspapers			
	AZCentral.com		AZStarnet.com		Corriere.it		Repubblica.it	
	n	mean	n	mean	N	mean	n	mean
Degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants	466	1.58 ns	299	1.47 ns	277	1.56 ns	216	2.16*
	n		mean		n		mean	
	765		1.54*		493		1.82*	

ns: not significant; * $p < .001$

Representations of Immigrants in Stories and “Tone” of Comments

The relationship between stories and online comments, hypothesized as a correlation by **H5**, was analyzed after removing from the sample the comments that were not addressing immigrants or immigration. Simple linear regression analyses were conducted on the Arizona and Italian subsamples considering the 3-point ordinal scale variable created to measure the degree of positive or negative representation of immigrants in news stories, editorials, and opinions on the one side, and the degree of antipathy and sympathy for immigrants expressed in online comments, also measured on a 3-point ordinal scale, on the other. The relationship between stories and comments published in the Arizona portals was minuscule ($R^2 = .002$) and statistically not significant [$F(1, 657) = 1.167, p > .05$]. The relationship between stories and comments published in the Italian portals was only slightly stronger ($R^2 = .027$) though significant [$F(1, 484) = 13.586, p < .001$]. Contrary to **H5**, the degree of negative or positive representation in stories was not a predictor of degree of antipathy or sympathy in online comments.

However, a series of Chi-Square analyses of the data, which are detailed in Tables 17 and 18, returned intriguing results in relation to **H6**, predicting that Italian readers respond with more antipathetic comments to both stories favorable and unfavorable to immigrants, while Arizona commenters express more sympathy to both favorable and unfavorable stories.

Half the comments appearing on the portals of *The Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* combined were attached to stories providing negative representations of

immigrants; more than a third followed neutral representations; just 84 comments (13%) “referred to” positive representations. The situation was different for the comments on the web sites of *Corriere della Sera* and *la Repubblica* combined. In the case of the Italian newspapers, half the comments were attached to neutral representations; over a third followed negative representations; only 15% (73 comments) were related to positive representations. In other words, negative representations of immigrants generated the largest share of comments in Arizona; they did not do so in Italy, where “neutral” representations (i.e., very often stories in which immigrants were victims) “spurred” the largest share of comments.

Negative representations of immigrants in the two Arizona newspapers considered were associated mostly with comments antipathetic to immigrants: antipathetic comments accounted for 64.5% of all comments attached to stories portraying immigrants negatively; neutral comments did not reach a fifth of the total; sympathetic comments amounted to one sixth. A similar pattern was evident in relation to neutral and positive representations as well. Almost 7 out of 10 comments attached to stories providing neutral representations of immigrants (again, representations in which often immigrants were victims of some kind of event or situation) were antipathetic to immigrants; only 34 comments (one seventh) were neutral; a few more (44, or 18%) were sympathetic. Positive representations of immigrants were “followed” by 46 antipathetic comments (55%), 20 neutral comments (24%), and 18 sympathetic comments (21%).

Put another way: every other antipathetic comment was attached to negative representations of immigrants and 4 antipathetic comments in 10 to neutral portrayals;

neutral comments were associated mostly with negative (54%) and then neutral (29%) representations of immigrants as well; but even sympathetic comments “followed” mostly negative (in 47% of the cases) and neutral (38% of the times) portrayals of immigrants. The proportions illustrated above, however, were not statistically significant [$\chi^2(4) = 6.542; p > .05$].

Table 17: Relationship between stories and comments in Arizona newspapers combined

			Degree of antipathy or sympathy expressed in comment			Total
			Antipathetic	Neutral	Sympathetic	
Negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from story	Negative	Count	214	63	55	332
		%	64.5%	19.0%	16.6%	100.0%
	Neutral	Count	165	34	44	243
		%	67.9%	14.0%	18.1%	100.0%
	Positive	Count	46	20	18	84
		%	54.8%	23.8%	21.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	425	117	117	659	
	%	64.5%	17.8%	17.8%	100.0%	

$$\chi^2(4) = 6.542, p > .05$$

The data emerging from the two Italian newspapers provided indication of an at least partially different layout, and in this case with statistical significance [$\chi^2(4) = 27.043, p < .001$]. Negative representations of immigrants were associated with antipathetic comments in more than half the cases, with neutral comments in about a fourth of the instances, and with sympathetic comments in almost a fifth. In the Italian case, however, positive representations of immigrants were associated to a similar degree with sympathetic, as well as antipathetic, comments. Antipathetic comments following such representations accounted for 44% of the total; positive comments for 47%; neutral

comments for one tenth. In addition, 6 comments in 10 were either neutral or sympathetic (and with perfectly equal shares: 3 comments in 10 each) to immigrants when referring to stories that did not portray immigrants neither negatively nor positively.

Looking at the data from another perspective: antipathetic comments were associated with negative (in 42% of the cases) and neutral (44%) representations of immigrants; neutral comments were attached mostly to stories providing a neutral (57% of the times) or negative (37%) portrayal of immigrants; sympathetic comments, on the other hand, appeared first of all next to stories representing immigrants neutrally (51%) and then to positive (25%) and negative representations (24%). Once more, neutral representations included immigrants who were victims of some kind of event or situation, which may have triggered empathetic reactions. The proportions remained consistent even when removing from the sample comments and stories published in the two Italian dailies in the ten days following the October 3, 2013 sinking of a boat off the shores of Lampedusa, in which more than 360 immigrants lost their lives.

Table 18: Relationship between stories and comments in Italian newspapers combined

			Degree of antipathy or sympathy expressed in comment			Total
			Antipathetic	Neutral	Sympathetic	
Negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from story	Negative	Count	96	45	33	174
		%	55.2%	25.9%	19.0%	100.0%
	Neutral	Count	99	70	70	239
		%	41.4%	29.3%	29.3%	100.0%
	Positive	Count	32	7	34	73
		%	43.8%	9.6%	46.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	227	122	137	486
		%	46.7%	25.1%	28.2%	100.0%

$$\chi^2(4) = 27.043, p < .001$$

The data did not support H6's assertion that Italian comments are generally more antipathetic to immigrants regardless of the tone of the stories they refer to while Arizona comments are more sympathetic independently of them. In fact, Arizona comments tended to be mostly antipathetic to immigrants following negative, neutral, and positive representations of immigrants, whereas the largest share of Italian comments generated by positive representations were indeed sympathetic to immigrants.

Plotted in a multiple-line graph (see Figures 5 and 6), the evolution of negative/positive representations of immigrants emerging from stories and that of antipathy/sympathy for immigrants expressed in online comments returned inconsistent patterns. However, when representations of immigrants were more positive (between 2.5 and 3 on the scale), comments seemed to be more antipathetic (averaging between 1 and 1.5 points). This was true for both Arizona and Italian newspapers. While the mean of the comments on stories run by the pair of Arizona outlets ($M = 1.54$, $SD = .781$) virtually never crossed the threshold of neutrality (value 2 on the ordinal scale), that of Italian comments ($M = 1.82$, $SD = .850$) did reach at least four peaks of sympathy in which the degree of antipathy/sympathy averaged between 2.5 and 3 points. The means for the two subsamples were significantly different [$t(985.210) = -6.044$, $p < .001$].

One of the peaks in the Italian averages was recorded in the second half of April, when the story of two-hundred Bangladeshi strawberry pickers protesting being exploited by farm owners in Greece shook Europe; the Asian immigrants were shot at by "farm supervisors," and 30 of them were injured. The second peak was recorded also toward the end of April, when a Ghanaian man living in Italy was accused of rape, and a leader of the anti-immigration Northern League party demanded that then Minister for

Integration Cécile Kashetu Kyenge pay visit to the woman who was abused. Kyenge, who grew up in the Democratic Republic of Congo and moved to Italy to attend university, remained in office for just 10 months, during which she was constantly targeted by anti-immigration advocates, partly because she pushed for introducing the right to Italian citizenship by birth on Italian soil, according to the principle of “*ius soli*.” Another concentration of comments sympathetic to immigrants took shape at the end of July, again as a reaction to a series of vicious and racist attacks made publicly on Kyenge. Finally, Italian readers expressed more sympathy for immigrants than usual between October and November, in relation to the political debate following the deadly shipwreck of October 3.

The distribution of the data collected did not seem to support **H7**, according to which shifts in coverage of immigrants and immigration correlate with the degree of antipathy or sympathy expressed toward immigrants in readers’ comments. Comments attached to stories published by the two Arizona newspapers were sympathetic to immigrants only sporadically, to the point that they never affected weekly averages. At the same time, the Arizona outlets did provide positive representations of immigrants to the extent that such portrayals appeared clearly in high weekly means in week 14 and week 47 (see Figure 7). When considered on a weekly basis, therefore, antipathetic or sympathetic comments do not seem to correlate with immediately subsequent coverage. The data provided by the pair of Italian dailies analyzed showed four average peaks of sympathy for immigrants expressed in online comments. A line graph comparing the degree of antipathy or sympathy in comments and the degree of negative or positive representations of immigrants in stories over time even showed two or three similar

patterns (see Figure 8). However, the “matching” segments did not occur at a regular time difference from one another. Therefore, trying to determine whether they were mere coincidences or indications of a possible relationship between online comments and coverage of immigration was inconclusive.

Figure 5: Representations of immigrants and “tone” of online comments in Arizona newspapers

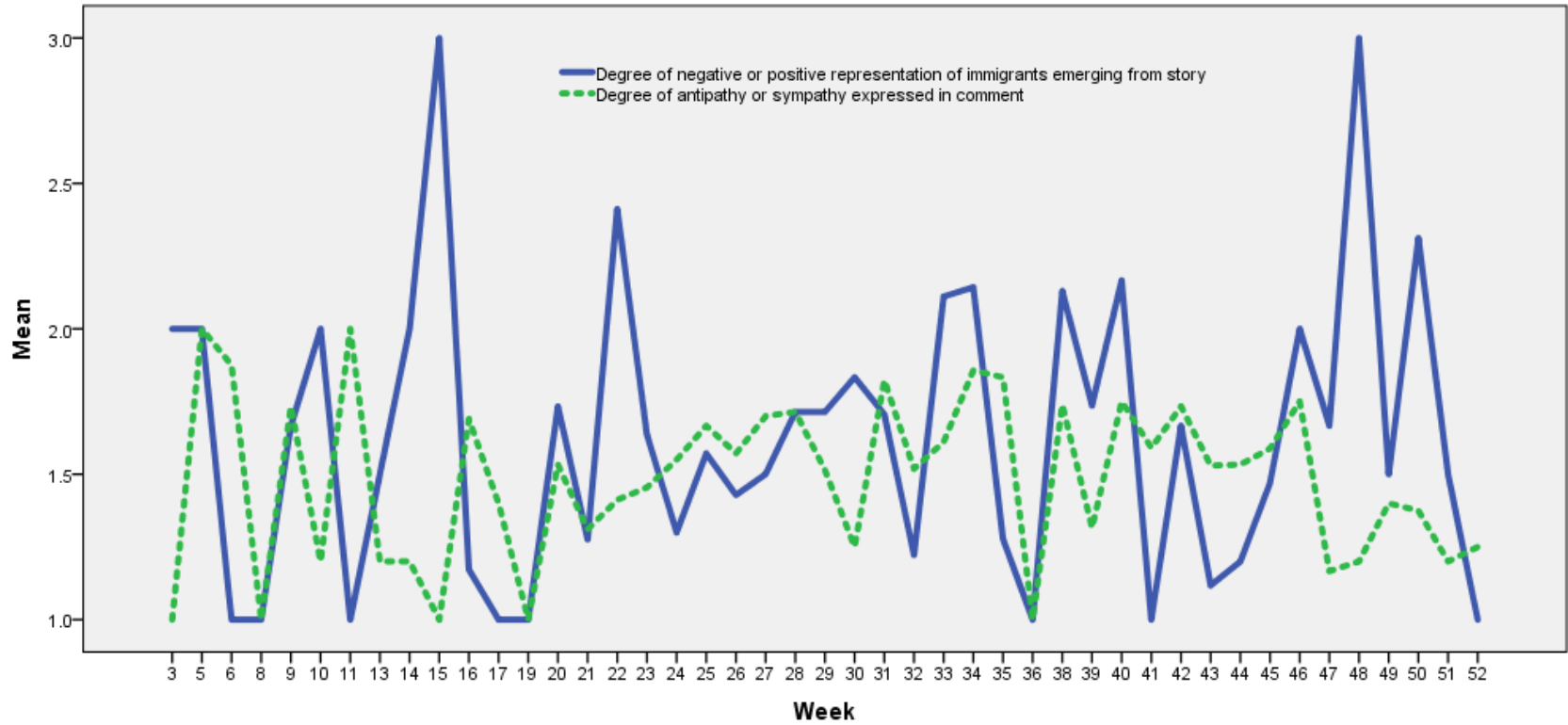


Figure 6: Representations of immigrants and “tone” of online comments in Italian newspapers

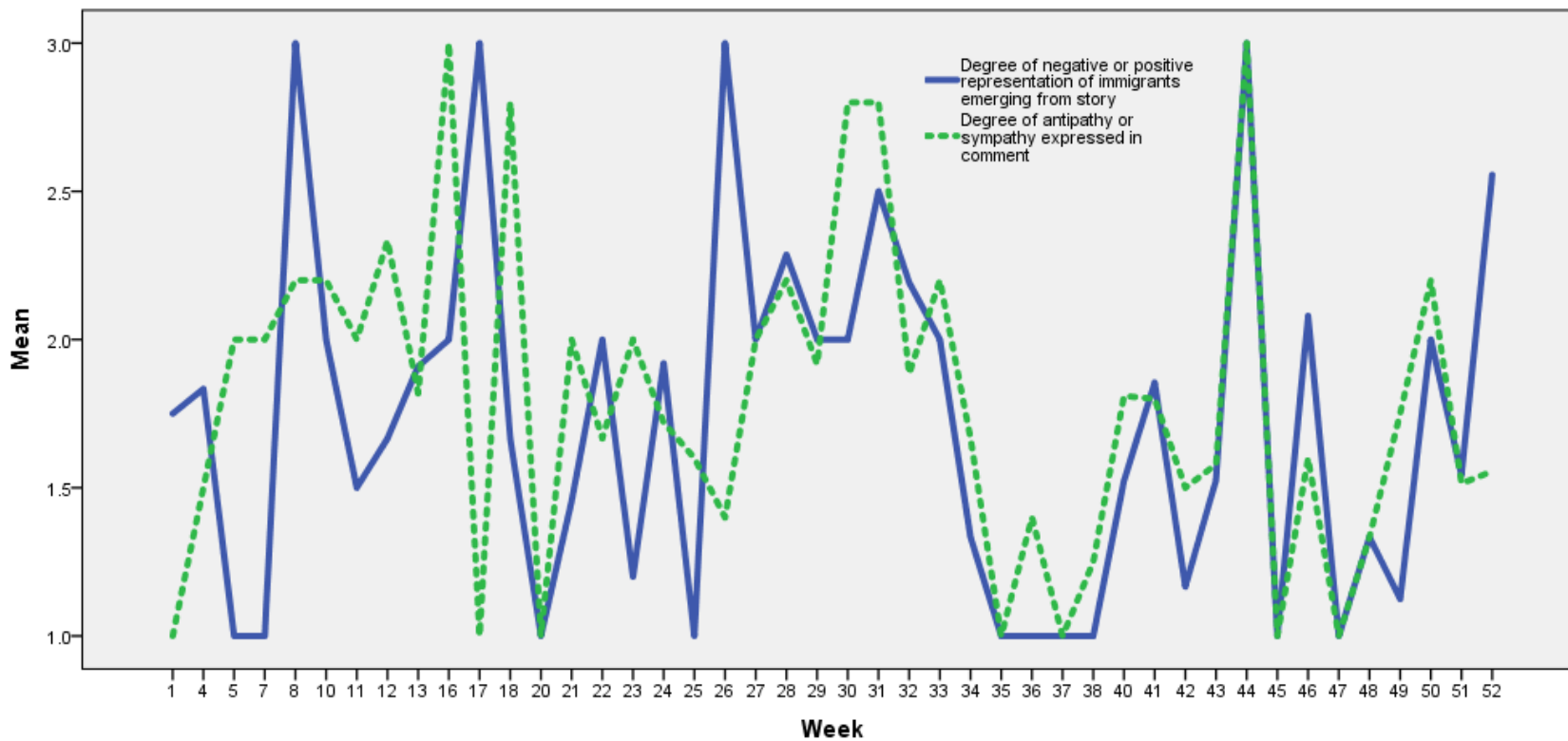


Figure 7: Negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from stories and antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed in online comments, in Arizona newspapers throughout 2013

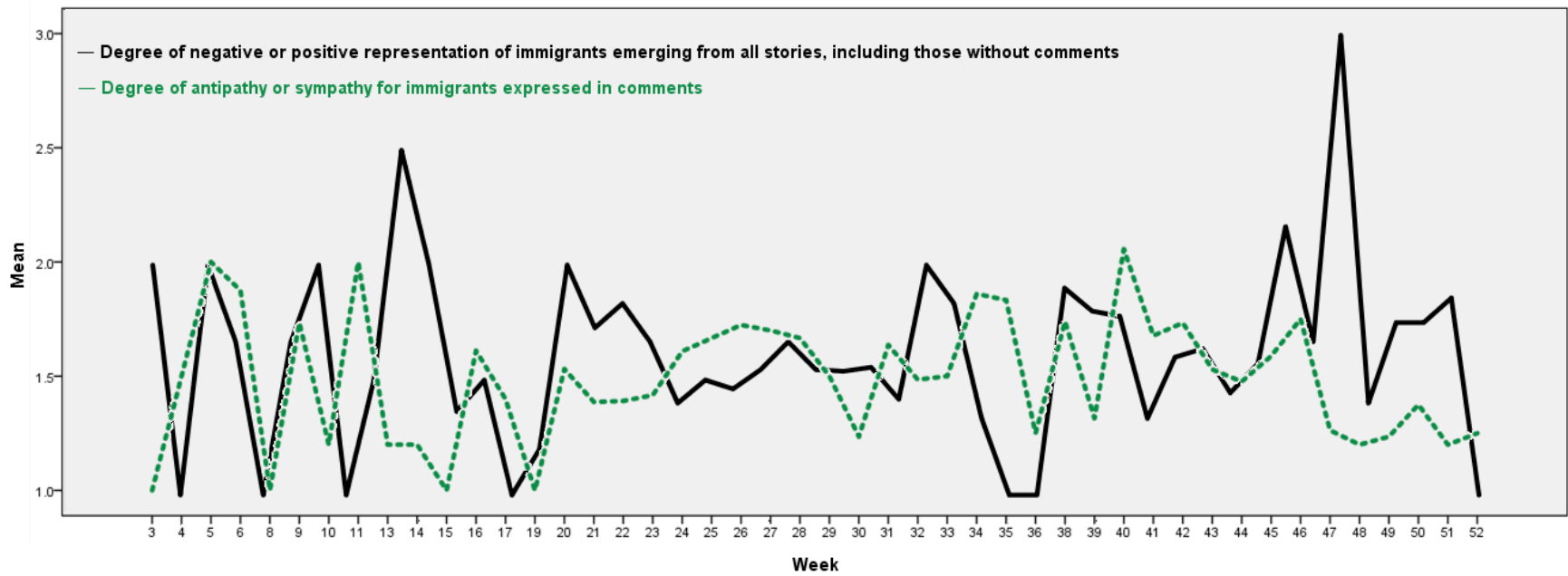
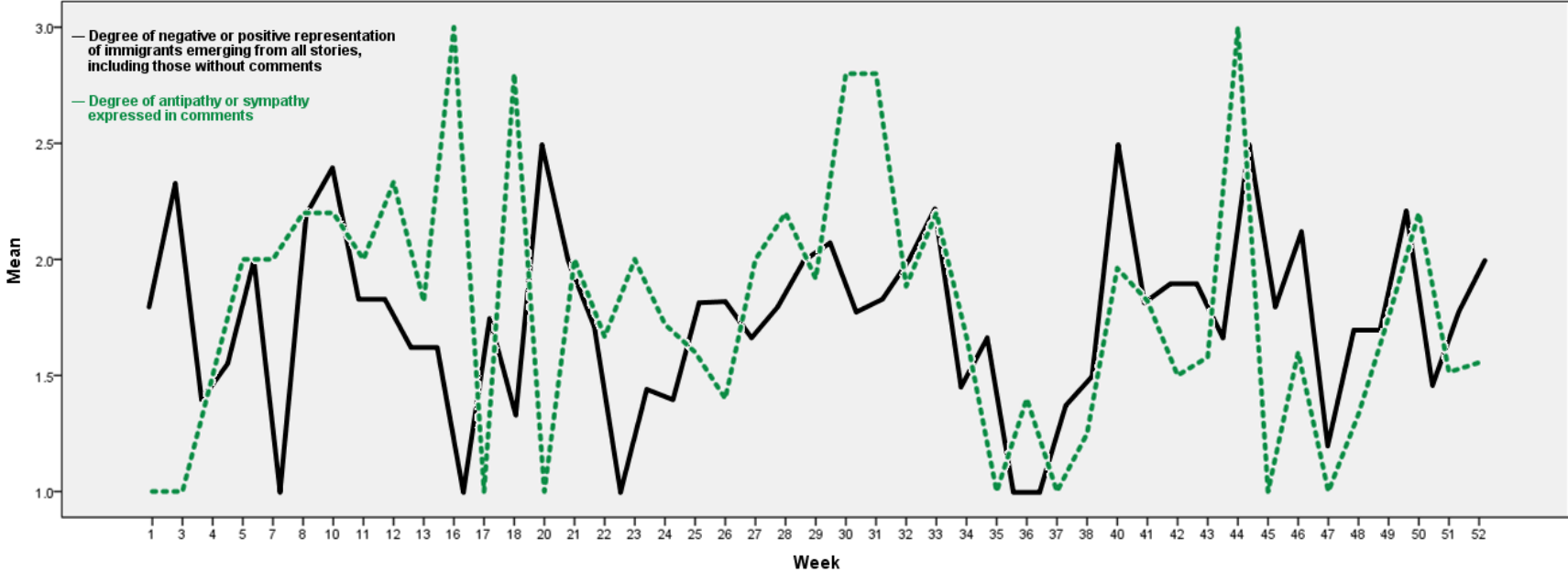


Figure 8: Negative or positive representation of immigrants emerging from stories and antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed in online comments, in Italian newspapers throughout 2013



CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study produced three major findings. First: news coverage of immigration in 2013 was generally unfavorable to immigrants in both Arizona and Italy. Second: readers interjecting themselves in the debate via online comments attached to immigration stories did generally not empathize with immigrants. Third: no statistically significant correlation was found between degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants expressed in online comments and degree of unfavorableness or favorability to immigrants coming through in the articles they refer to.

Coverage of immigration—it should go without saying—cannot and should not be only favorable to immigrants. Migrations are complex phenomena originating from an intricate intertwining of economic, political, social, and cultural factors. They produce both positive and negative effects on both sending and receiving milieus. Similarly, migrants are people: those who move from one country to another are more than 230 million around the world (*International Migration Report 2013*, 2013). They represent 230 million personal stories, some of which are obviously stained by questionable behavior, while others are tainted by criminal acts committed by migrants themselves. Yet for the same law of large numbers, immigrants are for the most part hard workers and decent people who contribute positively to the economy and the social and cultural life of the countries where they settle. In the United States, even unskilled workers, as are many undocumented immigrants, contribute to overall productivity (Peri, 2012), while they also subsidize welfare services (Zallman, Woolhandler, Himmelstein, Bor, &

Mccormick, 2013). In addition, contrary to popular beliefs, immigrants have been associated with lower, not higher, crime rates (Zatz & Smith, 2012). Nevertheless, immigrants have been systematically criminalized with substantial acquiescence by a large share of the “native” population (Ackerman et al., 2014). Disproportionate negative news coverage of immigration, therefore, deserves the sustained attention of scholars and civil society, particularly because such coverage continues to cross path with the public’s attitudes toward immigrants—often in counterintuitive ways (Watson & Riffe, 2013).

The data analyzed in this study suggest that the way the press frames immigration stories has little apparent impact on readers’ response, at least of the response by readers who contribute to the newspapers’ online forums. Perhaps little interaction exists, particularly in the short term, and may mostly take place in the form of the traditional agenda-setting function of the media: contributing to the salience of the topic immigration among the public’s concerns. This conclusion is supported by other research about what journalists think of online comments (and discussed later on in this section). The news media play a pivotal role in creating, spreading, and perpetuating stereotypical representations of minorities that oftentimes betray reality and therefore the promise to report the “truth” that the press has made to the public. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explain, people develop an understanding of the world through repeated and prolonged exposure to symbols and associations of ideas. Dismantling stereotypes about immigrants and misrepresentations of migratory phenomena (or, for that matter, of any other subject or object) built upon years of mis-portrayals cannot be simple and have success overnight. Still, Lakoff and Johnson’s work gives hope: if one way of conceiving of an issue is learned, it can also be unlearned, and a different interpretation of the issue can be

internalized. Also uplifting is another finding of this study addressed below: that the intertwining of a set of features characterizing every and any news story seems to provide self-aware journalists with a tool that, if used wisely, can help modify problematic frames and contribute to bringing everyday reporting closer to its ideal of a rigorous first draft of history.

The fact that negative representations of immigrants emerged in both news stories and editorials and opinions clashes with the overall supportive tone of the latter. Most commentators expressed understanding of immigrants' hardships, marginalization, stigmatization, and scapegoating. They generally supported immigration reforms and criticized conservative and other obstructionist stances on the issue. This was true of opinions published by both Arizona and Italian outlets, although the degree of sympathy for immigrants was greater in those published by the two U.S. outlets. Yet opinions on an issue and representations of the people who embody the issue are two different things. So, even editorials and opinions sympathetic to immigrants often offered negative representations of immigrants. This might be, at least to some extent, inevitable: the fact that immigrants are often victims of difficult situations is one popular argument used by commentators to justify their sympathy for them and support for immigration reforms. However, the role of victim translates into neutral (not positive) representation of immigrants in the variable used in this study to measure negative or positive representations of immigrants. This aspect is worthy of further investigation to better understand function and effect of the rhetorical devices used by columnists.

Another interesting finding was that representations of immigrants were slightly more negative in the 183 Italian stories (46% of the total) that did not carry the name of

the reporter who wrote the story than in articles whose author was known. Much of the research done on “anonymity” in the field of journalism has focused on the use of anonymous sources in relation to credibility (Kang, Bae, Zhang, & Sundar, 2011), the application of shield laws (Docter, 2010), and commentary submitted by audiences (Coe, Kenski, & Rains, 2014; McCluskey & Hmielowski, 2011; Nielsen, 2013; Santana, 2011, 2014). Study of bylines has mostly touched on historical development (Reich, 2010) and looked at them as signals of gender representation in newsrooms (Burkhart & Sigelman, 1990; Harp, Loke, & Bachmann, 2011). Interestingly, actual or potential implications of reporters’ anonymity for content of news products appear to be largely unexplored. “Anonymous” stories might reflect reporters’ attitudes toward the subjects of their stories that are less politically correct yet more adherent to those of the overall “public opinion.” Further research should be carried out to explore these aspects.

It is also revealing that overall positive representations of immigrants emerged from not a single story topic examined in the Italian subsample and emerged in the Arizona subsample only from a single topic—culture, entertainment, style. Nevertheless, the data showed different degrees of negative representations among stories about politics, crime/courts/accidents, and business/economy/finance in both subsamples. The greater degree of negative images emerging from Arizona and Italian crime stories alike was unsurprising. Still, more research is needed to study variation in the degree of negative representation of immigrants by story subject and attempt to explain why Arizona stories displayed on average more negative images of immigrants than Italian articles. One possible explanation is that an important part of the Italian coverage focused on tragic events that made international headlines and triggered long waves of political

statements in which immigrants' role shifted from that of responsible for an economic emergency to that of victim of a humanitarian crisis. In fact, as a consequence of the economic downturn, between 2011 and 2013, fewer and fewer foreign workers headed to Italy seeking employment while more and more refugees landed on the Peninsula seeking asylum (Calabrò, 2013). A similar shift in coverage was not evident in the two U.S. dailies studied here, although the number of new immigrants from Mexico began to decline in 2005 and that of undocumented immigrants started to stagnate in 2011 (Baker & Rytina, 2013; Passel, Cohn, & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2013). The "humanitarian frame," as noted above, was more common in Italian than in Arizonan stories. Future research might control for this variable in an analysis of immigration coverage in 2014, when an unexpectedly large number of unaccompanied Central American minors changed the face of immigration images in the U.S. mainstream media, though with unexpected outcomes.

Effect of AP Style Change About "Illegal Immigrant"

In July 2014, the Pew Research Center published the results of a survey that dismayed human rights and immigration advocates. The most recent humanitarian crisis at the U.S.-Mexico border was embodied by tens of thousands of Central American children fleeing poverty and violence in their home countries and turning themselves in as soon as on U.S. soil. The emergency had surfaced in the mainstream media in June. After a few weeks of news coverage, however, the attitudes toward immigrants by a greater share of residents in the United States seemed to have become even less sympathetic. Support for immigration reform that contemplate legal residency for undocumented immigrants had fallen across the political spectrum from 73% to 68% since the last survey administered six months before. Even more strikingly, however,

53% of the 1,825 adults interviewed said that “the legal process for dealing with Central American children who cross the border illegally should be accelerated, even if that means that some children who are eligible for asylum are deported” (Pew Research Center, 2014, p. 1). The idea that an important share of the U.S. population is developing disaffection to the welcoming principles that have made its country one of the harbors for people persecuted in regions of the world where basic human rights are regularly disregarded is worrisome. The fact that such disaffection is translating into insensitivity toward one of the weakest components of society—children—is disturbing and alarming. It also suggests that the role the media play in the formation of public opinion on immigration should be further investigated. A time-lag analysis linking the Pew Research Center’s surveys and coverage of immigration in the months preceding the interviews (Stone & McCombs, 1981; Wanta & Foote, 1994) might provide valuable insight into this relationship.

The attitudinal change recorded by the Pew Research Center over the first half of 2014 occurred after a large number of U.S. news media outlets had adjusted the language used to talk about immigrants to meet the demands of human rights advocates. Analyzing content of news stories, Merolla, Ramakrishnan, and Haynes (2013) found that between 2007 and 2011 the expression “illegal” was far more common than “undocumented” and “unauthorized” in liberal as well as conservative news outlets. As noted above, *The New York Times*, which had resisted banning the “i-word,” agreed to change its own style along the lines drawn by the Associated Press on April 2, 2013, and a few hours later began to discourage its reporters and editors from using the phrase “illegal immigrant” when not quoting sources verbatim. In the second half of 2013, the number of mentions

of “illegal immigrant” in *The Times* decreased sharply in favor of “undocumented immigrant” (Kirkland, 2014). The two Arizona dailies considered in this study also decreased substantially the use of the phrase “illegal immigrant” after the Associated Press amended the corresponding entry in its *Stylebook*. These findings do not prove that American news professionals abide by the commandments of “The Journalist’s ‘Bible’”—either consistently or sporadically. They provide, however, some empirical evidence that, intervening in the debate on a very controversial topic, AP indeed played a role of “arbiter of a journalist’s vocabulary” (Myers, 2012). It is an authoritative voice that was listened to at least by reporters and editors working for outlets covering that topic in depth and on a daily basis.

Muñoz-Torres (2007) argued that journalistic manuals of style do more than provide rules of grammar and spelling: they embed and spread essential tenets of a “philosophy” of journalism. Barkho (2011) observed that linguistic guidelines adopted by news outlets can be used to put forward specific “readings” of the events reported. Future research could try to assess the influence of the AP *Stylebook* on different subjects on a broader scale, and investigate its relationship with internal guidelines of single media. For example, the *Arizona Daily Star* claimed it did not follow AP’s recommendations on the use of “illegal immigrant.” Nevertheless, in the coverage analyzed here, it did not employ the phrase more often than *The Arizona Republic*—and indeed decreased its usage of the phrase.

Other Hypotheses

None of the other hypotheses tested in this study was supported by the data.

In relation to the three hypotheses flowing from theories of national identity expressed through both nationalism and constructive patriotism, this study led to three major conclusions. First: the phrase “illegal immigrant” was indicated by Santa Ana (2012) as the main carrier of the dehumanizing metaphor “immigrant as criminal”; contrary to expectations, this metaphor was not more common in the Italian than in the Arizona press but was used with comparable frequency across all four newspapers considered. Second: editorials and opinions were not significantly more sympathetic to immigrants in the pair of Arizona dailies than in the pair of Italian newspapers. Third: the two Arizona outlets did not offer more positive representations of immigrants than their Italian counterparts; in fact, rather negative images of immigrants emerged from both subsamples.

These findings suggest that nationalistic and patriotic attitudes recorded in the studies carried out across multiple countries over the past two decades (Blank & Schmidt, 2001; Davidov, 2010a; Raijman et al., 2008) do not provide, in and of themselves, the sociological lens most suited to explaining the expressions of journalistic coverage of immigration addressed in this study. Perhaps it is because Billig’s (1995) critique of research aimed at measuring nationalism and constructive patriotism, considering them two different constructs, is well placed. In general, the “patriotism” continuously flaunted by scores of politicians is hardly constructive and displays very little appreciation and consideration of the rights (of people) of countries other than that

of those politicians and of its closest allies. A similar attitude seems to emerge often from the target audiences, whose first preoccupation is, naturally, the wellbeing of citizens who have the same passport. Even subscribing to the idea that nationalism and patriotism differ in the minds of citizens, the intensity of nationalist and patriotic feelings, which overlap by definition, can shift very quickly as a consequence of destabilizing events or misperceptions of the actual size and composition of the immigrant population, as research by Blinder (2013) and Muste (2013) suggests.

Theories about different models of journalism, such as Hallin and Mancini's (2004), seem to provide a key to interpreting the data particularly in relation to the finding that the two Italian outlets ran fewer than half the editorials and opinions that the pair of Arizona dailies did. The smaller number of editorials in the Italian subsample could be explained by Italian newspapers' propensity to less clearly "separate news and opinion," as seems to still often be the case within the Mediterranean, or Polarized Pluralist, model of journalism (Esser & Umbricht, 2014, p. 238). Through a content analysis comparing coverage of politics across six western countries, Esser and Umbricht (2014) found that in Europe, Italian journalism has been one of most resistant to fully embracing the "hard-news paradigm" first developed in the United States.

However, further research is needed to understand whether the three models of journalism convincingly explain why Italian coverage of immigration in 2013 appeared less unfavorable to immigrants than Arizonan coverage. In another comparative study of coverage of politics, Esser and Umbricht (2013) hypothesized and concluded that stories in newspapers operating in both the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic model tend to stress negative elements of the subject, highlighting conflict, political incompetence, and

scandals. Outlets of the Polarized Pluralist model do so because, through opinionated journalism, they reflect political conflict more strongly than in other models; media of the Liberal Model do so as a result of commercial drive and “professional critique” (p. 1000). Esser and Umbricht (2013) found that Italian newspapers provided more negativity in political coverage than did U.S. newspapers. Representations of immigrants, reflecting strongly opposing political views, however, were not more negative in the Italian stories than in the Arizona stories analyzed in this study. And political debates over immigration displayed a harsh-conflict nature in both Arizona and Italy. One possible explanation is that, unlike its U.S. counterpart, Italian journalism reports on politics mostly in terms of “processes,” i.e., strategies and tactics instead of policies (Esser & Umbricht, 2014). The enhanced negativity of Italian journalism might focus more directly on politicians’ personae and tactics than on their agendas on concrete issues—i.e., in this case, on immigration policies.

When it came to covering immigration in 2013, Arizona stories focused more on news about immigration regarding the whole state of Arizona and the United States, than on local events. Italian stories focused slightly more on local than national events. The pair of Arizona newspapers studied ran mostly political stories, which were almost three times as frequent as stories about crime, courts and accidents. The pair of Italian dailies, on the other hand, ran a similar share of political and crime/accident stories. The high number of political stories in the Arizona subsample was driven by the coverage provided by the paper published in the state’s capital, Phoenix’s *The Arizona Republic*, while Tucson’s *Arizona Daily Star*, published closer to the U.S.-Mexico border, focused on politics in fewer than half of the stories and reported on crime and accidents in more

than a third. A similar pattern seemed to take place in Italy, where *la Repubblica*, headquartered in Rome, ran more political stories than Milan's *Corriere della Sera*. Conversely, *Corriere della Sera* covered crimes, courts, and accidents much more often than *la Repubblica* did. The two Arizona outlets resorted to thematic frames more often than the two Italian did. Conversely, the Italian dailies used episodic frames more often than the Arizona newspapers did. Stories about crime and accidents were virtually all framed episodically while political stories were more often framed thematically, particularly in the Arizona subsample.

These findings suggest that the “style” of single newspapers, in terms of focus on certain subjects and political leaning, is a better predictor than national identity of the kind of coverage of immigration. At a closer look, however, these findings also revive hopes that the news media can contribute to improved journalistic quality in general and of coverage of immigration in particular. In immigration stories published by the pair of Arizona dailies, thematic frames seemed to convey slightly more negative representations of immigrants (who were perceived as responsible for some kind of negative event or situation) than episodic frames did. This finding could be surprising considering the episodic nature of most stories about crime and accidents. However, immigrants were victims as well as “villains” in stories about delinquent behavior and events that caused casualties. At the same time, negative representations included the “mere” fact of having entered or living in the United States illegally, which was the more common description of immigrants provided or given away by reporters and editors of political stories. This finding is supported by the more frequent use of the phrase “illegal immigrant” in thematic than in episodic stories.

Representations of immigrants were disproportionately negative in Arizona news stories, which focused more on nation/state events. Nation/state news covered mostly policies and political debates on immigration, which was framed thematically. This kind of coverage lends itself more easily than others to reproducing stereotypical representations of immigrants regardless of a news outlet's efforts to report on the issue fairly and with understanding for immigrants' difficulties. Such stories cannot but be influenced by the agenda set by politicians, who thereby are able to frame an issue (in this case immigration) in a specific way and to impose that frame. Even by merely reporting on the issue with the basic information about it, journalists are likely to relay the frames chosen by the politicians. Entman's (2004) "cascading activation model" describes this phenomenon in detail: political elites who can use good communication strategies know how to frame an issue in a way that resonates with the public opinion's cultural beliefs, and often encounter few or weak attempts by the media to provide counter-narratives. This, however, does not mean that news professionals don't enjoy any agency.

Representations of immigrants were slightly less negative in Italian news stories, which focused a little more on local news and crimes, courts, accidents. The latter were mostly episodic. The way an issue is described and given salience in a story framed episodically can be controlled more effectively by journalists, who can impose their own choice of using certain phrases and highlighting certain attributes of the issue. "Although journalists possess less ability to shape news frames than members of the administration or elite networks," Entman (2003, p. 422) notes, "they do have some independent power,

arising from their capacity to ask questions and to decide precisely which words and images to assemble and transmit.”

The findings of this study suggest that by producing more episodically framed stories, journalists can try to reverse the trend reinforcing negative representations and stereotypical images of immigrants.

Criminality Frame

The phrase “illegal immigrant,” conveying the metaphor “immigrant as criminal” or, following Entman’s (1993) definition, portraying immigrants within a frame of legality, appeared in one fifth of the Arizona stories. The phrase was especially common in political stories but not uncommon in stories about crime, courts, accidents. “Undocumented immigrant,” preferred by some immigration activists but also problematic because imprecise (many unauthorized immigrants do have documents), was used in more than one story in four. “Clandestino,” an Italian word equivalent to “illegal (immigrant),” was used in just 1 story in 10. “Irregolare,” very similar to “undocumented,” was not even in 7% of the stories.

After interviewing readers on their perception of lexical representations of immigrants, Merolla, Ramakrishnan, and Haynes (2013) contend that the phrase “illegal immigrant” has virtually no effect on the positive or negative attitudes of the public toward immigrants. Such attitudes seemed to be more affected by framing immigration reform in terms of “amnesty” rather than “an opportunity to become legal citizens.” Merolla, Ramakrishnan, and Haynes (2013) measured the degree of support for immigration reforms in answers to questions in which immigrants were labeled as

“illegal,” “undocumented,” and “unauthorized.” The authors, however, also acknowledged that the one of the reasons why the “equivalency frame” did not make a difference in subjects’ attitudes toward immigration policies was significantly inferior exposure to phrases such as “undocumented immigrant” or “unauthorized immigrant” than to “illegal immigrant.” In other words, the reference images of “undocumented” or “unauthorized” immigrants in the minds of respondents might have been “illegal immigrant.” This would be consistent with Entman’s (1993) observation that frame effectiveness is related to its adherence to cultural schemata reinforcing and reinforced by the frames. In light of this, Merolla, Ramakrishnan, and Haynes’s (2013) findings do not actually make the quest for alternative labels to “illegal immigrant” less relevant.

Frames of “Otherness” and “Humanitarian Emergency”

The pair of Italian dailies pointed out much more often than the two Arizona outlets the fact that immigrants are “foreign”—people from a different place, who do not belong to the receiving milieu—and they did so both in headlines and body of stories. They seemed to favor a frame of “otherness.” Similarly, the two Italian papers ran many more stories than the two Arizona dailies in which immigrants were refugees or asylum seekers—a “humanitarian” frame—again both in headlines and text body.

Entman (1993) listed repetition of words and phrases among the factors that contribute to the effectiveness of a frame. However, he warned against assessing the power of a frame solely on the basis of the frequencies with which specific words and phrases are used. The effectiveness of a frame, Entman stressed, depends on a number of factors contributing to the salience of the elements that build the frame, including

prominence of the textual items conveying an idea or interpretation of reality, and adherence of the frame to cultural references and beliefs. “Not all symbols are equally potent,” observed Gamson and Modigliani (1989, p. 5), who defined frame as the “central organizational idea” of an “interpretive package” of an issue (p. 3). “Certain packages,” they went on, “have a natural advantage because their ideas and language resonate with larger cultural themes. Resonances increase the appeal of a package; they make it appear natural and familiar” (p. 5).

This study collected data that measured both repetition and prominence of three frames applied to coverage of immigrants and immigration: “criminality,” “humanitarian emergency,” and “otherness.” The findings suggest an apparent contradiction in the way the Italian press reports on immigrants while operating in a social context “more nationalist” than that of the United States. The two Italian dailies analyzed not uncommonly highlighted the fact that immigrants are members of an “out-group.” Yet they were not afraid to frame immigration issues in terms of a humanitarian emergency in addition to a matter of domestic security. Once more, the high death tolls of a few tragedies that marked Italy’s 2013 fall could explain the increased focus on the humanitarian side of immigration. More research might help investigate the relationship between frames used in public discourse about immigration and current events reported by the news media.

Most of the comments attached to stories published by the pair of Arizona newspapers were antipathetic to immigrants. Only one fifth of the Italian comments were sympathetic to immigrants, but only one third were antipathetic. On average, therefore, antipathy for immigrants was more accentuated in Arizona than in Italian comments.

Readers of the two Italian dailies reacted differently to coverage of immigration. Stories run by *Corriere della Sera* carried online comments that were substantially and significantly more antipathetic to immigrants than comments attached to stories published by *la Repubblica*. This finding can be traced to the target audience of the two dailies, and the collocation of the two outlets in the spectrum of the Italian press, which operates within the Polarized Pluralist Model described by Mancini and Hallin (2004). A greater number of readers of *la Repubblica*, generally left-leaning, are likely to support pro-immigration policies and to express empathy and sympathy for immigrants. Conversely, *Corriere della Sera* is a more conservative outlet. A larger share of its readership is likely to have supported the center-right coalition led by Silvio Berlusconi that made illegal immigration a felony in 2009.

The analysis carried out on the four outlets considered in this study also is contrary to the hypothesis that Arizona readers react more sympathetically to immigrants no matter the kind of representation (whether negative, neutral, or positive) emerging from immigration stories, whereas Italian readers react more antipathetically to immigration articles, again regardless of the immigrants' portrayals offered. Arizona comments were actually mostly antipathetic to immigrants no matter the representations of immigrants emerging from the stories they were attached to. At the same time, the largest share of Arizona comments sympathetic to immigrants was "reacting" to negative representations of immigrants. On the other hand, Italian stories of any kind (portraying immigrants negatively, neutrally, or positively) were followed by shares of neutral and sympathetic comments that approached the share of antipathetic comments. As noted above, the United States' more pronounced constructive patriotism doesn't seem to

correlate with empathy and sympathy for immigrants. It did not translate into sympathy expressed in comments on immigration stories.

Data collected by the Pew Research Center in July 2014 suggest a decreasing correlation between assumed prominence of “constructive patriotism” and support for immigration reform and asylum policies as well. The more diversified nature of Italian comments might be a consequence of the greater number of comments attached on average to Italian immigration stories than of those attached to Arizona articles. More comments attached to a story can provide a broader set of opinions on the content of that story. Conversely, the fewer comments attached to Arizona stories may mean that a limited number of regular commenters manage to repeat the same set of opinions over and over. This is one limitation of this study, which sampled only the first up to five comments attached to each story, because they are more likely to address the actual content of the article and to be read by the reporters who wrote it. Future research aimed at examining the relationship between content of stories and readers’ feedback should try to further minimize the impact of potential overrepresentations of particular voices.

A further aspect, however, should be considered. Borderlands are places in which, theoretically, patriotic attitudes are more easily overshadowed by nationalist sentiments. Borderlands are geographic areas in which nation and state even less congruent than elsewhere. In borderlands, therefore, nationalism can thrive, as Gellner’s (1983a) analysis suggests. Vila (2000, 2005) criticized representations of borderlands that celebrate too easily the relationship among their residents. He pointed out that in borderlands, even groups that share a language and cultural heritage tend to be fractioned and often unaccepting of one another. In the comparative study carried out by the

International Social Survey Programme, the United States was studied as a whole.

Arizonans might be more nationalists than the national average—and more nationalist than Italians.

A different explanation of why Arizona readers reacted more negatively than Italian readers in their online commentary goes back to the representations of immigrants, which were more negative in Arizona than in Italian stories. Therefore, even though the statistical analysis did not detect a pronounced relationship between representation of immigrant and degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrant expressed in comment, the big picture of 2013 coverage suggests that these two variables are indeed interrelated in a linear fashion. This relationship merits further, more in-depth, investigation. Perhaps research designed differently will find a stronger direct relationship. For example, different operational definitions of categories representing degrees of negative or positive representations of immigrants might help delineate a more defined association with degree of antipathy or sympathy expressed by readers. They could also help identify other words and phrases that contribute to discourse construction of “the other” in relation to immigration. In addition, measuring degree of negative or positive representation of immigrants and degree of antipathy or sympathy for immigrants on wider scales could allow a more precise evaluation on the one hand, of both said degrees, and on the other hand, of the relationship between them. This was another limitation of this study, which used only 3-point ordinal scales to ensure intercoder reliability. Future studies could also look at the frequency with which particular words and phrases appear in stories and comments, particularly over time, in order to gauge phenomena of “mutual shaping” that may also prove indicators of linear

relationships. Finally, longitudinal investigations often show parallelisms that illuminate associations between variables that would otherwise remain obscure.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The data collected for this study suggest that journalists and readers who provide feedback through news media's online forums walk on different paths—paths that sometimes even appear to diverge. These findings seem to align with Nielsen's (2012, 2013) research, indicating that journalists generally disvalue online comments and do not engage with them in "mutual shaping." Through her survey of journalists' attitudes toward online comments, Nielsen (2012, p. 97) suggested that "a small number" of reporters rework parts of their stories to anticipate readers' feedback that otherwise they expect will be vitriolic. To some extent, good journalists have always crafted their stories trying to avoid representations that could be easily misunderstood. Online forums allow media professionals to have their finger on the pulse of readers' attitudes to a heightened level. Risks of what could be considered self-censorship seem overshadowed by the opportunities to improve storytelling provided by today's privileged channel of communication between journalists and audiences.

The newspaper content analyzed here did not show clear patterns indicating that representations of immigrants emerging from stories were influenced, one way or another, by clusters of antipathetic (or sympathetic) comments attached to previous stories on immigrants and immigration. Research of more sophisticated design might be able to identify such relationship. Alternatively, the relationship involving story, readers' feedback, and follow-up coverage might simply not be pronounced enough to be detected. Nielsen's (2012, 2013) call for further investigation of this kind of preemptive

editorial “adjustments” is opportune. A time-lag analysis of online comments and of immigration stories in the months following the publication of the comments might shed some light on the evolution of coverage “in relation to” readers’ feedback.

This study adds to the broad and rich field of scholarship that has been investigating representations of minorities in news coverage for a long time. It also joins a younger, though growing, body of research that focuses on audiences’ use of social networking platforms provided by news outlets, on content being created and disseminated through such platforms, and on journalists’ attitudes toward such platforms and the way they are used by the public. This work contributes to territory that has been only partially explored: the interaction between journalism and the recent tools that enable audiences to participate in the public debate over current events; in other words, a systematic study of the relationship between specific content of journalistic artifacts and audiences’ reaction to such content.

As Benson (2013) points out, news media scholarship’s ultimate purpose is serving democracy and hence helping the industry best perform its fundamental role of providing the citizenry with information that is factual, accurate, and reflecting reality as precisely as possible. Analysis and commentary, no matter how in-depth, “objective” and well-intentioned, can do little to help the citizenry make sense of current events if they are constantly preceded and followed by misrepresentations of reality that are more easily digested by a large portion of the public.

In his comparison of immigration coverage in U.S. and French news media, Benson (2013) essentially argues that a democratic society is better informed on social

phenomena through news that is framed thematically rather than episodically. “Narrative journalism,” he writes, “favors the compelling human interest drama to the detriment of any sustained structural analysis. Rather than embracing the ‘human interest narrative’ as the best or inevitable formula for writing (and, clearly it has formulaic elements), journalists might push back and insist on the need to write more articles that try to get to the bottom of enduring debates of immigrations’ causes and effects” (p. 209).

In light of the attitudes emerging from online comments attached to immigration stories in Arizona and Italy, this study concludes otherwise. Protagonists of stories framed thematically are often referred to as “masses” of undistinguished individuals, about whom politicians and experts (actual or assumed) provide statistics and, inevitably, generalizations. In such stories, immigrants are, for example, “the 11 million illegal immigrants living in the United States” (Story 1.9: *The Arizona Republic*, “Gay issue may roil immigration debate,” February 10, 2013), or “the nation’s 11 million undocumented immigrants” (Story 1.11: *The Arizona Republic*, “Migrant reform moves forward in U.S. Senate,” June 12, 2013). Episodically framed stories can, and often do, exemplify generalizations. However, they also show the “faces” of actual people, who were interviewed and given the opportunity to tell their specific, personal, stories. So, to use another example already mentioned, it is not a couple of unspecified “illegal (or undocumented) immigrants” who escaped deportation at the end of their trial on charges of illegal immigration, but “Carlos and Sandra Figueroa.” Husband and wife overstayed their tourist visa in 1997. They were hard workers in a car wash in Phoenix until they were arrested during a Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office sweep in 2009. Meanwhile, they had become parents to a daughter born in the United States (Story 1.5: *The Arizona*

Republic, “Phoenix couple no longer facing deportation,” July 17, 2013). Many readers who posted online comments on the Figueroa’s story expressed disapproval of the couple’s actions. Others, however, empathized with them.

Reporters and editors have more control over the way content is framed when they tell human interest stories, which coincidentally also appeal to larger shares of the public. If aware of their role in creating and perpetuating stereotypes as well as of their power to challenge stereotypes (regardless of story format), journalists can use their ability to shape content in spite of time, space, and resource constraints. They should feel compelled to do so.

APPENDIX A

CODING PROTOCOL 1: STORIES

Coding instructions

Your task is to read a number of news stories, editorials, opinions, and letters to the editor about immigration or involving immigrants published by four newspapers over a 12-month period, and to answer the 28 questions listed in this protocol. Enter your answer (represented by a number, or code) in the corresponding box in the coding sheet provided.

Definitions

Story: newspaper article.

Headline: title of a news story, written in a larger font, usually bold.

Byline: name of the person who wrote the story; sometimes a news agency.

Body: the text that follows the byline or the headline, if there is no byline.

Phrase: pair or group of words that make a linguistic expression.

News agency (or wire service): organization that gathers news reports and sells them to newspapers, radio and TV broadcasting services, online news services.

Frame: depiction of a subject, object, issue, or phenomenon deriving from selecting or highlighting particular attributes.

Units of analysis

The “objects” you are going to consider while coding are:

- Story;
- Phrase;
- Word.

Here are the questions:

0. Story ID:
 - (#) [Enter number]
1. When was the story published?

(Enter date in MM/DD format)
2. How many online comments are attached to the story?
 - (#) [Enter number displayed, often on top of page, or underneath last line. If the story isn't followed by any comment, enter 0.]
3. How many times was the story shared/recommended/liked on Facebook?
 - (#) [Enter number displayed, often on top of page, or underneath last line. If the story wasn't shared/recommended/liked by anybody, enter 0. If the story was both share and liked on Facebook, enter the largest number between the two.]
4. How many times was the story shared on Twitter?
 - (#) [Enter number displayed, often on top of page, or underneath last line. If the story wasn't shared by anybody, enter 0.]
5. Which newspaper published the story?
 - (1) The Arizona Republic
 - (2) Arizona Daily Star
 - (3) Corriere della Sera
 - (4) la Repubblica
6. Which byline does the story carry (i.e., who wrote the story)?
 - (1) Name of reporter(s)

[NOTE: Sometimes, syndicated stories carry a byline consisting of journalist's name and agency name; such stories' bylines should be coded as "News Agency" (2). Letters to the editor should be coded as (1).]
 - (2) News agency [e.g. AP, Reuters, etc.]
 - (3) "Staff," "Redazione," "Redazione Online" and the like, *or* no byline
7. If the story is a news agency story, which agency provided the story?
 - (1) AP (Associated Press)
 - (2) Others English (Reuters, UPI, Bloomberg, etc.)
 - (3) Others Italian (ANSA, AGI, ADNKronos, etc.)
 - (99) N/A (stories with byline or signed as "staff")

8. What is the format of the story?

- (1) News
- (2) Opinion: editorial or op-ed *
- (3) Opinion: letter to the editor **

TIP: Use the format indicated or highlighted in the web page as a guideline. Most news web sites make it clear which format the story is.

* Book, music, and movie reviews usually express the writer's opinion on the artifacts reviewed: such reviews should therefore be considered opinions.

** Letters to the editor are often clustered in one web page: select and code only the letter that contains the words "immigration," "immigrant," "refugee," "alien," "asylum seeker," or their Italian equivalents "immigrazione," "immigrato/-i/-a/-e," "rifugiato/profugo/-i/-a/-e," "straniero/-i/-a/-e," "richiedente/-i asilo." If more than one such letter is present, code the first.

9. In which section of the newspaper/news web site was the story published?

- (1) World/International
- (2) Nation/State *
- (3) Local **

TIP: Use the section indicated or highlighted in the web page as a guideline. Most news web sites make it clear which section the story falls under.

In general, stories that address immigration in general terms, as a societal issue, particularly from a political standpoint, are likely to fall into the category "Nation/State" (2) even though talks on the topic take place in a specific location (usually the capital; in this case, Rome, Washington D.C., and Phoenix, AZ). This is because the topic is of interest or has consequences on a State or national scale.

Conversely, stories about specific events are likely to fall into the category "Local" (3). A story on a boat loaded with immigrants arriving ashore, or one on a group of immigrants who escaped death in the desert by calling the U.S. Border Patrol would fall into this category; a story chronicling a protest in favor or against immigration reform would be a "specific event" that takes place in a specific location and is usually a "Local" story (3); a separate story outlining the motives for such a protest would probably fall into "societal or political issue" and should generally be considered a "Nation/State" matter (2).

* U.S. newspapers have been historically local. Therefore, the U.S. press usually categorizes under "National" not only stories about federal politics and policies, but also, for example, stories about events of many kinds (crime, accidents, human interest, severe weather, etc.) that take place in states other than that where the newspaper is published. Such stories are "national news" because they are likely to be of interest to people living all over the U.S. even though they do not directly affect them.

In Italy, instead, under the section “Nation” fall mostly stories about events that are of national relevance in that they affect the whole country; for example, national politics, lifestyle, health, etc. Stories about events that do not take place where the newspaper is published and do not have direct effect on the entire nation are likely to be considered local news, and to be identified as such through a local dateline or reference to a regional section or edition.

For the purposes of this research, coders will apply the “Italian model” and—for both Arizona and Italian newspapers—will code as local news the stories about particular events that take place within the country’s borders but in locations other than where the newspapers are published. Coders will code as “Nation/State” stories about events that affect the entire state of Arizona or the whole U.S., such as state or federal politics.

** Sometimes, a story that takes place in another country falls, journalistically, under local news. For example, if U.S. citizen who lives in Phoenix is arrested abroad, in *The Arizona Republic* he or she is likely to be protagonist of a local story.

10. What is the subject of the story?

(1) Business, Economy, Finance; *Affari, Economia, Finanza*

(2) Crime, Courts, Accidents; *Cronaca nera e giudiziaria*

[Include follow-up and court stories.

NOTE: In Italian journalism, the label “cronaca nera” applies not only to crimes but to all events that cause injuries and deaths. “Cronaca nera” includes suicides, car, plane, or train crashes, and other kinds of accidents. For the purposes of this research, use the Italian categorization and code as “Crime” also suicides, car, plane, train crashes, and other accidents that produced injuries or deaths.]

(3) Culture, Entertainment, Style; *Cultura, Spettacoli, Società*

[include stories about social, cultural, and religious trends, announcements and reviews of exhibits, movies, plays, books, restaurant openings, etc.]

(4) Politics

[include government, education, health care policies, political debates on elections or policies; include court rulings on controversial policies]

(5) Science, Technology, Health

[include health-related research, non-governmental policies about health insurance]

(6) Sports

(99) Other/Uncertain

TIP: Use the subject indicated or highlighted in the web page as a guideline. Most news web sites make it clear which subject the story falls under.

11. Is the word “immigration” only mentioned “en passant” in a story that does not really address immigration issues (e.g. a story about elections in which the topic immigration is just listed or mentioned with other topics, or a story in which the term immigration or immigrant is applied to phenomena and people who are not moving from one geographic area to the other, as if metaphorically)?

- (0) NO
- (1) YES

12. Thematic vs episodic frame: Which of the following describes best the angle from which immigration and immigrants are addressed in the story?

TIP: Focus on the first three paragraphs but consider the whole story if they do not prove useful to answer the question.

- (1) The story addresses immigrants and immigration in general terms, as a societal or political issue.

[Sometimes, immigrants and immigration are addressed directly, and they are the subject of the story from line one; at other times, immigrants and immigration are the main topic of the story even though the story is about someone or something else, such as a politician debating immigration, a director presenting a documentary on immigration, or an author presenting a book about immigration.

Sometimes, the main topic of the story is not immigration but safety against crime, or terrorism; the story is about safety in general and refers to immigrants and immigration in this context; the story is not about a specific episode of crime or terrorism. In this category would for example fall a story on the feeling of lack of security among the population that listed undocumented immigrants along with youth crime, poverty, unemployment, and other factors as causes of such feeling. A story about drug trafficking as a crime trend, in which immigrants end up involved, would fall into this category.

However, a story about a specific group of immigrants arrested on a specific day for drug trafficking would be coded as a crime story reporting a specific event (2), not as a story that addresses safety issues; along the same lines, a story about policies put in place by a government, or laws passed by a parliament to address drug trafficking as a crime trend would be coded as addressing societal or political issues even though such a trend might see large numbers of immigrants involved.]

- (2) The story reports on a specific event, e.g. a crime, accident, military combat, natural disaster, or other humanitarian emergency.

[A story on a boat loaded with immigrants arriving ashore, or one on a group of immigrants who escaped death in the desert by calling the U.S. Border Patrol would fall into this category; a story chronicling a protest in favor or against immigration reform would be a “specific event” (2); a separate story outlining the motives for such a protest would probably fall into “societal or political issue” (1).]

- (3) The story provides an example of integration of immigrants, e.g. successful people.

[Stories profiling specific people are likely to fall into this category. For example, a story about the fact that the first black minister in Italy became a doctor after immigrating from Congo will fall into this category.]

- (4) The story announces or advertises activities or policies that foster integration or are aimed at fostering integration.

[Examples of stories of this kind are stories about classes to teach English or Italian to immigrants, fundraisers, events meant to raise awareness of immigration policies and the difficulties faced by immigrants. Only stories that announce, advertise, or illustrate such activities falls in this category; stories that describe how protests in support of immigrants took place fall into the category of “specific events” (3).]

- (99) Other angles/Uncertain

13. Note whether any of the following words appear in the headline, in the subhead, or in the *occhiello* or *sopratitolo* (often used in Italian newspapers). If any of the words appear both in the headline and subhead, code the word in the headline. If more than one of the listed words appear in the headline, code the first word.

	<u>English</u>		<u>Italian</u>
(1)	immigration*	(1)	immigrazione*
(2)	immigrant(s)**	(2)	immigrato/-i/-a/-e**
(3)	refugee	(3)	rifugiato/profugo/-i/-a/-e
(4)	alien/foreigner	(4)	straniero/-i/-a/-e
(5)	asylum seeker	(5)	richiedente/-i asilo
(99)	NONE of them	(99)	NESSUNA di queste parole

* code as “immigration”/”immigrazione” the variations “emigration,” “migration,” “emigrazione,” and “migrazione.”

** code as “immigrant”/”immigrato” the variations “emigrant,” “émigré” and “migrant,” “emigrato,” and “migrante.”

NOTE: If one of the listed words appears in both headline and subhead, or one in the headline and one in the subhead, code the word in the headline. If more than one of the listed words appear in the headline (or in the subhead), and a part of the headline (or subhead) is a quotation that includes one of those words, code only the part of the headline (or subhead) that is NOT a quotation. If two or more of the listed words appear in the headline (or subhead) outside of a quotation, code the first of the listed words that appears in the headline (or subhead).

14. Note whether any of the following words appear in the headline, in the subhead, or in the *occhiello* or *sopratitolo* (often used in Italian newspapers). If any of the words appear both in the headline and subhead, code the word in the headline. If more than one of the listed words appear in the headline, code the first word.

<u>English</u>	<u>Italian</u>
(1) illegal	(1) illegale/-i
(2) clandestine	(2) clandestino/-i/-a/-e
(3) undocumented	(3) irregolare
	(4) extracomunitario
(99) NONE of them	(99) NESSUNA di queste parole

NOTE: If one of the listed words appears in both headline and subhead, or one in the headline and one in the subhead, code the word in the headline. If more than one of the listed words appear in the headline (or in the subhead), and a part of the headline (or subhead) is a quotation that includes one of those words, code only the part of the headline (or subhead) that is NOT a quotation. If two or more of the listed words appear in the headline (or subhead) outside of a quotation, code the first of the listed words that appears in the headline (or subhead).

15. Role of immigrants: choose the option that best describes the role attributed to immigrants in the story.

- (1) Victim of some kind of event/situation
 [Immigrants killed or injured in accidents or because involved in crimes; immigrants suffering because of unfair situations, laws, policies, controversial rulings, etc.; undocumented immigrants who did not decide to cross the border, such as children of undocumented immigrants who did decide to cross the border, are likely—though not necessarily—to appear as victims of their situation.]
- (2) Responsible for some kind of negative event/situation
 [For example immigrants described as criminals or alleged criminals, or depicted as the reason for high unemployment rates.
 Immigrants described as “illegal” or residing “illegally” in the country are automatically considered guilty of breaking rules and should be coded as responsible for a negative situation (2) UNLESS another role emerges more prominently from the story as in case of injuries or death, or when a formerly undocumented immigrant achieves success, academic or otherwise, in the receiving country.
 However, undocumented immigrants who did not decide to cross the border, such as children brought across the border by their undocumented-immigrant parents, are generally NOT portrayed as “responsible” for their situation, i.e., lack of legal status.]

Count and note the number of times the following words or phrases appear in the story, including in the title. Consider only words and phrases that describe or refer to people.

<u>English</u>	<u>Italian</u>
17. <i>illegal immigrant/alien/worker</i> , etc. or <i>illegal(s)</i> [noun abbreviating “illegal immigrant”]	<i>immigrato/lavoratore illegale</i> or <i>illegale</i> [noun abbreviating “immigrato illegale”]
18. -N/A-	<i>immigrato/lavoratore clandestino</i> or <i>clandestino</i> [noun abbreviating “immigrato clandestino”]
19. How many times is the phrase <i>illegal immigrant/alien/worker/etc.</i> or the noun <i>illegal(s)</i> reported in a direct quote ?	
20. <i>undocumented immigrant</i> or <i>undocumented</i> [noun abbreviating “undocumented immigrant”]	<i>immigrato irregolare</i> [noun] or <i>irregolare</i> [noun abbreviating “immigrato irregolare”]
21. How many times is the phrase <i>undocumented immigrant</i> or the noun <i>undocumented</i> reported in a direct quote ?	
22. <i>unauthorized immigrant/alien/worker</i> , etc.	-N/A-
23. <i>Dreamer(s)</i> or <i>DREAMer(s)</i>	-N/A-
24. <i>refugee</i>	<i>rifugiato</i> or <i>profugo</i>
25. <i>asylum seeker(s)</i>	<i>richiedente asilo</i>
26. <i>foreigner</i> or <i>foreign</i>	<i>straniero</i> [noun or adjective]
27. <i>foreign-born</i> or <i>xyz-born</i>	<i>di origine/-i (...)</i> or <i>originario di (...)</i>
28. -N/A-	<i>extracomunitario</i>

TIP: You have the option of reading the story online: most web browsers have a function that allows to search the page for words (usually CTRL+F); free add-ons that count all occurrences of a word are also available; alternatively, the text can be copied and pasted in a word processing document and searched for specific words as well.

NOTE: For each variable, the words or phrases listed refer to all grammatical categories of number (singular and plural) and gender (masculine and feminine).

With stories in English, consider occurrences of the variable “illegal”—hence count them as such—both forms of the noun: “illegal” (singular) and “illegals” (plural).

By the same token, consider occurrences of the variable “illegal immigrant” both forms of the phrase: “illegal immigrant” (singular) and “illegal immigrants” (plural). The same applies to the other variables.

With stories in Italian, consider occurrences of the variable “illegale”—hence count them as such—all forms of the noun: “illegale” (singular, masculine and feminine), “illegali” (plural, masculine and feminine). Consider occurrences of the variable “clandestino” all forms of the noun: “clandestino” (singular, masculine), “clandestina” (singular, feminine), “clandestini” (plural, masculine), and “clandestine” (plural, feminine). By the same token, consider occurrences of the variable “immigrato illegale” all occurrences of the phrase: “immigrato illegale” (singular, masculine), “immigrata illegale” (singular, feminine), “immigrati illegali” (plural, masculine), “immigrate illegali” (plural, feminine). The same applies to all other variables for Italian words and phrases.

APPENDIX B

CODING PROTOCOL 2: COMMENTS

Coding instructions

Your task is to read a number of online comments attached to news stories and opinions about immigration or involving immigrants published by four newspapers over a 12-month period, and to answer the seven questions listed in this protocol. Enter your answer (represented by a number, or code) in the corresponding box in the coding sheet provided.

Definitions

Online comment: Series of words written by a newspaper reader arranged in one or more phrases, sentences, and paragraphs that follow a news story and provide a response or an opinion on the story or the topic discussed in the story.

Author (or commenter): reader who wrote the online comment.

All caps: typing style in which all types of a word are capitalized, e.g. ALL CAPS.

Units of analysis

The “objects” you are going to consider while coding are:

- Online comment;
- Word;
- Punctuation mark.

Here are the questions:

0. Comment ID:

(#) [Enter number identifying comment.]

1. Story ID:

(#) [For each comment coded, enter the ID number of the story to which the comment was attached.]

2. When was the comment posted?

[Enter date in MM/DD format]

NOTE: Some newspapers, namely *Repubblica.it*, do not display the date and time a comment was posted. Instead, they display the number of days that have gone by since the comment was posted. In such cases, the day when the first five comments were posted is assumed to be the same day the story to which the comments are attached was published. Enter the date on which the story was published.

3. Which newspaper published the comment?

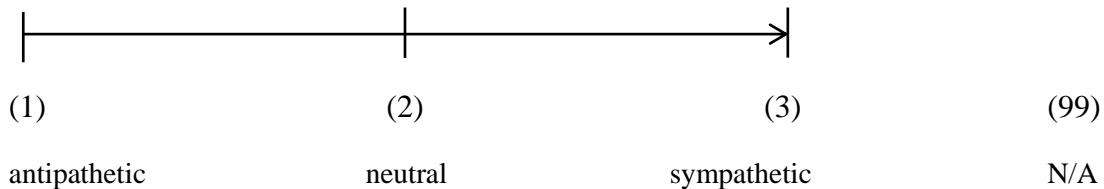
- (1) The Arizona Republic
- (2) Arizona Daily Star
- (3) Corriere della Sera
- (4) la Repubblica

4. Is the comment's author anonymous?

- (0) No
- (1) Yes

NOTE: In anonymous comments, the author's name is usually a nickname. Non-anonymous comments usually report first and last name of the commenter. Sometimes, commenters who want to remain anonymous might be able to post comments that at first sight are non-anonymous but actually carry clearly fake names: e.g. "John Doe," "Super Mario," "Pinco Pallino," etc. Code such comments as anonymous.

5. Does the comment provide any stance on immigrants and immigration identifiable as "antipathy" or "sympathy" for immigrants? Answer the question using a 3-point ordinal scale on which the least score (1) corresponds to "antipathetic," the middle value (2) to "neutral" (neither sympathetic nor antipathetic), and the maximum score (3) to "sympathetic." Comments that do not address the subject of immigrants and immigration at all should be coded as N/A (99).



NOTE: Antipathetic comments are comments that express criticism and rejection of immigrants. Generally, antipathetic comments do not support legal reforms

aimed at allowing easier paths to residency, citizenship, and asylum, and for example call for stricter rules governing entry, visas and asylum rights. They are critical of current immigration policies and trends. Often blame immigrants but can also blame non-immigrants, such as employers who hire immigrants (particularly if undocumented) and advocates of immigration reform, such as members of organizations that help immigrants and political parties that support immigration reform.

Sympathetic comments are comments that express acceptance of and openness to immigrants. Such comments support legal reforms aimed at allowing easier paths to residency, citizenship and asylum. They also express empathy and sorrow for immigrants who suffer. Criticism of people who disrespect immigrants should be considered expression of sympathy for immigrants. Comments that express criticism of people who are antipathetic to immigrants but do not express clear and direct sympathy for immigrants should also be coded as sympathetic to immigrants. Sometimes, comments express support for reforms of immigration laws and policies BUT “concede” or “premise” that criticism of immigrants and leaner immigration policies is justified. Such comments should be coded as “sympathetic.”

Comments expressing positions that are ambivalent on the subject of immigrants and immigration and don’t seem to lean neither toward “antipathy” nor toward “sympathy” should be coded as “neutral” (2).

TIP: Coders should pay attention to expressions of irony, sarcasm, and rhetorical questions, which can make it challenging to interpret the comments that contain them.

6. Is the comment offensive in that it insults anybody? Pay particular attention to slurs, profanities, cusswords, and other derogatory remarks and harsh expressions of disapproval. Pay attention to people’s first and/or last names that were altered by the commenter.

- (0) No
- (1) Yes

7. Does the comment include words in all caps and/or sentences that end with exclamation points, as if to indicate raising one’s voice and/or stressing words and ideas?

- (0) No
- (1) Yes

NOTE: Do NOT consider acronyms: e.g., “FBI,” “CIA,” “CBP,” “SB 1070,” “IRS,” “ADS” (Arizona Daily Star), etc.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF STORY SAMPLES

Headline, Date (Format, Subject, Section)

The Arizona Republic

- 1.1 Silicon Valley-area hub becomes Tesla factory town, May 19, 2013 (News, Business/Finance/Economy, Local news)
- 1.2 Robb: Low-skill jobs need to pay, August 22, 2013 (News, Business/Finance/Economy, Nation/State)
- 1.3 Mexico's growing middle class, easy proximity make it trade partner to watch, October 19, 2013 (News, Business/Finance/Economy, International/World)
- 1.4 3 Chinese immigrants found in car trunk in Arizona, November 13, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 1.5 After 4 years, Phoenix couple no longer facing deportation, July 17, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 1.6 Phoenix double stabbing leaves two dead, April 29, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 1.7 Pinal County Sheriff's Office: Five immigrants arrested in Maricopa with marijuana, December 3, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 1.8 Documents: MCSO, ACLU differ on how to resolve racial profiling case, August 23, 2013 (News, Politics, Local)
- 1.9 Gay issue may roil immigration debate, February 10, 2013 (News, Politics, Local)
- 1.10 Judge lets immigrant-license policy in Ariz. stand, May 16, 2013 (News, Politics, Nation/State)
- 1.11 Migrant reform moves forward in U.S. Senate, June 12, 2013 (News, Politics, Nation/State)
- 1.12 It does hurt to assist 'dreamers,' August 20, 2013 (Opinion/Letter to editor, Politics, Nation/State)
- 1.13 2 more cases for immigration reform (as if we needed them), August 23, 2013 (Opinion/Editorial, Politics, Nation/State)

Arizona Daily Star

- 2.1 Minorities's (sic) current plight raises concern for future workforce, July 15, 2013 (News, Business/Finance/Economy, Nation/State)
- 2.2 Proposed border fee troubles businesses near Canada, May 28, 2013 (News, Business/Finance/Economy, Nation/State)
- 2.3 Attorney says border-crossers at center of Tucson protest were deported, October 12, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 2.4 Drug busts keep Nogales border officers busy, July 8, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 2.5 Family of border slaying victim vows to pursue suit vs. US, August 13, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 2.6 Migrants rescued after falling off cliff near Rio Rico, July 5, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 2.7 Nearly \$1M worth of pot found hidden in watermelon shipment, December 13, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 2.8 Jewish and Latino communities share history, goals in Tucson, November 24, 2013 (News, Culture/Entertainment/Style, Local)
- 2.9 For inaugural poet, a journey home to America, November 29, 2013 (News, Culture/Entertainment/Style, Nation/State)
- 2.10 Black leaders in Tucson voice immigration-reform support, June 21, 2013 (News, Politics, Local)
- 2.11 Some see 'border surge' as too costly, June 28, 2013 (News, Politics, Local)
- 2.12 Boehner calls out Rep. King on immigration insult, July 25, 2013 (News, Politics, Nation/State)
- 2.13 Israel to deport illegal African immigrants, June 4, 2013 (News, Politics, International/World)
- 2.14 Germany's population drops 1.5 million to 80.2 M, May 31, 2013 (News, Culture/Entertainment/Style, International/World)
- 2.15 Language wars, both French and English, should cease, May 24, 2013 (Opinion, Culture/Entertainment/Style, International/World)

Corriere della Sera

- 3.1 L'avanzata cinese. Un residente su sei ha un'impresa, May 14, 2012 (News, Business/Finance/Economy, Local)
- 3.2 In azienda è l'ora del team misto, June 7, 2013 (News, Business/Finance/Economy, Nation)
- 3.3 Aggredito dopo un contatto sotto i portici, finisce in ospedale, February 4, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 3.4 Chiede il biglietto a tre peruviane sul bus, picchiata controllora ATM, January 4, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 3.5 Dottoressa uccisa, fermato fratello della vittima indiana, September 10, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 3.6 Tragico naufragio a Lampedusa. Il sindaco: «Il mare è pieno di morti», October 3, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 3.7 Trucchi all'arsenico e «liscianti» alla formaldeide: il mercato delle contraffazioni, June 24, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Nation)
- 3.8 Viminale: «Il 30% degli omicidi ha come vittima una donna», August 15, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Nation)
- 3.9 Kazakistan, «Shalabayeva non è agli arresti indagata per tangenti, non può lasciare Almaty», July 13, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, World)
- 3.10 Palermo, cresce il numero di immigrati regolari che chiede assistenza sanitaria, May 13, 2013 (News, Culture/Entertainment/Style, Local)
- 3.11 «Mai più discriminati dalla lingua» De Mauro e la guida per gli immigrati, February 8, 2013 (News, Culture/Entertainment/Style, Nation)
- 3.12 Grazie agli stranieri cresciamo dello 0,5%, June 25, 2013 (News, Culture/Entertainment/Style, Nation)
- 3.13 Il Consiglio salva l'assessore che offese il ministro Kyenge, August 1, 2013 (News, Politics, Local)
- 3.14 Carrozza e la quota stranieri a scuola «In certe aree non si può rispettare», September 19, 2013 (News, Politics, Nation)
- 3.15 Chi è Cécile Kyenge, ministro per l'Integrazione «Un passo decisivo per cambiare l'Italia», April 27, 2013 (News, Politics, Nation)

- 3.16 Ghanesi fermati per violenza sessuale. Zaia: Kyenge onori vittima. Pd: razzista, April 30, 2013 (News, Politics, Nation)
- 3.17 Troppi stranieri dalla Lombardia: la Svizzera «blinda» il confine, June 5, 2013 (News, Politics, World)
- 3.18 Diritti, non deroghe, June 27, 2013 (Opinion, Politics, Local)

la Repubblica

- 4.1 Aumentano gli imprenditori stanieri (sic): lo scorso anno erano quasi 480mila, March 2, 2013 (News, Business/Finance/Economy, Nation)
- 4.2 Londra invasa da italiani e spagnoli. Cercano lavoro, ma gli inglesi: “Pigs here,” November 29, 2013 (News, Business/Finance/Economy, World)
- 4.3 Lampedusa, vittime salgono a 339 salvati oggi quasi mille migranti, October 11, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 4.4 Naufragio Lampedusa, le polemiche “Potevamo salvarne molti di più,” October 5, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Local)
- 4.5 Traffico di migranti dal Corno d’Africa, due insospettabili fra i 55 arrestati, January 15, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, Nation)
- 4.6 Germania, 756 omicidi irrisolti: si indaga sulla cellula neonazi degli ‘omicidi del kebab,’ December 4, 2013 (News, Crime/Courts/Accidents, World)
- 4.7 Immigrati fuori dall’emergenza, dalle pagine della cronaca nera a quelle di politica, economia, sport, cultura, December 13, 2013 (News, Culture/Entertainment/Style, Nation)
- 4.8 Migranti, sono 214 milioni. “Vita per gente di serie B,” May 23, 2013 (News, Culture/Entertainment/Style, World)
- 4.9 La leghista di Monza: “Immigrati annegati? Un motivo in più per non mangiare il tonno,” June 19, 2013 (News, Politics, Local)
- 4.10 Ragazza stuprata da Ghanese, Zaia “Ora il ministro Kyenge visiti la vittima,” May 1, 2013 (News, Politics, Nation)
- 4.11 Chiudono i centri, 13mila rifugiati in strada “Agli immigrati buonuscita di 500 euro,” February 25, 2013 (News, Politics, Nation)

- 4.12 Lavoratori immigrati, l'Italia apre le porte a metà: previsto l'ingresso di sole 5600 persone, December 17, 2013 (News, Politics, Nation)
- 4.13 Il nuovo sistema europeo d'asilo "Un passo avanti, ma la meta è lontana," June 12, 2013 (News, Politics, World)
- 4.14 Jyrki Katainen: "Servono più risorse dall'Europa, no a una sede in Italia di Frontex," October 15, 2013 (News, Politics, World)
- 4.15 Se ancora resiste il culto della razza, July 17, 2013 (Opinion, Culture/Entertainment/Style, Nation)

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