

**From the Margins to the Mainstream?
Far-Right Politics in Europe and beyond**

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Humans, Threat, or Management?

Framing Immigration in the Media during the
2022 Italian Election

Final Essay

Word Count: 2,076 (References, Footnotes, and Appendix excluded)

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Introduction

On September 25th, 2022, Italians were called to the polls to elect the parliament that would constitute its XIX legislature. They expressed their preference for the right-wing coalition, led by radical right politician Giorgia Meloni and her party Fratelli d'Italia (FdI), now in charge of the Italian executive. This result was far from surprising. The 2022 electoral campaign was characterised by a great imbalance between the political forces. Lacking a cohesive coalition, the left was “forced to chase the right-wing coalition, which dictated the public agenda, and marched undisturbed toward a decisive victory” (Bertero & Scaduto, 2023, p. 14). With the right paving the way, one of the main focuses of the campaign was that of immigration (Bertero & Scaduto, 2023), a topic traditionally dear to radical right parties (RRPs). Within a context of increasing salience, politicisation, and polarization of the immigration debate – a trend for which RRP are mainly responsible (Hutter & Kriesi, 2022) – this paper employs a mixed-method approach to look at how immigration was covered in the Italian media ecosystem. In doing so, it emphasises how media coverage (mis)aligns with both the frames of RRP and the concerns of radical-right voters.

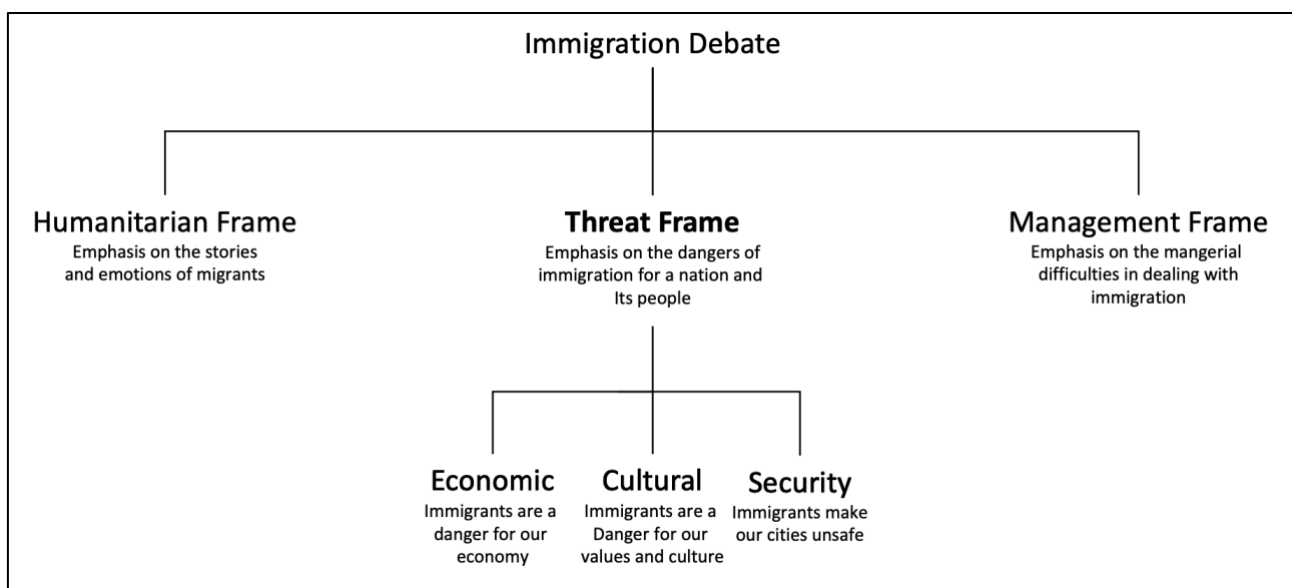
Literature review and theoretical Framework

Previous literature on the relation between the radical right and the media often focuses on the ways in which the former are covered in the news (e.g., de Jonge, 2019), how their events manage to gain coverage (e.g., Castelli Gattinara & Froio, 2019), or how political opportunity structures (POS) provide constraints for RRP to access the media. Less research has been conducted into how the media covers topics owned by RRP, linking how the frames proposed in the media relate to those employed by RRP themselves and their voters. In doing so, this paper draws from literature on RRP, media studies, and political communication.

Although it not unavoidably being the necessary condition for electoral support for RRP (Stockemer et al., 2021), there is ample evidence that (anti-)immigration attitudes not only relate to voting for RRP but are one of – if not *the* – main aspects on which the radical right is able to mobilise voters (Ivarsflaten, 2008; Rooduijn et al., 2017; Rydgren, 2008; van der Brug & Fennema, 2007). Very much in line with the nativist worldview of these political actors, anti-immigration stances can take different forms depending on which grievances are mobilised. While some scholars point to the importance of culture in the increasing support for anti-immigration stances – immigrants are a threat to a nation's culture – (Inglehart & Norris, 2016), others emphasise the strategy of linking immigration to security concerns – immigrants are criminals and cause social unrest (Rydgren, 2008). More recent literature has emphasized the increasing role of mobilizing economic grievances related to immigration, a strategy undertaken by successful RRP in Europe (Halikiopoulou & Vlandas, 2020). Drawing from these three conceptions, we can start to understand RRP's framing of immigration based on the mobilization of three sets of grievances: economic, cultural, and security-related – all of which have been recognized as fundamental dimensions of the immigration debate as well (Castelli Gattinara, 2019). What is more, all three might be mobilized by emphasizing both a socio-tropic – concerns about the nation – and an ego-tropic – concerns about oneself – dimension (Stockemer & Halikiopoulou, 2023).

Moreover, media studies identify three recurring immigration frames: the humanitarian, management, and threat frames (Mancini et al., 2021). The first deals with ‘human interest stories’ – emphasizing the need to narrate immigrants’ stories and emotions. The second highlights the difficulties of logistically dealing with high numbers.¹ Finally, the third highlights the dangers of immigration and is, in theory, most aligned with the frames engaged by RRP in the ways discussed so far. In this paper, we will therefore refer to the theoretical framework here explained (Figure 1) to understand the framing of immigration in the media during the 2022 election. The focus of the analysis will be on how much the media debate echoed the frames present in the rhetoric and proposals of RRP (Fdi, LN) and their voters, and how prevalent these were compared to other frames.

Figure 1 - Theoretical Framework



Finally, important for the present analysis is the concept of “discursive opportunities” (Koopmans & Olzak, 2004) – here taken to be the basis for defining dominant discourses on immigration. Together with POS, discursive opportunities have been used to explain support for RRP, especially in Europe where the debate on immigration has been both growing in popularity (van Heerden et al., 2014), and becoming increasingly politicized (Hutter & Kriesi, 2022). What is more research has shown that public concerns on immigration relate to media coverage, especially when it comes to concrete issues such as security and the economy (McLaren et al., 2018). This paper draws from this literature to link media and RRP’s framing of immigration.

Research Question

How was immigration covered during the last Italian election? What were the dominant frames? How do they compare to the attitudes of voters and to the framing in RRP?

¹ This includes both discussion about logistics to manage migrants, also with other EU countries, and debates emphasizing national identity – as associated to either nativity and ancestry, or to the respect of laws.

Data, Method, and Research design

The media data was downloaded from Media Cloud (Roberts et al., 2021) in the period covering the electoral campaign and the early stages of government.² The search yielded a total of more than one million news article on various topics discussed in the Italian press. To extract the debate on immigration from the wide corpus, I used a dictionary-based approach, selecting articles based on the presence of specific keywords in their titles.³ This yielded a total of 2,819 articles.

I then use a mixed method approach to analyse this data. First, I employ social network analysis (SNA) to map the composition and clusters resulting from the relations between Italian media outlets. Secondly, I conduct a qualitative content analysis of a sample of the articles to identify which frames are used in each cluster based on the theoretical framework explained above. The network⁴ was constructed using *hyphe*⁵ (Ooghe-Tabanou et al., 2018) to crawl the webpages of the original articles (depth 1). The resulting edgelist (159 nodes and 382 edges) was then visualised and analysed through the SNA software *Gephy* where the Louvain method for community detection (Blondel et al., 2008) was used to identify clusters. A total of 8 main communities were detected. Then, to identify the media frames, I randomly sampled 10% of the articles in each cluster using Python.⁶ This yielded a total of 175 article from 66 different outlets which were then qualitatively coded based on the theoretical framework outlined above. A total of around 20 articles turned out not to be related to immigration, bringing the sample size down to 154 valid articles (see appendix for detail on all these steps).

Importantly, the qualitative analysis identified one novel frame, or, better, absence of frame that I called “news – events”. This refers to small pieces of news which are (i) short (ii) only report facts and figures about specific happenings.⁷ When possible, these were then further categorised into secondary frames based on the original theoretical framework. If not they were still referred to as “news”. What is more, in the coding procedure, the managerial framework was further divided into “Logistical” – highlighting the management of people –, “Border Security”, and “Integration” – highlighting how to integrate/deal with people from and administrative perspective.⁸ Figure 2 below reports the updated theoretical framework.

² Specifically, I collected all media articles from the news outlets present in the [2018 national election study list](#) containing an empty string (“ ”) in the period from the fall of the Draghi government (21/07/2022) until one month after the election (25/10/2022).

³ The list of word is reported in the methodological appendix.

⁴ See appendix figure 8-9.

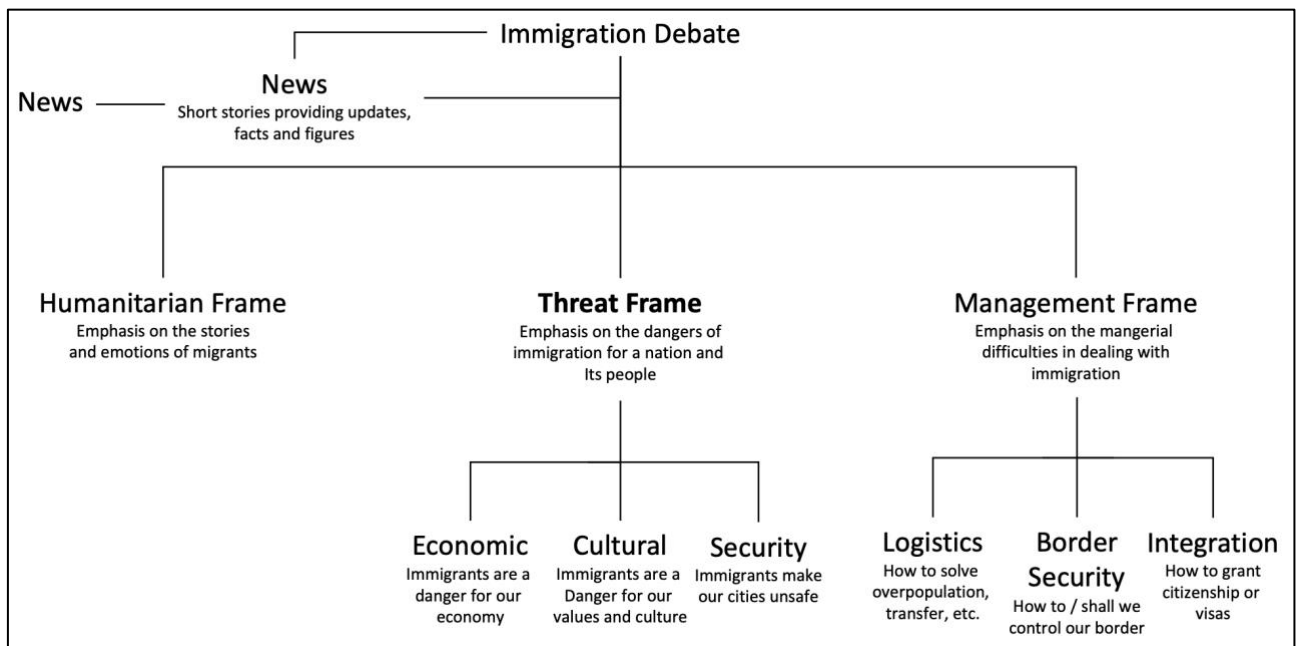
⁵ This tool identifies co-reference networks of the domains in the list – i.e., it iteratively visits each webpage, opens the hyperlinks thereby found, register a connection between the pages, and finally reduces all connections to the domain level. In our case, the nodes in the network were limited to the domains already present in the url list. This means that no novel domain that has been discovered through the crawling process is considered in the present analysis.

⁶ The sample sizes for each community and the domains thereby included are reported in the appendix. Importantly, I qualitatively checked that the main newspapers (identified through PageRank and betweenness centrality metrics derived from the SNA) were included in the sample.

⁷ E.g., “X people landed today at location Y.”

⁸ E.g., citizenship

Figure 2 - Updated Theoretical Framework



Public opinion was surveyed using data from the Italian National Election Study (ITANES) analysed by conducting basic statistical analyses in Python.⁹ Finally, the framing of immigration in the far-right parties was analysed by conducting a content analysis of the programmes of FdI and LN and the right-wing coalition.

Results

1. Radical Right Parties

Meloni's coalition had a great focus on immigration through the security, cultural, and managerial frames. Point 21 of FdI's program (FdI, 2022, pp. 31–32) frames immigration as a threat to public security¹⁰ having a managerially framed solution – especially through the (border) security frame.¹¹ Salvini's LN dedicates 5 pages to the issue (LN, 2022, pp. 91–96), framing it as a threat to Italian culture,¹² but also quite emphatically through the managerial frame, especially from a logistical and border security perspective.¹³ Finally, the joint program (FI et al., 2022, point 6) of the right-wing coalition frames immigration as a security issue, bundling it with other security topics in much the

⁹ To measure attitudes towards immigration, I referred to questions D03_3, D03_4, and D03_5 while D10_1 was used to identify the affiliation to the far right through voting.

¹⁰ "L'immigrazione illegale minaccia la sicurezza e la qualità di vita dei cittadini", (FdI, 2022, p. 31). This is also highlighted by Meloni's instrumentalization of the so-called "Rape of Piacenza", a video-recorded episode whereas a woman was raped by a refugee which was posted on Twitter by Meloni to frame immigration as a security threat.

¹¹ Increasing number of police officers in the streets, opening up new center for migrants, making agreements with source countries.

¹² "L'Africa in Italia non ci sta!" (LN 2022, p. 91).

¹³ The whole section on immigration reduces immigration to managerial issues, especially about how to manage border security and controls ("border security frame"), visas, citizenship ("integration frame"), and the practical dynamics of managing the sheer number of people ("logistics frame"). "Dividere i confini dell'Italia" (LN 2022, p. 91), "[hotspot] sistematicamente con numeri molto elevati" (LN 2022, p. 91).

same was as in Meloni's proposals. As before, we also find the managerial frame – especially through border security.¹⁴

2. Radical Right Public Opinion

From analysing public opinion of voters on the far-right, it arises that 78% of Meloni's think that Italy is receiving and accepting too many migrants. For Salvini's supporters that number is at 72%. In turn, looking at how these voters perceive migrants' impact on Italy, we can see that economic worries are slightly more prevalent than cultural ones among Meloni's supporters and they are significantly more prevalent in the case of Salvini's.¹⁵ The border security aspect does not seem to be particularly important among RRP's voters.

Table 1. The far-right electorate's attitudes towards immigration (percentage of people agreeing with the statement).

Topic	Meloni's electorate	Salvini's Electorate	Radical Right (aggregate)
Italy is accepting too many migrants	78,3%	72,3%	76,8%
Migrants are bad for the Italian economy	63,2%	67,4%	64,1%
Migrants are a threat to Italian culture	61,5%	55,5%	60,1%
Italy's border should be more controlled	29%	17,5%	26,2%

Source: Author's elaboration of ITANES data.

3. Media

Finally, driving media coverage during the campaign were moments of intense migration influx coming at the end of July, and end of August (see figure 3).¹⁶ Media coverage mostly focused on the Mediterranean route, with rare reporting on the Balkanic one.

¹⁴ "Defence of national borders" with "borders check" and blocks to the landings also through agreements with North African countries.

¹⁵ Please not that this is in line with the findings of Halikiopoulou & Vlandas (2020)'s argument that mobilizing the economic grievance over immigration is pivotal in appealing the radical right electorate. It confirms that anti-immigration sentiment is associated with vote for far-right parties.

¹⁶ Likely due to good weather, the last week of July, and the last week of August saw a massive rise in the number of landings in Lampedusa and other location in Sicily. This overwhelmed the welcoming system of the Italian authorities, leading to poor humanitarian conditions, and political debate around the topic. The third peak concerns the week of the elections.

Figure 3 - Media coverage of Immigration

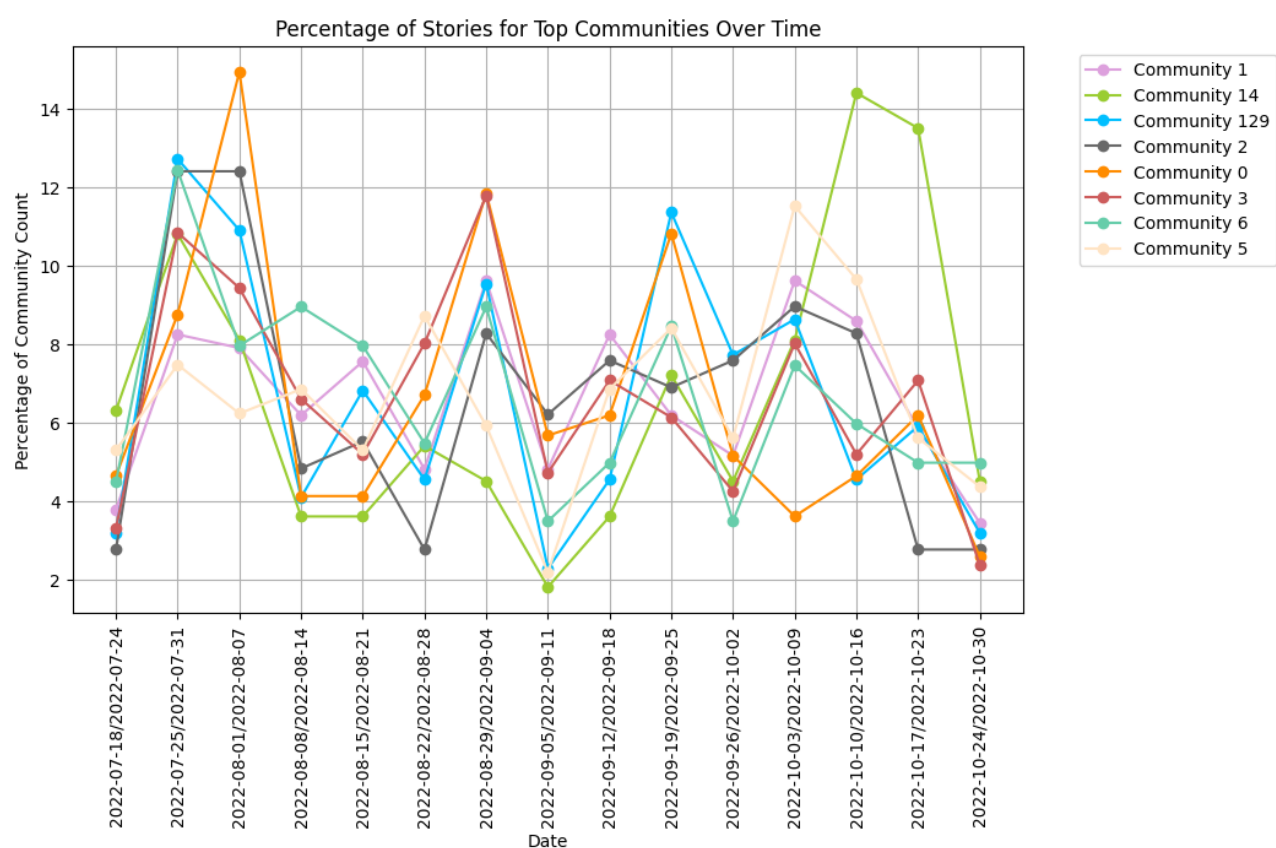


Table 2. Summary of frames detected in the sample.

Frame	Comm 0	Comm 1	Comm 2	Comm 3	Comm 5	Comm 6	Comm 14	Comm 129	Tot
Humanitarian	2	11	0	3	0	2	2	4	24
Threat	1	0	4	2	0	2	0	0	9
Managerial	9	1	6	5	2	12	4	5	44
News – Events	5	8	2	5	21	6	0	10	57
Other	1	6	0	0	4	1	5	2	19

Overall, the prevalent frame represented in the Italian debate was the managerial one which was prevalent in 29% of the media coverage of immigration (Table 2, Figure 4). However, most media coverage (37%) focused simply reporting news and updates. In these cases, still, the reports were mostly hinting at a somewhat of managerial frame in an implicit way – e.g., emphasizing the overcrowded situation at the camps. This frame (the news frame) was predominant especially in

communities 5 and 129, which were made up of mostly local and generalist news outlets (e.g., yahoo, ilgiornaledivicenza) and mostly dominated by the activity of major news agencies (e.g., ansa). Similarly, community 0 includes many news agencies. However, it focused more on contextualising the news in the managerial and humanitarian frames.

The humanitarian frame was also quite present in the media debate (16% of articles), mainly coming from left wing communities such as number 1 (including repubblica, ilpost, lastampa) and 14 (huffingtonpost, formiche.net, internazionale) and community 129. Most importantly to the point of this essay, the threat frame, proper of the rhetoric of RRP was not found to be prevalent in the Italian media discourse (6%). When present it was mostly used through a security lens, especially in more right-wing communities – 2 (Corrieredellasera, ilgiornale), 6 (libero, ilmessaggero), – and populist ones – 3 (ilfattoquotidiano, lanazione). Especially community 2 seems to be the most aligned to the framing of immigration proposed by RRP, emphasizing the threat security frame and the managerial border security one.

Findings are summarised in Table 2 and figures 5-8.

Limitations

This study presents multiple limitations. First, the qualitative analysis is based on a 10% random sample of the whole media coverage, and has been conducted, due to lack of resources, by a single coder. Although systematised based on the conception explained in the theoretical framework and methodology, the results might still be biased by the coder's understanding of it. Second, the dictionary-based approach used to identify the immigration debate from a larger media corpus has drawbacks in terms of precision to identify the object of the discourse. Third, public opinion was analysed through ITANES which is however bound to the specific questions that were asked. Thus, other frames might be prevalent in the public that were not detected by ITANES. Finally, RRP's framing was analysed through the electoral programmes while the very campaign discourse remains outside the scope of this analysis. Future research could include a larger sample, as well as better data for the operationalisation of public opinion (e.g., social media) and political parties (e.g. campaign speeches).

Conclusion

This brief analysis has developed a theoretical framework based on which it has analysed the media coverage, public opinion, and RRP's framings of immigration. The findings show that while for RRP voters the threat frame is highly relevant, the framing in both the media and RRP's rhetoric highlights the managerial one. In this regard the echo of the media with RRP's discourse is most evident in the "border security" frame of immigration, something that is however not too resonant with voters. It is also clear from the analysis that certain communities in the Italian media system align more with the framing of RRP while others focus more on pure reporting or on humanitarian frames. Regardless, the threat frame, which in the literature is strongly associated to RRP's rhetoric and which, especially in its "security" subframe, is emphasised in the Italian RRP's programs, does not find prominence in the Italian media debate. What is more, the economic and cultural frames of the

threat frame are very much absent from the media coverage of immigration despite them being salient among right wing voter. In conclusion, while it not being prevalent in the whole ecosystem, media alignment with RRP's and voters' framing of immigration is still present in specific clusters.

Figure 4

Main Frames by Community

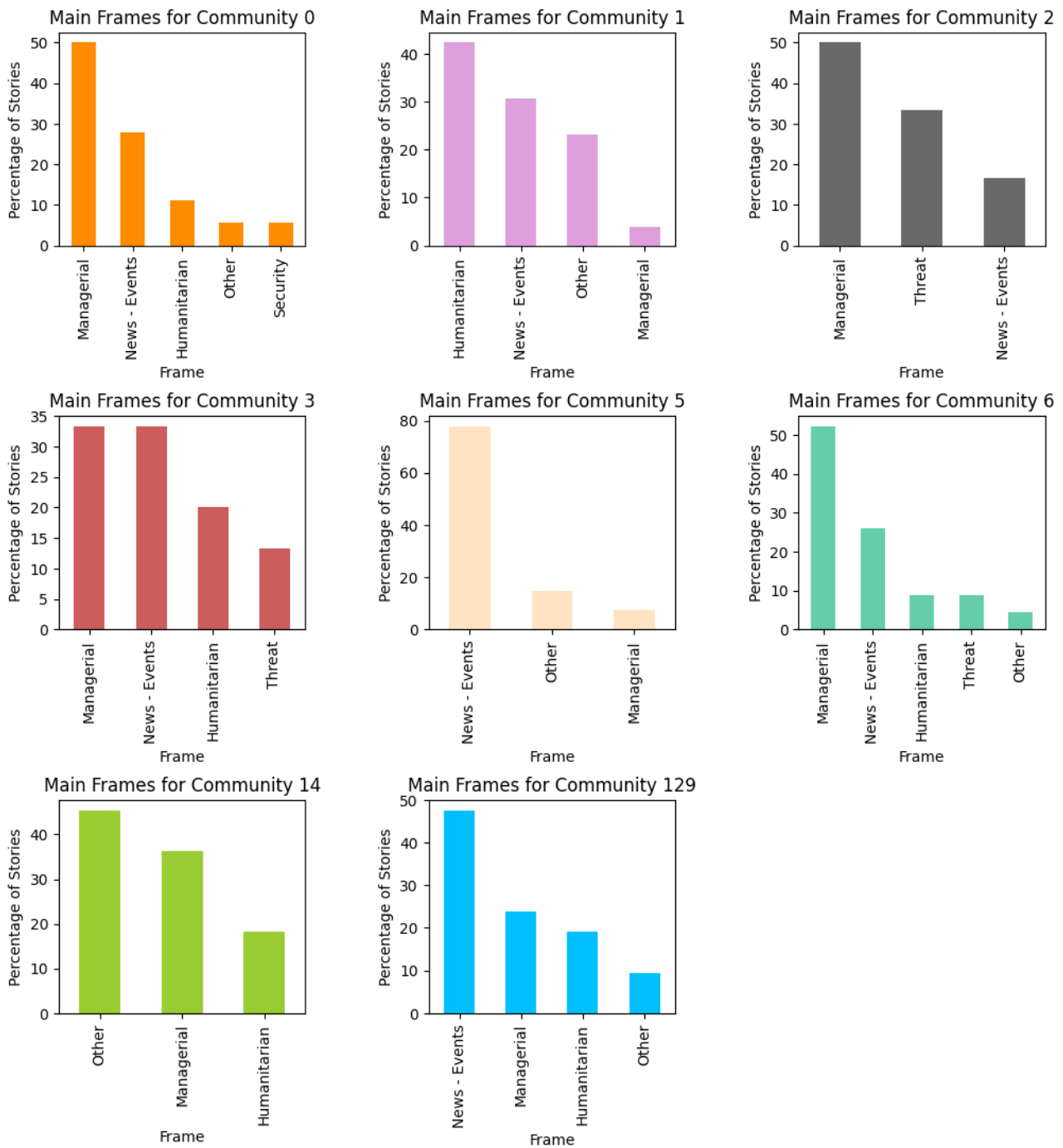


Figure 5

Secondary Frames for 'News - Events' by Community

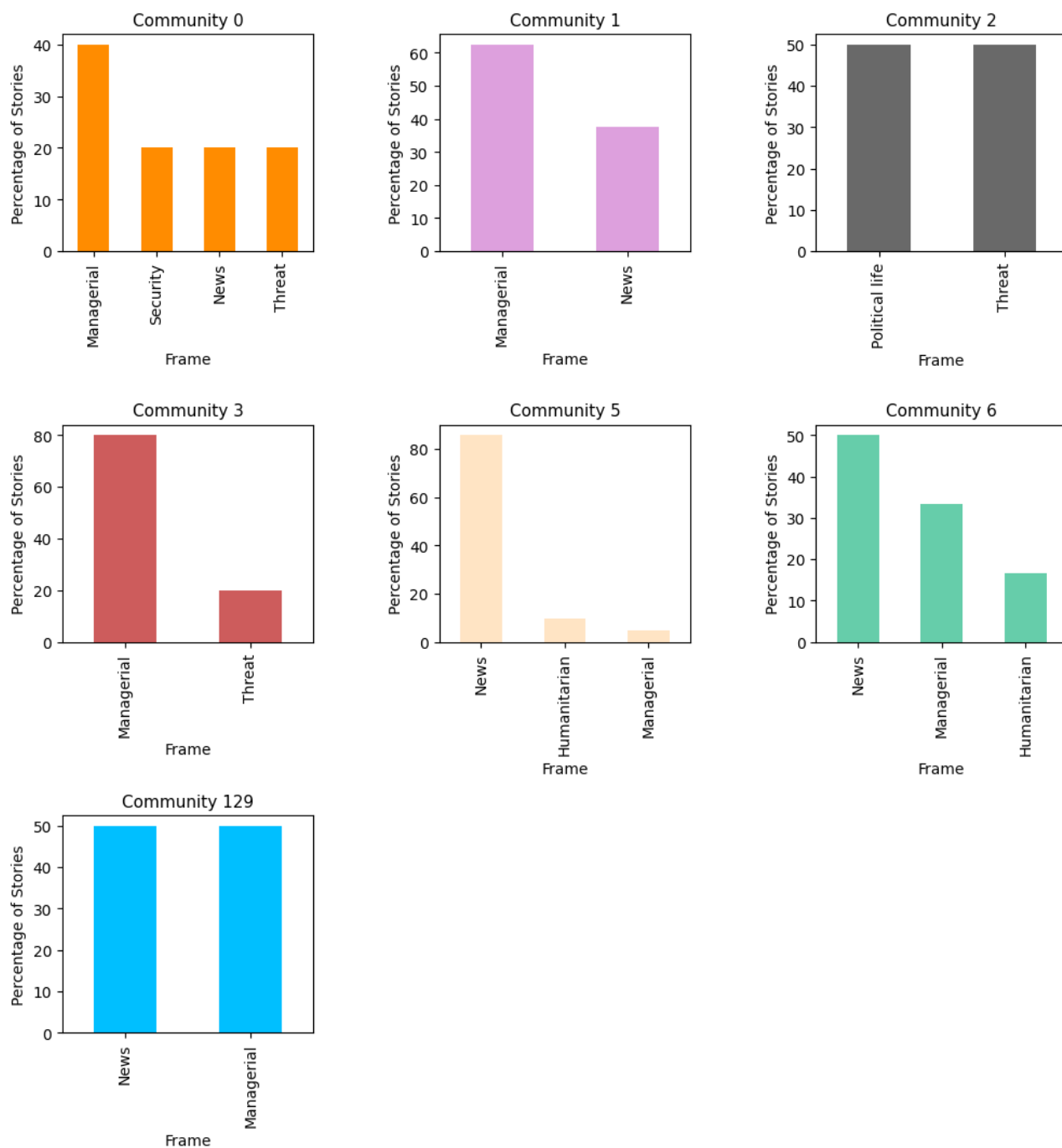


Figure 6

Secondary Frames for 'Managerial' Frame by Community

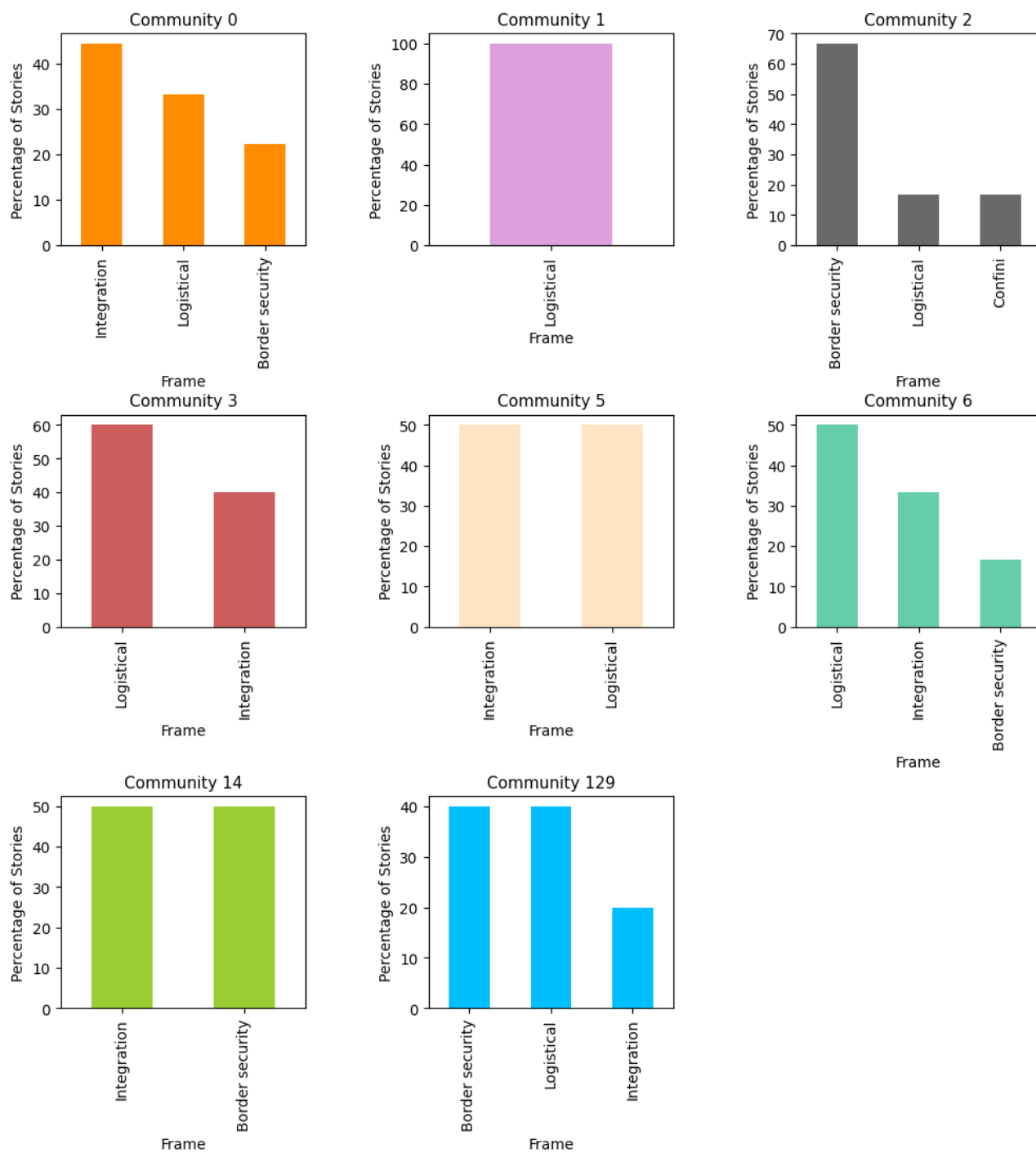
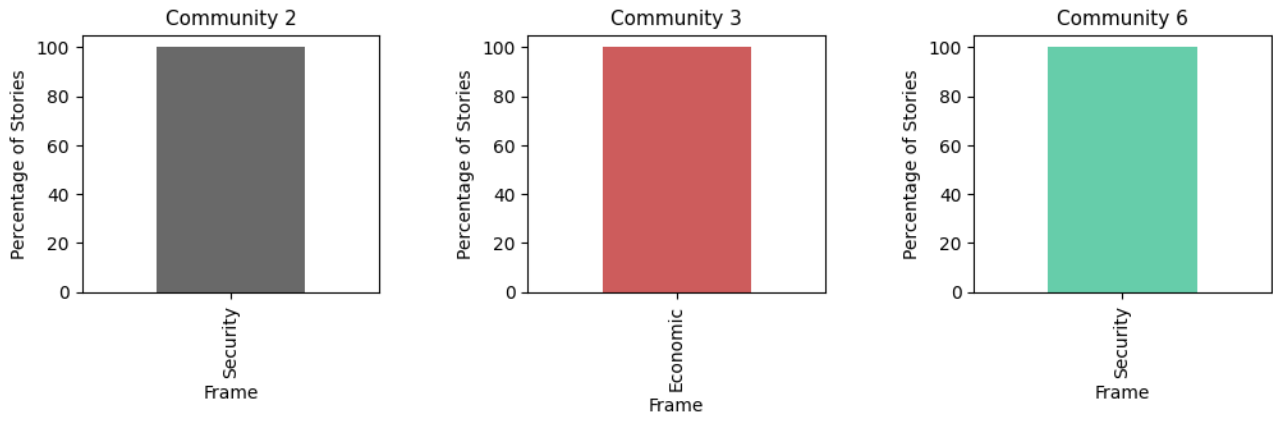


Figure 7

Secondary Frames for 'Threat' Frame by Community



References

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I used this reference to contextualize the study and draw data about the salience of the immigration debate within the electoral campaign

Blondel, V. D., Guillaume, J.-L., Lambiotte, R., & Lefebvre, E. (2008). Fast unfolding of communities in large networks. *Journal of Statistical Mechanics: Theory and Experiment*, 2008(10), P10008. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1742-5468/2008/10/P10008>

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I used this reference to show some of the approaches already used in research about the radical right and the media.

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I used this reference to show some of the approaches already used in research about the radical right and the media.

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I used this reference as source of data for the analysis of RRP

FI, (Forza Italia), LN, (Lega Nord), & Fdl, (Fratelli D'Italia). (2022). *Per L'Italia: Accordo Quadro di Programma per un Governo di Centrodestra*. https://www.ansa.it/documents/1660243246870_CENTRODESTRA.pdf

I used this reference as source of data for the analysis of RRP

Halikiopoulou, D., & Vlandas, T. (2020). When economic and cultural interests align: The anti-

immigration voter coalitions driving far right party success in Europe. *European Political Science Review*, 12(4), 427–448. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S175577392000020X>

I used this reference to identify the economic threat dimension of my theoretical framework

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I used this framework to show that the immigration debate is becoming more polarized, politicised, and salient in the public debate

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<https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2818659>

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I used this reference to show that mobilizing immigration is crucial for the success of radical right parties in elections

Koopmans, R., & Olzak, S. (2004). Discursive Opportunities and the Evolution of Right-Wing Violence in Germany. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(1), 198–230.

<https://doi.org/10.1086/386271>

I used this reference to define discursive opportunity structures and link them to far right support and to the immigration debate

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<https://doi.org/10.1145/3240431.3240434>

I used this reference as a backbone of my method. here they developed the *hyphe* softare.

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I used this reference as a backbone of my method. here they developed the *mediacloud* database from which my media corpus comes.

Rooduijn, M., Burgoon, B., van Elsas, E. J., & van de Werfhorst, H. G. (2017). Radical distinction: Support for radical left and radical right parties in Europe. *European Union Politics*, 18(4), 536–559. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116517718091>

I used this reference to link anti-immigration discourse to radical right vote

Rydgren, J. (2008). Immigration sceptics, xenophobes or racists? Radical right-wing voting in six West European countries. *European Journal of Political Research*, 47(6), 737–765. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2008.00784.x>

I used this reference to link immigration skepticism to radical right vote

Stockemer, D., & Halikiopoulou, D. (2023). Multiple routes to immigration scepticism: The association between individual grievances and anti-immigrant attitudes in Canada, Germany and the USA. *International Migration*, 61(5), 126–141. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.13111>

I used this reference to show there is a socio-tropic and an ego-tropic way of understanding anti-immigration sentiment.

Stockemer, D., Halikiopoulou, D., & Vlandas, T. (2021). ‘Birds of a feather’? Assessing the prevalence of anti-immigration attitudes among the far right electorate. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(15), 3409–3436. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1770063>

I used this reference to emphasize that immigration is not necessary to radical right vote but it still is a main predictor.

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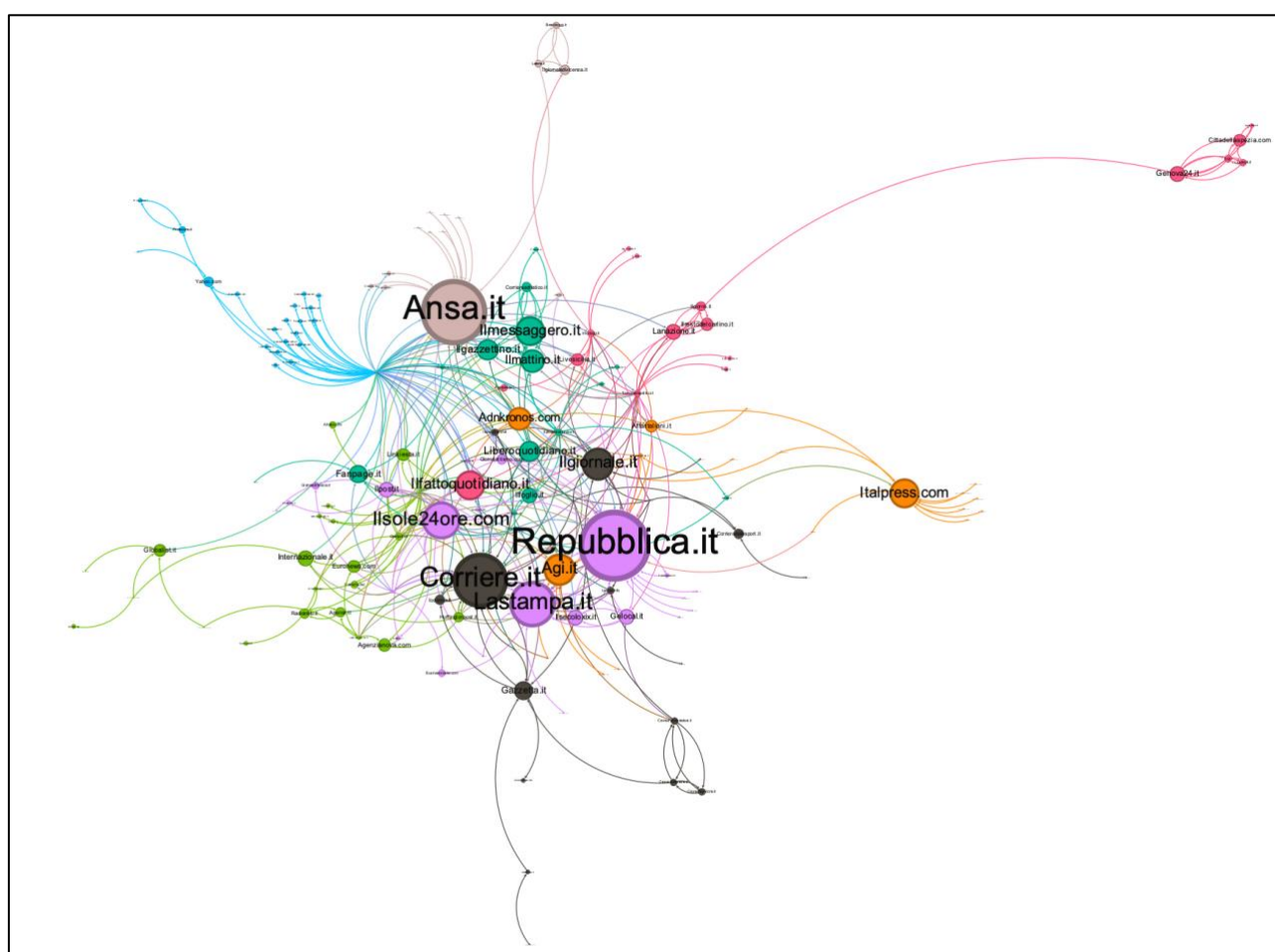
I used this reference to show the evolution of the immigration debate in a european country.

Appendix

List of words used to identify the immigration debate

"migratorio ", " migratori ", " migrazioni ", " migratori ", " Migrante ", " migrazioni ", "Immigrazione",
"Immigrata ", " Immigrato ", " immigrati ", " Rifugiata ", " Rifugiato ", "rifugiati", "tunisia ", " libia ",
"ong ", " libica ", " rotta mediterranea ", " naufragio ", " barconi ", " barcone ", "sbarchi ", " sbarco ",
"Rifugiata ", " Rifugiato ", "rifugiati", " ius ", " lampedusa ", " pantelleria ", " hotspot ", " hot spot ",
"Centri di Primo Soccorso e Accoglienza", " PSA ", "Centri di Accoglienza", " CDA ", "Centri di
Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo", "Centri di Identificazione ed Espulsione", " CIE", "Centri di
permanenza per i rimpatri", " CPR ".

Figure 8 - Network visualization of the media debate on immigration (node size according to in degree and coloring based on modularity class)



The network has 159 nodes and 382 edges. As such, it displays a rather low density (0,015). The architecture of the network does not seem highly polarized, despite the high levels of modularity

(0.43) and diameter (6). The network's hubs according to betweenness centrality¹⁷ are: La Repubblica, Huffington Post, La stampa, Il Corriere della Sera, Il Giornale, Termometro Politico, and Affari Italiani

Figure 9 - Zoom on central area of the media network

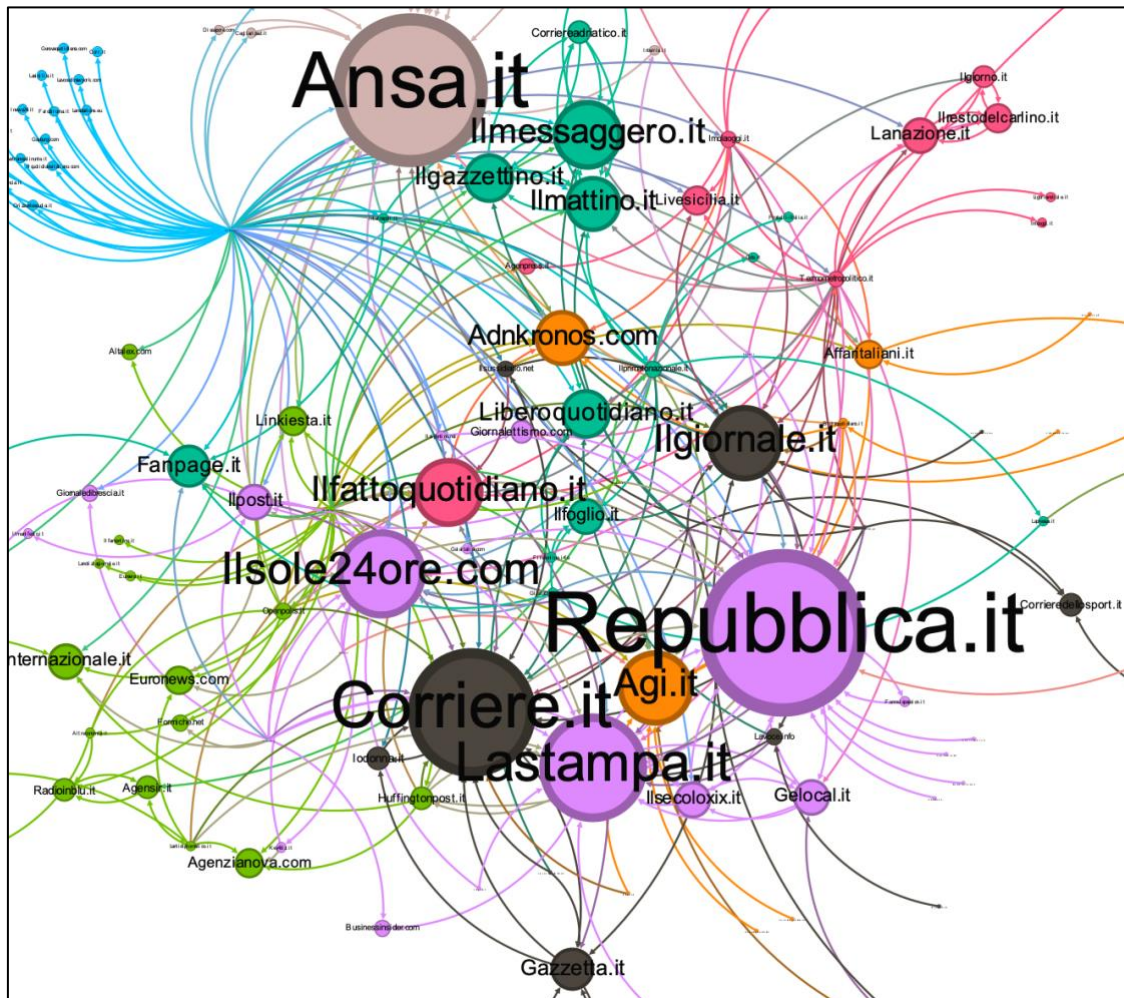


Table 3. List of domains of the top 8 communities in the database and network statistics

Table sorted by community and betweenness centrality (yellow indicates higher value, blue indicates a lower one). Count stands for the number of articles published on immigration during the time period selected.

Domain	Community	Count	Degree	Betweennesscentrality	Pageranks
affaritaliani.it	0	35	7	88,67	0,0030
blitzquotidiano.it	0	6	6	27,00	0,0028

¹⁷ Please not that in the figure nodes are sized according to indegree (how many times they were referenced by other outlets), while betweenness centrality emphasizes the node's importance in the network according to how many shortest paths it is part of.

italpress.com	0	14	10	0,00	0,0122
agi.it	0	10	11	0,00	0,0077
adnkronos.com	0	29	8	0,00	0,0075
ildenaro.it	0	9	2	0,00	0,0015
ilcirotano.it	0	8	2	0,00	0,0015
lospedalegiornale.it	0	5	2	0,00	0,0015
itacanotizie.it	0	19	1	0,00	0,0015
ladiscussione.com	0	18	1	0,00	0,0015
giornaledicalabria.it	0	18	1	0,00	0,0015
cronachedellacampania.it	0	10	1	0,00	0,0015
bologna2000.com	0	6	1	0,00	0,0015
bsnews.it	0	2	1	0,00	0,0015
cronachenuoresi.it	0	2	1	0,00	0,0015
linformazione.eu	0	1	1	0,00	0,0015
lanotiziaquotidiana.it	0	1	1	0,00	0,0015
inuovivespri.it	0	1	1	0,00	0,0015
repubblica.it	1	71	30	283,67	0,0343
lastampa.it	1	15	21	162,00	0,0231
ilpost.it	1	8	12	48,00	0,0033
gelocal.it	1	33	8	23,00	0,0166
giornalettismo.com	1	3	4	14,00	0,0019
ilsecoloxix.it	1	22	8	2,33	0,0162
key4biz.it	1	4	3	1,00	0,0018
ilsipontino.net	1	1	4	1,00	0,0016

formulapassion.it	1	10	2	0,00	0,0074
businessinsider.com	1	1	2	0,00	0,0056
ilsole24ore.com	1	21	13	0,00	0,0049
ilmanifesto.it	1	9	1	0,00	0,0019
giornaledibrescia.it	1	59	2	0,00	0,0017
gaiaitalia.com	1	1	3	0,00	0,0016
hookii.org	1	7	11	0,00	0,0015
gdpd.it	1	1	6	0,00	0,0015
ilfaroinrete.it	1	11	5	0,00	0,0015
lifegate.it	1	1	2	0,00	0,0015
giornalelavoce.it	1	7	1	0,00	0,0015
ilmeridianonews.it	1	2	1	0,00	0,0015
agenziavista.it	1	1	1	0,00	0,0015
corsedimoto.com	1	1	1	0,00	0,0015
leggilanotizia.it	1	1	1	0,00	0,0015
infodifesa.it	1	1	1	0,00	0,0015
ilgiornale.it	2	64	16	137,83	0,0051
corriere.it	2	5	21	130,00	0,0305
gazzetta.it	2	6	9	65,50	0,0189
lavoce.info	2	1	5	44,83	0,0037
cronachemaceratesi.it	2	10	7	44,00	0,0039
cronachefermane.it	2	2	5	7,50	0,0036
ilnapolista.it	2	4	2	4,00	0,0028
ilsussidiario.net	2	13	6	3,00	0,0018

iodonna.it	2	2	4	0,00	0,0199
calciomercato.com	2	12	1	0,00	0,0069
cronacheancona.it	2	3	4	0,00	0,0032
corrieredellosport.it	2	6	3	0,00	0,0032
atripaldanews.it	2	2	10	0,00	0,0015
frontedelblog.it	2	2	6	0,00	0,0015
lavocedeltrentino.it	2	5	3	0,00	0,0015
ilquaderno.it	2	3	1	0,00	0,0015
leonarduzzi.eu	2	2	1	0,00	0,0015
fcinternews.it	2	2	1	0,00	0,0015
calcionapoli24.it	2	1	1	0,00	0,0015
termometropolitico.it	3	11	21	130,67	0,0024
ilfattoquotidiano.it	3	26	11	39,00	0,0050
imolaoggi.it	3	23	13	33,50	0,0017
genova24.it	3	11	8	28,00	0,0149
cittadellaspezia.com	3	1	6	9,00	0,0134
lanazione.it	3	5	7	5,50	0,0121
ilrestodelcarlino.it	3	8	6	4,50	0,0121
ilgiorno.it	3	8	5	4,00	0,0119
liguria24.it	3	14	5	0,00	0,0080
ivg.it	3	7	5	0,00	0,0080
levantenews.it	3	4	3	0,00	0,0072
livesicilia.it	3	31	4	0,00	0,0027
agenpress.it	3	9	2	0,00	0,0017

iltempo.it	3	33	1	0,00	0,0017
lasiciliaweb.it	3	17	1	0,00	0,0017
ligurianotizie.it	3	4	1	0,00	0,0016
infooggi.it	3	3	1	0,00	0,0016
ilgiornaledivicenza.it	5	71	5	12,50	0,0061
larena.it	5	73	5	2,50	0,0067
interris.it	5	13	2	0,50	0,0018
ansa.it	5	58	23	0,00	0,0195
bresciaoggi.it	5	71	4	0,00	0,0060
cagliaripad.it	5	6	2	0,00	0,0016
lumsanews.it	5	2	2	0,00	0,0016
dissapore.com	5	1	2	0,00	0,0016
ilmetropolitano.it	5	12	1	0,00	0,0015
greenreport.it	5	5	1	0,00	0,0015
corrierequotidiano.it	5	4	1	0,00	0,0015
assisinews.it	5	3	1	0,00	0,0015
diariodelweb.it	5	1	1	0,00	0,0015
italia2tv.it	5	1	1	0,00	0,0015
ilgazzettino.it	6	1	10	55,17	0,0148
ilmessaggero.it	6	44	14	37,67	0,0190
ilprimatonazionale.it	6	23	17	37,00	0,0020
glistatigenerali.com	6	1	8	20,00	0,0022
lapressa.it	6	4	3	7,00	0,0016
ilmattino.it	6	22	11	5,67	0,0141

firstonline.info	6	5	5	1,33	0,0016
corriereadriatico.it	6	3	6	0,00	0,0138
funweek.it	6	1	2	0,00	0,0056
liberoquotidiano.it	6	35	7	0,00	0,0039
fanpage.it	6	18	6	0,00	0,0036
ilfoglio.it	6	4	5	0,00	0,0032
gds.it	6	99	1	0,00	0,0016
fratelli-italia.it	6	2	1	0,00	0,0016
internapoli.it	6	5	6	0,00	0,0016
friuliserà.it	6	4	1	0,00	0,0015
huffingtonpost.it	14	16	9	201,83	0,0113
openpolis.it	14	2	11	20,33	0,0019
lantidiplomatico.it	14	2	7	18,00	0,0022
agensir.it	14	1	4	5,00	0,0130
altreconomia.it	14	4	5	5,00	0,0017
radioinblu.it	14	2	4	3,00	0,0130
agenzianova.com	14	28	4	0,00	0,0042
globalist.it	14	8	4	0,00	0,0039
internazionale.it	14	2	5	0,00	0,0039
euronews.com	14	1	4	0,00	0,0025
linkiesta.it	14	3	4	0,00	0,0022
asianews.it	14	4	1	0,00	0,0020
controradio.it	14	2	1	0,00	0,0019
formiche.net	14	4	2	0,00	0,0017

altalex.com	14	1	2	0,00	0,0016
lanotiziagiornale.it	14	12	1	0,00	0,0016
ilfaroonline.it	14	2	1	0,00	0,0016
eunews.it	14	2	1	0,00	0,0016
affarinternazionali.it	14	1	27	0,00	0,0015
bocchescucite.org	14	5	3	0,00	0,0015
barbadillo.it	14	1	3	0,00	0,0015
ancorafischiailvento.org	14	1	2	0,00	0,0015
articolo21.org	14	7	1	0,00	0,0015
primacomo.it	129	1	3	1,00	0,0103
primamonza.it	129	3	2	0,00	0,0103
yahoo.com	129	35	3	0,00	0,0042
blastingnews.com	129	1	2	0,00	0,0016
lasicilia.it	129	102	1	0,00	0,0016
ilquotidianoitaliano.com	129	17	1	0,00	0,0016
farodiroma.it	129	15	1	0,00	0,0016
lavocedinewyork.com	129	8	1	0,00	0,0016
informazione.it	129	7	1	0,00	0,0016
corr.it	129	5	1	0,00	0,0016
orizzontescuola.it	129	4	1	0,00	0,0016
laredazione.eu	129	3	1	0,00	0,0016
gayburg.com	129	3	1	0,00	0,0016
inews24.it	129	2	1	0,00	0,0016
lanuovaprovincia.it	129	2	1	0,00	0,0016

genovaquotidiana.com	129	2	1	0,00	0,0016
lindro.it	129	2	1	0,00	0,0016
donnaglamour.it	129	1	1	0,00	0,0016
castelvetranoselinunte.it	129	1	1	0,00	0,0016
bufale.net	129	5	53	0,00	0,0015
brindisioggi.it	129	1	1	0,00	0,0015

Figure 10 - Summary of communities' domains by number of articles and pagerank

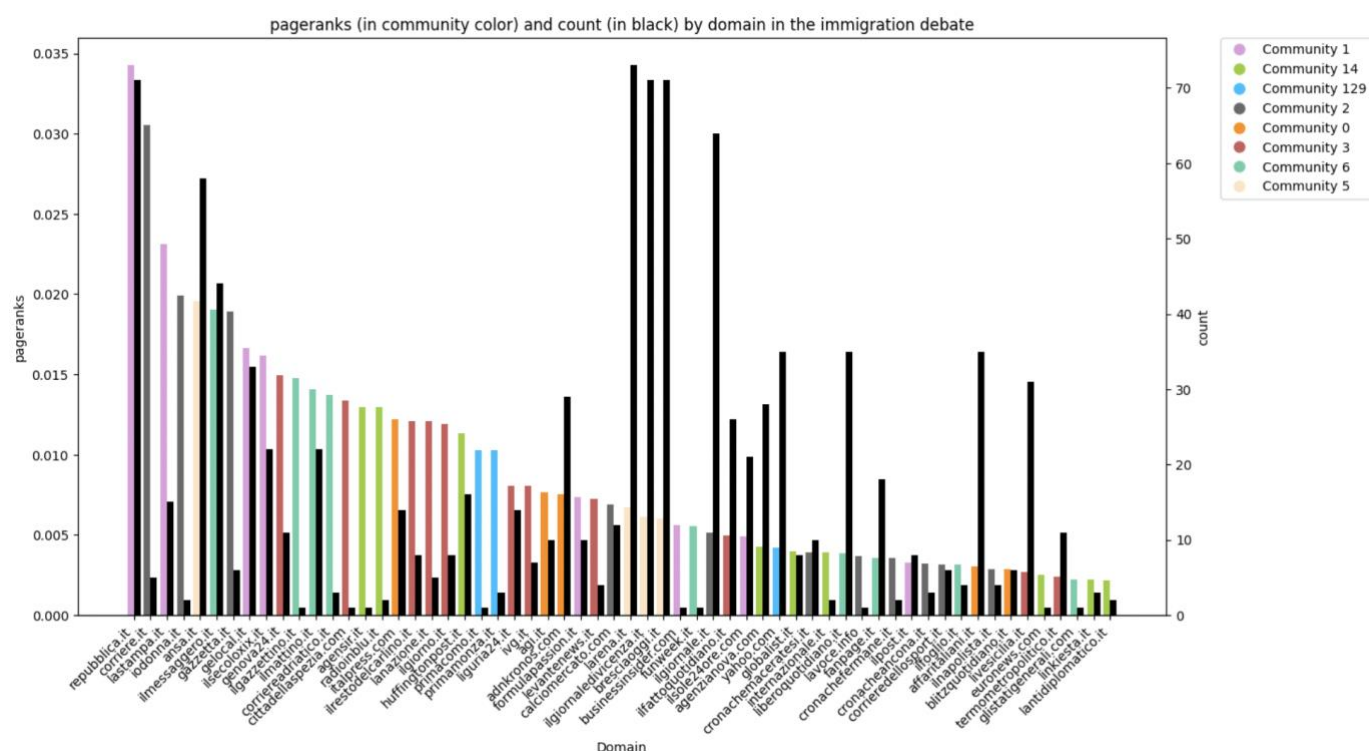


Table 4. Community sample sizes and domains:

Community	Sample size	Domains
0	19	'itacananotizie.it', 'italpress.com', 'giornaledicalabria.it', 'affaritaliani.it', 'adnkronos.com', 'blitzquotidiano.it', 'agi.it', 'ladiscussione.com', 'ildenaro.it', 'cronachedellacampania.it', 'bologna2000.com', 'bsnews.it'
1	29	'repubblica.it', 'ilmanifesto.it', 'ilsecoloxix.it', 'giornaledibrescia.it', 'ilsole24ore.com', 'hookii.org', 'gelocal.it', 'lastampa.it', 'key4biz.it'
2	13	'corriere.it', 'ilgiornale.it', 'lavocedeltrentino.it',

		'gazzetta.it', 'cronachefermane.it', 'atripaldanews.it'
3	16	'livesicilia.it', 'imolaoggi.it', 'iltempo.it', 'agenpress.it', 'lasiciliaweb.it', 'termometropolitico.it', 'infooggi.it', 'ivg.it', 'ilgiorno.it', 'liguria24.it', 'lanazione.it', 'levantenews.it', 'ilfattoquotidiano.it'
5	31	'interris.it', 'ilgiornaledivivenza.it', 'bresciaoggi.it', 'larena.it', 'ansa.it', 'ilmetropolitano.it'
6	25	'liberoquotidiano.it', 'ilmessaggero.it', 'gds.it', 'ilmattino.it', 'fanpage.it', 'ilprimatonazionale.it', 'ilfoglio.it', 'corriereadriatico.it'
14	11	'lanotiziagiornale.it', 'huffingtonpost.it', 'globalist.it', 'lantidiplomatico.it', 'articolo21.org', 'agenziaova.com'
129	22	'lasicilia.it', 'informazione.it', 'ilquotidianoitaliano.com', 'yahoo.com', 'inews24.it', 'farodiroma.it', 'lanuovaprovincia.it'

Table 5. List of the articles in the sample

url	Date	Com	Main Frame	Secondary Frame
https://www.adnkronos.com/sbarchi-migranti-15-giorni-in-mare-prima-dei-soccorsi-6-morti-di-sete_52HlgDzJxkHyaXmgnAzsHt	20/09/22	0	Humanitarian	
https://www.adnkronos.com/afghanistan-alidad-rifugiato-in-italia-e-una-prigione-invisibile_1ahMvc9gfdG2Id5SxN8gzx	13/08/22	0	Humanitarian	
https://video.repubblica.it/cronaca/dai-pescatori-alle-ong-e-alla-parrocchia-alla-scoperta-dell-altra-lampedusa-l-isola-che-salva/422336/423289/?rss	05/08/22	1	Humanitarian	
https://www.ilsecoloxix.it/italia-mondo/cronaca/2022/08/30/news/in-libia-picchiata-e-stuprata-il-racconto-della-sposa-bambina-salvata-dalla-ocean-viking-1.41652358	30/08/22	1	Humanitarian	

https://www.lastampa.it/cronaca/2022/08/30/news/in_libia_picchiata_e_stuprata_il_racconto_della_sposa_bambina_salvata_dalla_oceanviking-7851925/	30/08/22	1	Humanitarian	
https://www.repubblica.it/esteri/2022/09/02/news/libano_trovato_in_fondo_al_mare_il_corpo_di_un_piccolo_migranteabbracciatoalla madre-363922442/?rss	02/09/22	1	Humanitarian	
https://ilmanifesto.it/migrante-si-uccide-impiccandosi-nel-cpr-di-gradisca/	02/09/22	1	Humanitarian	
https://www.ilsecoloxix.it/italia-mondo/esteri/2022/09/11/news/migranti-la-tragica-fine-di-loujiin-la-bimba-siriana-di-4-anni-morta-di-sete-su-un-barcone-1.41669005	11/09/22	1	Humanitarian	
https://gazzettadimantova.gelocal.it/italia-mondo/esteri/2022/09/11/news/migranti-la-tragica-fine-di-loujiin-la-bimba-siriana-di-4-anni-morta-di-sete-su-un-barcone-1.41669005	11/09/22	1	Humanitarian	
https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2022/09/13/news/migranti_bambini_senza_acqua_barca_soccorsi-365533370/?rss	13/09/22	1	Humanitarian	
https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2022/07/29/news/migranti_elezioni_politiche_barconi_wagner-359574463/?rss	28/07/22	1	Humanitarian	
https://palermo.repubblica.it/cronaca/2022/08/28/news/mediterraneo_centinaia_di_personesalvate_in_poche_ore_la_libia_brucia_e_in_sicilia_e_recor d_di_arrivi-363241972/?rss	28/08/22	1	Humanitarian	

https://laprovinciapavese.gelocal.it/italia-mondo/cronaca/2022/08/07/news/fabrice-il-migrante-eroe-che-ha-salvato-una-neonata-in-mare-1.41622637	06/08/22	1	Humanitarian	
https://www.lasiciliaweb.it/2022/09/pozzallo-sul-barcone-neonati-e-12enne-morti/	12/09/22	3	Humanitarian	
https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2022/10/03/migranti-a-9-anni-dal-naufragio-di-lampedusa-le-tombe-dei-migranti-sono-ancora-senza-nome-don-zerai-dignita-per-le-vittime/6826314/	03/10/22	3	Humanitarian	
https://www.ilgiorno.it/milano/cronaca/mustafa-migrante-perso-ritrova-famiglia-1.8163723	09/10/22	3	Humanitarian	
https://www.fanpage.it/attualita/migranti-sbarchi-record-a-lampedusa-centinaia-di-arrivi-ogni-giorno-hotspot-al-collasso/	28/08/22	6	Humanitarian	
https://www.fanpage.it/attualita/loujin-muore-di-sete-a-4-anni-tra-le-braccia-della-mamma-era-su-un-barcone-da-dieci-giorni/	11/09/22	6	Humanitarian	
https://www.lanotiziagiornale.it/sbarchi-fuori-controllo-lampedusa-al-collasso/	25/07/22	14	Humanitarian	
https://www.lanotiziagiornale.it/migranti-incendio-su-un-barcone-a-largo-di-lampedusa-due-bambini-sono-morti/	21/10/22	14	Humanitarian	
https://www.lasicilia.it/cronaca/news/ancora-un-naufragio-a-lampedusa-affonda-un-barchino-4-dispersi-1926182/	24/10/22	129	Humanitarian	
https://www.lasicilia.it/ultimiaggiornamenti/news/migranti-superstiti-naufragio-2013-al-cimitero-di-lampedusa-1887637/	04/10/22	129	Humanitarian	

https://it.notizie.yahoo.com/lampedusa-superstiti-della-tragedia-di-071128519.html	03/10/22	129	Humanitarian	
https://www.brindisioggi.it/giovane-migrante-brutalmente-picchiato/	06/08/22	129	Humanitarian	
https://itacanotizie.it/2022/09/01/immigrazione-calenda-si-allo-ius-scholae/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=immigrazione-calenda-si-allo-ius-scholae	01/09/22	0	Managerial	Integration
https://ladiscussione.com/192721/societa/a-lampedusa-sbarcati-altri-217-migranti/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=a-lampedusa-sbarcati-altri-217-migranti	13/09/22	0	Managerial	Logistical
https://itacanotizie.it/2022/09/08/stefania-marascia-pd-ue-tuteli-la-nostra-pesca-favorevole-allo-ius-scholae/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=stefania-marascia-pd-ue-tuteli-la-nostra-pesca-favorevole-allo-ius-scholae	08/09/22	0	Managerial	Integration
https://www.lospecialegiornale.it/2022/09/01/migranti-calenda-lavorare-con-paesi-di-provenienziarsi-a-ius-scholae/	01/09/22	0	Managerial	Integration
https://www.italpress.com/migranti-tardino-corte-ue-ci-da-ragione-ong-devono-rispettare-norme/	01/08/22	0	Managerial	Border security
https://www.italpress.com/immigrazione-a-lampedusa-imbarcazioni-alla-deriva-dopo-i-soccorsi/	01/09/22	0	Managerial	Border security
https://www.blitzquotidiano.it/cronaca-italia/migranti-tornano-gli-sbarchi-a-lampedusa-sono-in-1-871-nella-struttura-da-350-posti-3484376/	25/07/22	0	Managerial	Logistical

https://ladiscussione.com/183438/societa/emergenza-sbarchi-a-lampedusa-molti-minori-non-accompagnati/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=emergenza-sbarchi-a-lampedusa-molti-minori-non-accompagnati	25/07/22	0	Managerial	Logistical
https://www.ildenaro.it/immigrazione-calenda-si-allo-ius-scholae/	01/09/22	0	Managerial	Integration
https://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/oltre-2mila-migranti-soccorsi-lampedusa-collasso-AEDMRqoB	25/07/22	1	Managerial	
https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/arriva-salvini-e-si-vuota-lhotspot-lampedusa-lamorgese-2056373.html	04/08/22	2	Managerial	
https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/sbarchi-immigrati-meloni-blocco-navale-letta-basta-2062120.html	28/08/22	2	Managerial	Border security
https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/fateci-sbarcare-ong-oltre-700-migranti-premono-coste-sono-2053770.html	25/07/22	2	Managerial	Border security
https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/lampedusa-altri-mille-arrivi-sui-ricollocamenti-lue-dorme-2054227.html	27/07/22	2	Managerial	Border security
https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/sea-watch-migranti-respinti-libia-azioni-illegali-dirette-ue-2074447.html	10/10/22	2	Managerial	Border security
https://www.lasiciliaweb.it/2022/07/sbarchi-senza-fine-lampedusa-al-collasso-2/	24/07/22	3	Managerial	Logistical
https://www.agenpress.it/elezioni-bonino-punta-su-cannabis-ius-scholae-e-diritti-degli-omosessuali-gli-elettori-sono-piu-maturi/	15/08/22	3	Managerial	Integration

https://forum.termometropolitico.it/839956-48-sbarchi-sosta-lira-polizia-situazione-aberrante-new-post.html	22/08/22	3	Managerial	Logistical
https://www.ilgiorno.it/politica/programma-pd-2022-1.7978236	13/08/22	3	Managerial	Integration
https://www.lasiciliaweb.it/2022/08/ondata-di-sbarchi-a-lampedusa-3/	14/08/22	3	Managerial	Logistical
https://www.ilgiornaledivicenza.it/argomenti/spettacoli/un-corto-sullo-ius-soli-inclusione-cantando-era-de-maggio-1.9672666	11/10/22	5	Managerial	Integration
https://www.ilgiornaledivicenza.it/oltre-vicenza/italia/valditara-migrazioni-importanti-ma-vanno-governate-1.9694572	23/10/22	5	Managerial	Logistical
https://messaging.gds.it/articoli/cronaca/2022/07/25/lasciarono-morire-5-migranti-in-mare-di-fame-e-di-sete-5-scafisti-arrestati-a-messina-5a722f0d-7f5d-4b7b-971c-39a03728c48d/?utm_source=immediatfeed&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=hp_messina	25/07/22	6	Managerial	Logistical
https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/primo-piano/la-corte-ue-nega-il-diritto-degli-stati-a-controllare-i-confini-per-fermo-ong-servono-prove-240555/	02/08/22	6	Managerial	Border security
https://www.ilfoglio.it/politica/2022/08/04/news/salvini-va-lampedusa-e-il-vmiale-porta-via-i-migranti-complotto-no-ordinaria-amministrazione-4299185/	04/08/22	6	Managerial	Logistical
https://www.fanpage.it/politica/letta-svela-il-programma-del-pd-per-le-politiche-ci-sono-matrimonio-ugualitario-e-ius-scholae/	13/08/22	6	Managerial	Integration

https://www.liberoquotidiano.it/news/italpress/32906689/immigrazione-calenda-si-allo-ius-scholae-.html	01/09/22	6	Managerial	Integration
https://www.liberoquotidiano.it/news/adnkronos/33059005/elezioni-letta-destra-razzista-quando-lisento-su-ius-scholae-sono-preoccupato-.html	14/09/22	6	Managerial	Integration
https://trapani.gds.it/articoli/cronaca/2022/10/22/pantelleria-tra-nuovi-sbarchi-e-trasferimenti-punto-crisi-al-collasso-753dff75-085c-4cd4-b16e-99391aaa3c7c/?utm_source=immediafeed&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=hp_trapani	22/10/22	6	Managerial	Logistical
https://agrigento.gds.it/articoli/cronaca/2022/10/25/nuova-tragedia-due-gemellini-neonati-morti-su-un-barcone-al-largo-di-lampedusa-10e67de4-c312-4ff4-9ec6-ec62db95361b/?utm_source=immediafeed&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=hp_agrigento	25/10/22	6	Managerial	Logistical
https://www.ilmessaggero.it/italia/migranti_sbarchi_morti_sicilia_lampedusa_cosa_succede-6832279.html	2022-07-24 05:54:48. 123402	6	Managerial	Logistical
https://www.ilmattino.it/primopiano/politica/elezioni_politiche_2022_enrico_letta_ius_scholae-6941351.html	2022-09-21 02:15:11. 660919	6	Managerial	Integration
https://www.ilmessaggero.it/italia/lampedusa_sbarchi_migranti_ultima_ora-6894686.html	2022-08-28 06:25:20. 070084	6	Managerial	Border security

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https://www.giornaledibrescia.it/italia-ed-estero/migranti-15-sbarchi-a-lampedusa-hotspot-al-collasso-1.3750420	24/07/22	1	News - Events	Managerial
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https://www.giornaledibrescia.it/italia-ed-estero/migranti-tunisia-sventa-51-partenze-in-una-notte-723-fermi-1.3765773	28/08/22	1	News - Events	News

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https://www.giornaledibrescia.it/italia-ed-estero/migranti-fermati-presunti-scafisti-sbarco-crotone-di-luned%C3%AC-1.3774692	16/09/22	1	News - Events	Managerial
https://www.giornaledibrescia.it/italia-ed-estero/migranti-sbarco-a-roccella-ionica-arrivati-in-61-1.3775320	17/09/22	1	News - Events	News
https://www.giornaledibrescia.it/italia-ed-estero/migranti-cinque-sbarchi-nel-crotonese-arrivati-in-400-1.3759490	13/08/22	1	News - Events	Managerial
https://www.giornaledibrescia.it/italia-ed-estero/migranti-altri-3-sbarchi-a-lampedusa-hotspot-al-collasso-1.3773690	14/09/22	1	News - Events	Managerial
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https://www.ilgiornaledivivenza.it/oltre-vicenza/italia/migranti-in-350-e-un-cadavere-in-tre-sbarchi-nel-siracusano-1.9543898	28/07/22	5	News - Events	News
https://www.larena.it/oltre-verona/italia/migranti-in-350-e-un-cadavere-in-tre-sbarchi-nel-siracusano-1.9543896	28/07/22	5	News - Events	News
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https://www.bresciaoggi.it/oltre-brescia/italia/migranti-sbarco-in-calabria-in-68-soccorsi-nel-crotonese-1.9550355	01/08/22	5	News - Events	News
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https://www.bresciaoggi.it/oltre-brescia/italia/migranti-sei-sbarchi-a-lampedusa-arrivati-in-147-1.9590700	27/08/22	5	News - Events	News
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https://messina.gds.it/articoli/cronaca/2022/09/03/lo-sbarco-di-messina-presi-tre-presunti-scafisti-il-coste-della-traversata-7-000-euro-3f39cf93-b002-4375-ae57-c8cd5fe4220f/?utm_source=immediafeed&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=hp_messina	03/09/22	6	News - Events	News

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https://www.giornaledibrescia.it/italia-ed-estero/grecia-il-nuovo-hotspot-di-lesbo-verr%C3%A0-inaugurato-a-febbraio-1.3780051	26/09/22	1	Other	Foreign news
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https://www.larena.it/oltre-verona/mondo/ambiente-spiaggia-mahdia-in-tunisia-dichiarata-ecologica-1.9656639	03/10/22	5	Other	Foreign news
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https://www.agenzianova.com/a/634d77c3c466f5.85599203/4104268/2022-10-17/fmi-il-fondo-scende-in-campo-per-salvare-tunisia-ed-egitto-da-inflazione-poverta-e-rischio-default-2	17/10/22	14	Other	Foreign news
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https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/sbarchi-senza-fine-italia-oltre-1000-i-migranti-weekend-2059027.html	14/08/22	2	Threat	Security
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https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/cronaca/sbarchi-clandestini-sicilia-presa-assalto-silenzio-politica-247110/	20/10/22	6	Threat	Security
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