# THE REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE ITALIAN PRESS 

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#### Abstract

This paper uses corpus-assisted discourse studies to explore the representation of foreign migrants in the Italian press. Presenting a para-replication of extensive research on the representation of migrants in the British press, the importance of identifying accurate translation equivalents in crosslinguistic studies is briefly discussed, and the constructions of immigrati, clandestini, extracomunitari and stranieri are analysed from a linguistic, discursive perspective. Subsequently, the different nationalities which collocate with these terms are briefly examined, and in particular cinese/cinesi is studied in greater detail, with reference to moral panic stories.


## 1 Introduction

The research presented in this paper is part of a larger project entitled 'Integrated and United: A quest for citizenship in an ever closer Europe' (IntUne), which is being funded by the European Union within the scope of the Sixth Framework Programme. ${ }^{\text {i }}$ The IntUne project aims to study citizenship from the three points of view of identity, representation and practice of good governance. In this paper I focus on issues of identity as they relate to constructions of the 'other', and in particular the representation of 'foreigners' coming into Italy. As Hastings and Manning argue: '[i]t has long been an anthropological truism that the construction of (ethnolinguistic) identity cannot be studied except at its boundaries, beginning with alterity or otherness' (2004: 293). Therefore, the cumulative investigation of alterity through a series of investigations is here considered a means of constructing a relational outline of identity, as presented in the press. For example, within the IntUne project Morley (forthcoming) has already analysed the construction of foreigners in the British press, following Hardt-Mautner's assumption that '[n]ational identity emerges very much as a relational concept, the construction of 'self' being heavily dependent on the construction of 'other'" (1995: 179). It may also be added that the topic of foreigners coming into Italy additionally allows attention to be paid to the much discussed shift in Italian national identity from a nation of emigration to a nation of immigration.

However, a further question might be: why study the press? If we are interested in Italian identity and attitudes towards a perceived 'other', why not ask people directly? This is indeed a fundamental part of the IntUne project, yet it is also a truism that people do not or cannot always tell interviewers the 'truth', and some less explicit or even less conscious orientation towards issues may be lost. Newspapers were chosen for this study as, like all news media, they play a central role in the social construction of reality, both forming, and conforming to, their readers' opinions: journalists select and create news, and readers select and consume newspapers which reflect their world view. This view of the press as both reflecting and creating social reality may also be
observed, at a different level, in the social view of language itself, which holds that ‘[1]anguage first represents social realities and second contributes to the production and reproduction of social reality and social life' (Richardson 2007: 10, italics in original). Indeed, Richardson's view of language, employed in the analysis of newspaper discourse, is based on five assumptions: that language is social, that language use enacts identity, is always active, has power, and is political. Similarly, Fowler summarises the relationship between news reporting, language and ideology as follows:

News is a representation of the world in language; because language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like every discourse, constructively patterns that of which is speaks. [...] There are different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions (and thus differences in representation).
(Fowler 2003:4)

One of the aims of this type of study is to identify such differences in expression, and therefore in representation.

However, this kind of discourse study cannot and does not, of course, take place in a vacuum, and the wider context always needs to be taken into consideration: any analysis of the Italian press attitudes towards immigration must at least acknowledge the unique historical background. Italy's national history of emigration, as opposed to immigration, is well-known and contrasts sharply with the British tradition, a difference which is relevant here as this paper draws on earlier research into the UK press attitudes. While the British empire led to an increase in immigration into Britain, and increased contact between nationalities, this was not reflected in the Italian colonial experience. Indeed, in many ways Italy's colonial acquisitions were viewed and promoted as sites of emigration for Italian nationals, as a result, as Lyttelton (1997) notes, over the period 1890-1905 three and a half million Italians emigrated to the newly colonised Eritrea. Furthermore, within Italy itself, immigrazione generally meant internal migration, particularly in the post-war boom years, when, according to Laquinta (2002), almost 20 million Italians migrated from the south to the north between 1955 and 1965.

Turning to more specific previous research on the Italian press and immigration, Triandafyllidou (1999) focussed on the relation to national identity. In what she terms a semioticstructuralist approach, Triandafyllidou analysed 44 articles referring to immigrants from the magazines L'Espresso and Panorama between 1990-1995, with reference to the creation of an 'us' and 'them' opposition. She reports that 'territory and culture are the main dimensions used in the press to distinguish between Italians and "extracomunitari"" (1999: 82), and that debate on
immigration involves the re-elaboration of national identity, invoking an ethnic dimension. The author goes on to claim that the racial construction of identity leads to a:


#### Abstract

de-individuation of immigrants who are then treated not as individuals but as members of a given group that is categorised aforehand. Thus, Albanians are criminals, Nigerians are prostitutes and Moroccans are dishonest, for instance. Moreover, such personality features are taken as genetically given and unchangeable. Therefore, the 'rational' solution is that these people 'remain in their countries' (1999: 83).


In another study from the discipline of sociology, Sciortino and Colombo (2004) argue that Italian national identity is not measured against the 'foreigner' or discovery of the 'other', but that public discourse on immigration derives from 'the progressive codification of a distinction among different types of foreigners, the gradual institutionalizing of a distinction between "foreigner" and "immigrant", and the establishment of relations between these conceptual oppositions and the distinctions applicable to the Italian population' (2004: 97). In their large-scale longitudinal study, they examined approximately 600 articles regarding foreigners in Italy from L'Espresso, Panorama and L'Europeo over the time period 1969 to 1981, and found that the most frequent category or context within which migrants were discussed was economy or the labour market. In contrast, in the newspapers La Stampa and Corriere della Sera over the period 1982-1991, the most frequent context was politics and legislation. In the most recent data-set used in the study, La Stampa from 1992-2001, the most frequent category was 'deviance'. Although the authors caution that increased news reporting of crime or deviance correlates with police reports of criminal acts by foreigners, they conclude that there is a gap between reality and public discourse on immigration as immigrants are decreasingly discussed in relation to the labour market while they are increasingly becoming an integral part of that economy.

## 2 Corpus

As part of the IntUne project the entire output of two national and two geographically distant regional newspapers from four countries (France, Great Britain, Italy and Poland) was downloaded over a three month period. Additionally, two popular TV news programmes were recorded and transcribed every day for a two month period for the four countries. ${ }^{\text {ii }}$ The data was subsequently stored as a TEI-conformant, XML-valid corpus designed to be interrogated by the Xaira software package. ${ }^{\text {iii }}$ The mark up means that interrogation of the corpus can be divided along several
parameters of varying levels of specificity including: language, political orientation, regional or national location, specific news programme or newspaper, headlines only, and so on.

The newspapers included in the Italian sub-corpus are the two best-selling national dailies: Corriere della Sera which averages 569,846 copies a day, and La Repubblica which has an average circulation of 552,570 copies, and two regional daily newspapers from opposite ends of the country: Il Giornale di Brescia from the north which has an average circulation of about 38,316 and La Gazzetta del Sud from the south which has an average circulation of approximately 48,137 copies. ${ }^{\text {iv }}$

Given the differing typology of the newspapers, even though each corpus contains the total output from the three month period, there are differences in size (see Table 1), for this reason where comparisons are made across the different newspapers they will be expressed in relative terms of per hundred words.

|  | Tokens $^{\mathrm{v}}$ | Articles |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Corriere della Sera | $1,630,335$ | 11,102 |
| Repubblica | $1,466,285$ | 7,969 |
| Giornale di Brescia | $2,008,214$ | 12,873 |
| Gazzetta del Sud | $1,272,481$ | 10,217 |

Table 1. Size of the sub-corpora

## 3 Methodology

As noted in the introduction, the methodology used in this paper is corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS), which, in its debut, is described by Partington (2004) using the analogy of the hippogriff, the legendary incongruous beast of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, in order to resolve the perceived incompatibility between a supposedly primarily quantitative data-driven corpus linguistics and qualitative, hypothesis-testing tradition of discourse analysis. ${ }^{\text {vi }}$ The combination of corpus linguistics and discourse studies in CADS leaves the researcher 'free to shunt back and forth among hypotheses, data-collection, analysis, evaluation and even speculation, as long as these phases are kept separate and the movements among them are closely charted' (Partington 2006: 4), with the aim of identifying distinctive features of a given discourse type, and patterns of language behaviour which may help in the identification of non-obvious meanings.

The study starts with a para-replication of work carried out at Lancaster University, described below. It is defined as para-replication - rather than simple replication - since the corpus
employed is different, using Italian rather than British newspapers, and also because the methodology varies somewhat. In the original study the focus was on Keywords, that is items which are identified as significantly more frequent on one corpus compared to another, while the foundation of this study is collocates which are described in more detail below. The principle of comparison, essential to CADS work, lies in this para-replication. Furthermore, this paper and the original work share the aim of investigating the representation of groups of individuals in a newspaper discourse, and, at a more general level, a belief in the importance of an empirical approach to discourse analysis.

The importance of extensive data is also noted by Fairclough, one of the founders of critical discourse analysis, who states that '[a] single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader and so forth' (1989: 54). The importance of data and transparency of analysis, which in turn allow for the possibility of further para-replication, is one of the reasons why, in this study, extended examples are given wherever possible.

In CADS, as in all modern day corpus linguistics, electronic corpora are interrogated using dedicated software, in this case the Xaira suite. The most important instrument in the various software packages is the concordance tool. A concordance may be defined as 'a collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment' (Sinclair 1991:32) and is most commonly presented in the KWIC (key word in context) format with the keyword, or node, running down the centre, as illustrated in Figure 1. The words or items that co-occur with the node are referred to as its collocates.

Putrefaction had already set in.
But disenchantment set in because the outdated Merlin
Disillusion set in as awareness spread that t
of marriage before disillusionment set in.
e complacency which can so easily set in.
Once daily use had set in, the user's principal concer tuffiness and laboriousness that had set in seemingly irreversibly in Th

Once diarrhoeal disease has set in a baby will go under in just ed passive until error and madness set in near the end; then she sang olly meant that 'non-save paranoia' set in, and a couple of times I had t m 1883 a period of intense reaction set in.

When a reaction set in, the experts (as so often tends who held her when her own shock set in and she quietly wept.
rs are baffled by the animosity that set in between Morgan and Docher
'Senility is known to set in a good deal earlier in many c

Figure 1. Sample concordance lines of the intransitive verb set in from the $B N C^{v i i}$

As Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 3) notes, in contrast with a text which 'is to be read horizontally, from left to right [...] a corpus, examined at first in KWIC format with the node word aligned in the centre, is read vertically, scanning for the repeated patterns present in the co-text of the node'. In many cases, of course, this forms the first stage, and the lines are subsequently also read horizontally (often with expanded cotext) for more contextual information.

In this KWIC format the concordance lines may be sorted and viewed according to a range of parameters thus facilitating the representation and identification of patterns of language usage, a very basic example would be that the concordances in Figure 1 have been ordered by the L1 collocate (the first collocate to the left of the node), in order to highlight what exactly is governing set in.

Two central concepts which have come out of corpus linguistics: semantic preference and semantic prosody may be viewed as the product of the concordance tool / view. Roughly speaking, semantic preference indicates the tendency for an item to co-occur with a particular semantic group, while semantic prosody indicates the tendency for an item to co-occur with other items of a particular evaluative valence (see Morley and Partington (2009) for a thorough consideration). For example, if we look at the underlined left collocates of the node in Figure 1 above, it is clear that the seemingly neutral lexical item 'set in', as identified by one of the founders of corpus linguistics itself, Sinclair (see 1987, 1991), predominately co-occurs with unpleasant items such as putrefaction, given in the first concordance line, or senility, in the last.

Drawing on Firth's work, most famously expressed in the oft-quoted 'you shall know a word by the company it keeps!' (1968 [1957]), the term collocation is used within corpus linguistics to refer to the non-random co-occurrence of two items. In Hoey's definition of collocation, it is 'a psychological association between words (rather than lemmas) up to four words apart and is evidenced by their occurrence together in the corpora more often than is explicable in terms of random distribution' (Hoey 2005: 5). The identification of collocations is therefore a way of identifying meanings of and relationships between lexical items, and consequently of identifying patterns within a given discourse type. If item $x$ consistently co-occurs, or collocates, with item $y$ in a given context then those who are exposed to these occurrences will be 'primed' (see Hoey 2005) to associate the two, although, of course, we also need to look in more detail at the linguistic connections between the items.

When dealing with large amounts of data, as is the case in this paper, it may be difficult to manually examine all concordance lines, and so the collocates of the node may also be represented
as a list (as shown in Table 2 below). By opening a different window onto the data this function can lead to further insights into the discourse specific meanings of the items under analysis.

Although there are other fundamental tools in corpus linguistics, this paper will primarily make use of the analysis of concordance lines and collocates, as described here, and these two notions will structure the analysis.

As a final methodological consideration, it should be observed that the examples have been left in Italian throughout, given that, as illustrated in section 5, apparent translation equivalents can be very misleading (see also Fairclough 1999 for objections to performing discourse analysis on translated texts).

## 4. National belonging and nostr*viii

As an illustration of how research is frequently directed by "real-world" experiences I would like to briefly consider the case of nostr*. While this paper was in preparation I was struck by a television programme (Annozero) in which a (right wing) Italian politician (Daniela Santanchè) complimented an Italian citizen on how well he spoke 'la nostra lingua'. The person she was speaking to had migrated to Italy from an African country when he was still of primary school age. Which raises the question: if being an Italian citizen who had passed through the same educational-cultural system as every other 'Italian' was not sufficient to make him part of that nostra, what would?

Looking in our corpus, there are 38 references to nostra+(*)+lingua, including the following:

Pregano meno dei loro padri. Non sono integralisti, né assidui praticanti. La loro religiosità decresce con l'aumentare degli anni di permanenza in Italia. Si sentono italiani (il 60\%) e in maggioranza ( $85 \%$ ) parlano la nostra lingua. Li chiamano G2, 'generazione seconda': sono i figli di immigrati nati in Italia o arrivati qui da bambini. Quanti sono? 125mila nel 1997, 600mila nel 2006: il $21,2 \%$ della popolazione straniera. (Repubblica 25/04/2007)

In this case, being born in Italy does not make 'them' part of the 'us' group either, they are marginalised as part of the popolazione straniera because their parents are classified as nonItalian. ${ }^{\text {ix }}$

Widening the area of analysis and looking at nostr* (18,084 occurrences) in our corpus, to see what else the 'us' group is perceived to possess, and to share to the exclusion of some 'other', we find that almost $10 \%$ of the total occurrences of words immediately to the right of the node,
nostr$r^{*}$, are made up of geographical references: paese, città, provincia and territorio, indicating the central importance of geo-political boundaries to identity in this context (see Table 2).

| Word | Frequency | Z-score |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| inviato | 584 | 836.8 |
| corrispondente | 259 | 729.3 |
| paese | 930 | 609.9 |
| provincia | 337 | 285.9 |
| soldati | 161 | 240.6 |
| citta | 362 | 227.9 |
| inviati | 61 | 211.6 |
| connazionali | 42 | 163.6 |
| obiettivo | 155 | 151.0 |
| territorio | 151 | 149.3 |

Table 2. R1 collocates of nostr* ordered by z-score.

In some instances 'us' simply refers to the newspaper (and its readers) in the collocates inviato, corrispondente, and inviati, however, the centrality of national identity to the construction of the 'us' group is also corroborated by the presence of connazionali among the nostr* collocates with the highest z -score. ${ }^{\mathrm{x}}$

Taking the most frequent and salient of these geographical references, nostro paese (930 occurrences), we see that the 'us' and 'them' groups do keep very close company, given that espulsione and stranieri feature among the first 10 lexical 5L/R collocates of this item. Occurrences of immigrat* and stranier* in the co-text are illustrated in the concordance lines in Figure 2.

```
rep070425 60% dei ragazzi immigrati nati nel nostro Paese si sente
rep070321 gli stranieri che si fermano nel nostro Paese meno di tre
rep070222 ono gli stranieri imprenditori nel nostro Paese, un milione e
gds070426 stranieri che vogliono lavorare nel nostro Paese - secondo il
gds070322 resenza di cittadini stranieri nel
gdb070322
gdb070322
gdb070320
gdb070206
gdb070308
rep07021
gdb07040
O straniero, che rappresenta nella
gdb070214 le imprese nella nostra provincia sono gestite da stranieri.
rep070222 Italia. Che nel nostro Paese gli imprenditori stranieri
gdb070405 straniere dedite alla prostituzione nella nostra provincia, la
```

Figure 2. Concordance lines showing nostro+geographical entity in the co-text of immigrat*/stranier**i

Such concordance lines suggest that it is within the presence of a threatening 'other' that nostro paese comes into being as a relevant construct. It is also revealing to note how many of the
concordance lines come from the northern regional newspaper Il Giornale di Brescia (indicated by the abbreviation $g b d$ in the left-hand column), and closer analysis showed that this newspaper was the most 'territorial' of the four, that is to say the paper for which geographical identity appeared most important, as Figure 3 shows.


Figure 3. Occurrences of nostr*+geographical entity per 100 words.

As can be seen in Figure 3, there is decreasing interest in nostro paese in the regional newspapers, and an increase in the sense of there being a shared città, provincia, and, of particular interest, the somewhat vaguer term territorio.

The notion of territorio also suggests an interesting area for further analysis as overall the relative frequency in the regional newspapers was approximately six times that in the nationals (CdS 0.005 occurrences per hundred words, Rep 0.007 phw, compared to GdS 0.022 phw and GdB 0.031 phw ). Furthermore, looking briefly outside our corpus once again, in an article on racism published in Repubblica at the time of writing, it was claimed that 'la ragione forse più importante del suo [la Lega] successo sta nel rapporto che i leghisti e i loro amministratori hanno saputo stabilire con il 'territorio'’ (Repubblica, 23/09/2008, italics added for emphasis).

## 5. Refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM)

Some of the most influential work on the representation of immigrants in the UK press has been carried out at Lancaster University, largely as part of an ERSC funded project titled 'Discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK Press 1996-2005' (see Baker 2007, which is freely available online, for a research report). The research group investigated the discursive construction of Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Immigrants and Migrants (RASIM) in a range of UK newspapers, using
the methodologies of both critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics. Both methodologies pointed towards a negative representation of RASIM in the UK press. The corpus linguistic group reported that RASIM were commonly constructed as economically undesirable, illegal commodities or criminals, and frequently accompanied by quantification, in particular using water metaphors e.g. FLOOD, POUR and STREAM. Another means of negative portrayal, which was most frequent in the tabloid press, was through the use of 'nonsensical' terms such as 'bogus asylum seeker'. Given the current situation in Italy, I was particularly interested to see how these representations corresponded to the Italian press.

## Translating RASIM

Looking at three freely available well-known online dictionaries: Garzanti, Corriere della Sera, and Oxford Paravia Concise, the following translations of RASIM were retrieved:

|  | Garzanti | Corriere della Sera | Oxford Paravia Concise |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| refugee | rifugiato, profugo | rifugiato, profugo | rifugiato, profugo |
| asylum <br> seeker | - | - | chi chiede asilo |
| immigrant | immigrante | immigrante |  |
|  |  |  | (about to arrive) immigrante |
| (established) immigrato |  |  |  |

Table 3. Dictionary translations of RASIM

The findings reported in Table 3 raise doubts about the validity of the available translations, for example the absence of immigrato as a translation in the first two dictionaries. Furthermore, our background knowledge tells us that we are missing out on a range of additional terms which are likely to be possible translation equivalents, such as clandestini, defined in the Oxford Paravia Concise (henceforth OPC) as '(immigrato) illegal alien; (passeggero) stowaway', and extracomunitari defined as 'non-EC immigrant'. These last two have been included in Table 4, along with migranteli (no translation available in the OPC), although it should be noted that as the corpus is not, at present, part-of-speech tagged, the numbers are not reliable as references to nouns indicating groups of people. Table 4 shows the frequencies of the RASIM terms in the UK section of the IntUne corpus and the frequencies of the possible translation equivalents in the Italian section.

| UK IntUne sub-corpus |  | Italian IntUne sub-corpus |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| refugee/s | 429 | rifugiat/a/e/i/o | 152 |
|  |  | profug/a/he/hi/o | 169 |
| asylum seeker/s | 225 | richiedente/i asilo | 2 |
| immigrant/s | 530 | immigrant/e/i | 8 |
|  |  | immigrat/a/e/i/o | 891 |
|  |  | extracomunitari/a/e/o | 335 |
|  |  | clandestin/a/e/i/o | 641* |
| migrant/s | 347 | migrator/e/i | 32 |
|  |  | migrant/e/i | 60 |
|  |  | lavorator/e/i stagional/e/i | 4 |
| foreigner/s | 234 | stranier/a/e/i/o | 2492 |

Table 4. Possible translation equivalents of RASIM

From this initial investigation, we can see that there is no clear translational equivalent for asylum seeker at all, the possible translations for migrant/s are far less frequent, while immigrat* is considerably more frequent than immigrant/s. We might also note that the occurrences of rifugiat* and profug* are less frequent than the apparent English equivalent. In 2007, the year in which the corpus was collected, according to the Consiglio Italiano per Rifugiati, there were 14,053 requests for asylum in Italy, compared to 23,430 requests reported by the UK Home Office. ${ }^{\text {xii }}$ Although the figure for Italy is lower than that given for the UK, the numbers suggest that the difference in the frequency of references seen in Table 4 cannot be explained simply by an absence of asylum seekers or refugees in Italy. Perhaps an alternative explanation can be found in the timing of our corpus collection (February-April). Work carried out for the 'Primo rapporto sugli immigrati in Italia, ${ }^{\text {xiii, }}$, which analysed the frequency of articles mentioning immigrat*, immigrazion*, clandestin*, extracomunitar* in Repubblica and La Stampa found that reporting tended to peak in the summer months, presumably due to the larger numbers of boats landing, the so-called carrette del mare. However, looking at the 5L/R collocates of rifugiat* and profug* in our corpus would seem to indicate that there is little sense that they are used to refer to people in Italy.
rifugiata/eli/o: status (12), politici (10), ritorno (7), politico (6), palestinesi (5), onи (5), questione (5), confini (5)
profuga/he/hi/o: campi (27), palestinesi (20), ritorno (19), milioni (14), campo (14), questione (9), iracheni (8), ciad (5), miglaia (5), israele (5), territorio (5)

A closer look at the concordance lines also confirmed this tendency highlighted in the collocates. With very few exceptions, the terms rifugiat* and profug* refer to marginalised 'others' elsewhere. ${ }^{\text {xiv }}$

Furthermore, moving out of our corpus for a moment, at the time of writing approximately 200/300 asylum seekers held a protest march in Rome (the 'Ask Our Right' march). The newspaper headlines retrievable from the internet were:
(1) Immigrati, corteo in centro, tensione e traffico in tilt (Repubblica),
(2) Immigrati in marcia, momenti di tensione (Giornale)
(3) Castelnuovo di Porto, nuova marcia di immigrati verso Roma per chiedere asilo politico. (Messaggero).

These examples show an avoidance of the terms rifugiati or richiedenti d'asilo in the newspaper discourse where they would be applicable, thus disqualifying them as valid translation equivalents of refugees and asylum seekers. Additionally, in terms of identity and representation, we may say that the preference for the more general term immigrati apparently delegitimizes the legal status of the asylum seekers.

## RASIM or ICES in the Italian press

Given the underuse of profug* and rifugiat*, in order to investigate the equivalents of RASIM in the Italian sub-corpus, we will limit ourselves to the four most frequent terms: immigrat*, clandestin*, extracomunitari* and also stranier* (ICES). Although stranier* is somewhat different from the other items, in this context it is not a translation equivalent of foreigner (the translation given in the Oxford Paravia Concise). Indeed, one of the reasons that stranier* was added is that it appeared as a collocate of both immigrat* and clandestin* (see Table 5a). In order to analyse the construction of the four groups in the most transparent way, thus allowing the reader to reach their own conclusions, a collocation analysis is presented.

Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) found that $86 \%$ of the c-collocates (consistent collocates, that is collocates which were consistent over an extended time period and therefore not influenced by single events) of RASIM could be grouped into the following eight topoi:

- Provenance / destination / transit e.g. Iran, UK, France
- Number e.g. flooding, pouring
- Entry e.g. sneaking, arrive, borders, Dover
- Economic problem e.g. economic, benefits, jobs
- Residence e.g. accommodation, housing, settle
- Return / repatriation e.g. back, refused, return, sent
- Legality e.g. bogus, genuine, detained, smuggled
- Plight e.g. aid, desperate, fleeing, homeless

Within critical discourse analysis topoi are defined as 'parts of argumentation that belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' that connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim', (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 74-75). So, for example, the topos of number could be said to connect the argument that RASIM are undesirable to the conclusion that they should be limited, by indicating that there are too many. Or, an alternative reading in this same framework might be that numbers collocating with RASIM cumulatively indicate an excess, a lack of control, thus connecting to the same conclusion: that control should be asserted by limiting the numbers.

Although these eight categories were not used as the basis for the semantic grouping of the collocates of ICES, which was driven by the collocates which emerged from the analysis, there are certainly overlaps as will be seen.

For each search term, immigrat*, clandestin*, extracomunitar* and stranier*, the most frequent lexical collocates (up to 200, each one collocating a minimum of 5 times) were extracted, and subsequently grouped in thematic sets. For ease of reference, the table of collocations has been divided into several parts. The tables are to be read horizontally to see differences in the representation of immigrat $^{*}$, clandestine $^{*}$, extacomunitar*, and stranier* , and vertically to see the cumulative effect of the collocates in the construction of ICES.

| immigrata/e/i/o | clandestina/efi/o | extracomunitari* | straniera/eri/o |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $(891)$ | $(641)$ | $(335)$ | $(2492)$ |
| clandestini, stranieri, | immigrazione, immigrati, | clandestini, immigrati | immigrati |
| extracomunitari, | stranieri, extracomunitari |  |  |
| clandestino |  |  |  |

Table 5a. Comparison of collocates which refer to other ICES terms

First of all, we note that there was much interconnection between the ICES terms, as Table 5a shows, in part this is because of the way in which clandestin* and extracomunitar* may modify each other and immigrat*. There were also six occurrences of the seemingly redundant immigrati stranieri from Repubblica and Giornale di Brescia, recalling the need to distinguish this relatively new phenomenon from the historical south to north internal migration in Italy. However, in a small number of cases, it appears that the terms are used synonymously, as illustrated in (4) and (5), in a part for whole relationship, which persuasively and subtlety substitutes equates a minority group, clandestini, which by definition carries associations of illegality, with the larger groups of extracomunitari and immigrati.
(4) Da quel cassone è dunque 'spuntato' un immigrato, un clandestino che avrebbe dichiarato di essere un ventiseienne d' origini afgane. (Giornale di Brescia 070421) IN MANETTE 12 EXTRACOMUNITARI. Clandestini dal volantinaggio al carcere PALAZZOLO Clandestini assoldati per fare volantinaggio. In 12 sono finiti nella rete dell'Arma che ieri ha passato al setaccio Palazzolo e Marone. (Giornale di Brescia 070215)

In the next topic area, shown in Table 5b, of collocates relating to national identity, it is noticeable that there is no reference to the terms nazionalità or provenienti in the most frequent collocates of clandestin*. A difference in the construction of stranieri is also visible from the collocates passaggio and passare given that these terms do not appear in the collocates for the other groups, in which the relationship is presented as more unidirectional, for example with the processes entrare and ingressi.

| immigrata/e/i/o | clandestina/e/i/o | extracomunitar* | straniera/e/i/o |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| - | - | nazionalità | nazionale, nazionalità |
| origine, provenienti | - | - | provenienti |
| paesi, stati, paese | - | paesi, paese | capitali, paese, patria, |
| nord, est |  | paesi, terra, capitale |  |
| Italia, italiani, Brescia, | Roma, Italia, bresciano, | Italia, Brescia, italiani | Italiani, Italia, |
| nostra, italiana, Roma, |  |  | italiane, italiano, |
| Milano, bresciano, |  |  | Roma, Brescia, |
|  |  |  | nostro, noi, nostra, |
| Europeo | Europa |  | bresciano |
| cinesi, marocchino, | cinesi, marocchini, | - | americani, |
| Africani, Mali, Uniti, | marocchino |  | Afghanistan, albanesi, |
| America, cinese, |  |  | cinesi |
| Francia, polacchi, |  |  | passaggio, passare |
| romeni |  |  | ingresso, entrare, |
| Musulmani |  |  |  |

Table 5b. Comparison of collocates referring to national identity and movement

In terms of provenance, cinesi is the only collocate which they all share, although both immigrat* and clandestin* are connected to marocchino. Musulmani, which here collocates with immigrat*, has been included in this section as it was felt that this was being used as a means of identification, similar to nationality. There were only two other references to immigrat* modified by an indicator of religion, one referring to immigrati ebrei in America in the 1920s, and the other to a suggestion put forward by the then archbishop of Bologna that immigrati provenienti da Paesi cristiani should be favoured over other migrants because they would be meglio integrabili.

At this point, it may be useful once again to look beyond the corpus to see what other sources have to say about the situation regarding migrants in Italy. According to the Ismu 2007 report, there are approximately $3,982,000$ 'foreigners' in Italy of which 349,000 are defined as 'irregolari'. ${ }^{\text {xv }}$ The Istat 2007 report estimated that there were 2,767,964 foreigners in Italy in 2006 (estimate based on the number of permessi di soggiorno issued, and the registration of birth of nonItalians). Istat also estimated that the fifteen principal countries of origin, which account for $67.5 \%$
of the total number of foreigners, were: Romania, Albania, Morocco, Ukraine, China, Philippines, Poland, Tunisia, Serbia and Montenegro, India, Peru, Senegal, Egypt, Ecuador, Moldova. ${ }^{\text {xvi }}$

Given this data, it is perhaps surprising that cinesi was the only shared collocate of ICES in Table 5b, and like the presence of musulmani seen in Table 5b, this indicates that the collocates represent visibility rather than numbers or quantities: those who are perceived as more different will receive more attention. This will be further explored in the later sections.

The next grouping, in Table 5c, refers very generally to law and order:


Table 5 c . Comparison of collocates referring to semantic fields of law and order

As can be seen, where the crime is likely to be attributed to the group, the first group of collocates in Table 5c, there is a large difference: extracomunitari* appears to carry far fewer negative associations than clandestin*. It should be noticed that although clandestin* are overwhelmingly portrayed as perpetrators of crime, as illustrated in (6), they are also presented as victims, for example sfruttamento (7).
(6) Criminalità Cinese. Sesso, clandestini e merci contraffatte. Così la 'Triade' gestisce traffici e denaro (Corriere della Sera 070414)


#### Abstract

I titolari dei due opifici, un 25 enne e un 30 enne, sono stati invece denunciati in stato di libertà per favoreggiamento dell'immigrazione clandestina e sfruttamento del lavoro di stranieri clandestini; sono stati anche multati con 70 mila euro. I clandestini sono stati accompagnati all'ufficio immigrazione per le pratiche di espulsione. (Giornale di Brescia 070227)


Closely connected with this group are references to espulsione, illustrated in (7) and the status of the members of the groups, whether they are regolari or irregolari, possess a carta, permesso or visto. It also appears that clandestin* and stranier* are something with which controllo is associated (see example 8), and immigrat* are a questione that needs resolving.

Quando il Comune ha iniziato un' azione efficace di controllo, la presenza degli stranieri e degli sfruttatori italiani si è ridimensionata, e il Carmine si sta avviando a divenire un quartiere multietnico ma abitabile. (Giornale di Brescia 070416)

Although (8) also highlights the role of the sfruttatori italiani, the choice of conjunction in the reference to un quartiere multietnico ma abitabile certainly suggests that the implied reader is expected to perceive incompatibility between the two characteristics.

In contrast, in the last group of topics shown in Table 5 c , there is a potentially more positive emphasis, with reference to diritto for both immigrat* and clandestin*.

A more favourable evaluation is also seen in the next set in Table 5d, although it is striking that there are no occurrences for clandestin* which clearly carries the most strongly negative association. Here there are references to cittadini, residenti, and communità, although further research has shown that comunità may not actually have such a favourable prosody (see Section 6).

| immigrata/e/i/o | clandestina/e/i/o* | extracomunitar* | straniera/e/i/o |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| comunità, integrazione, | - | cittadini, cittadino | comune, cittadini, |
| presenza, cittadini, |  |  | residenti, cittadino, |
| residenti, sportello, |  |  | comunità, |
| integrare, popolazione |  |  | integrazione, |
|  |  |  | popolazione |

Table 5d. Comparison of collocates referring to civic role

Continuing with the theme of daily life, in Table 5e we have a set of associations relating to where the ICES are to be found. It is also interesting to note the high frequency of reference to members of the family unit in the immigrat* collocates, such as figli, and madre, and the large number of references made to young and female individuals for both immigrat* and stranier*, for example giovani, minori, donne, donna. These collocates indicate that the differing representation of male and female ICES could also prove a revealing area of analysis in further research. A preliminary contrastive investigation of the collocates of donne compared to uomini in the same corpus showed that two salient thematic groups for donne related to nationality (e.g. iraniane, straniere ) and religion (musulmane, islamiche etc.).

| immigrata/e/i/o | clandestina/e/i/o | extracomunitar* | straniera/e/i/o |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| casa, città, case, vivono, | casa | città | strada, città, casa |
| nati |  |  |  |
| figli, figlio, bambini, | persone | famiglie, giovani | donne, giovani, |
| donne, giovani, |  |  | ragazzi, minori, |
| famiglia, giovane, |  | famiglie, bambini, |  |
| ragazzi, persone, |  | giovane, donna, |  |
| famiglie, madre |  | anni | persone |
| anni | anni |  | anni |

Table 5 e . Comparison of collocates referring to the domestic sphere and personal identity

The references to anni are grouped with other descriptors, because in nearly half of all occurrences (36 out of 78, of which 28 from Giornale di Brescia) it referred to the age of an individual, most
frequently in relation to a description relating to crime, as illustrated in the sample of concordance lines in Figure 4 (every third line included):

$$
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text { pgdb070210 } & \text { ra i 22 ed i 33 anni. Tutti } & \text { clandestini che sono quindi stati } \\
\text { pgdb070220 } & \text { me), palestinese di 29 anni, clandestino, senza fissa dimora, nulla } \\
\text { pgdb070228 } & \text { ino di sette anni, figlio di } & \text { immigrati tunisini, che una settimana f } \\
\text { pgdb070308 } & \text { te - un tunisino di 40 anni, } & \text { clandestino - che l' aveva afferrato p } \\
\text { gdb070310 } & \text { a Senago (Milano), dove un } & \text { immigrato clandestino romeno di } 27 \text { anni } \\
\text { pgdb070316 } & \text { rzo, K.G., 29 anni, moldavo } & \text { clandestino e del tutto sconosciuto, vi } \\
\text { pgdb070323 } & \text { rocchino di 27 anni già noto e } & \text { clandestino, e F.Y., 29 anni, anch' egl } \\
\text { pgdb070407 } & \text { tato un albanese di 27 anni, } & \text { clandestino, per violazione della Boss } \\
\text { pgdb070414 } & \text { a media di Iseo, una ragazza } & \text { extracomunitaria di 13 anni è in terap } \\
\text { pgds070328 } & \text { Jojonan Lukose, 32 anni. L' } & \text { extracomunitario, privo di documenti e } \\
\text { prep070312 } & \text { taliani (età 41-49 anni) 4 } & \text { stranieri (età 27-61 anni: da Europa de } \\
\text { prep070411 } & \text { ehat, un indiano di 31 anni, } & \text { immigrato illegale in Gran Bretagna, mo }
\end{array}
$$

Figure 4. Concordance lines of ICES collocating with anni, referring to the age of an individual

Expanding the search back into the corpus we find that there were also 40 references to ICES within a 10L/R span of age in the form number+enne/i, 33 of which occurred in the Giornale di Brescia. Similarly to anni, these references occurred predominately within the cronaca nera, age being given part of a process identifying the ICES with illegality. Indeed the form number+enne/i was primarily used in this context, and it is relevant to note that the terms relating to nationalities collocating with these forms (in a 10R/L span) were, in order of frequency: Albanese (20), Marocchino (18), origine (18), originario (14), and then Italiano (13).

Another salient grouping of ICES collocates refers to work and education, as shown in table 5 f.

| immigrata/efi/o | clandestina/efi/o | extracomunitar* | straniera/eli/o |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| lavoro, lavoratori, | lavoro, lavoratori, manodopera, | lavoratori, lavoro, stagionali, imprese | lavoratori, lavoro, lavorano, imprenditori, lavorare, occupazione, artisti, cantieri |
| - | - | alunni, studenti, | studenti, università, scuola, scuole |

Table 5f. Comparison of collocates referring to semantic fields of work and education

Collocates from the thematic area of education only appear for extracomunitar* and stranier*, while work related vocabulary appears for all four, the impression largely being of manual work, for example as suggested by manodopera, stagionali.

Finally, there were a large number of collocates relating to numbers, as shown in Table 5g, recalling the findings of the Lancaster research group.

| immigrata/e/i/o | clandestina/e/i/o | extracomunitar* | straniera/e/i/o* |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| due, cinque, milioni, | due, tutti, tre, uno, 30, 23, | una, due, sei, tre, 10, | uno, due, tre, cinque, |
| tre, 3, mila, quattro, | 29, mila, 1, 27, 31, |  | quattro, 4,1, milioni, |
| $10,13,5$, cento, 11, 20, | quattro | 2, cento, 19, 25, 3, |  |
| 2005, otto, |  | 2006,5, sei, 30, 2005, |  |
|  |  | miliardi, $7,8,12,21$, |  |
|  |  | otto |  |
| centinaia, migliaia, | solo, meno, molti, | decine, |  |
| tutti, molti, numero, tutti, numero | tutti, numero, alcuni, |  |  |
| tanti, circa, molto, oltre, |  | oltre, molti, |  |
| basta, troppi, tutto, |  | meno,tutto, quasi, |  |
| meno, pari, pochi |  | numerosi, circa, tanti, |  |
|  |  | nessuno, percentuale, |  |

Table 5 g . Comparison of collocates referring to semantic field of numbers

Other areas, which appeared among the collocates for stranier* but not for the other three groups included references to language (e.g. lingue, parla), sport (squadra, club), and finance (e.g. investimenti, banca).

From this brief collocation analysis it appears that extracomunitari* is less negatively connotated than might have been expected, and it would be interesting to investigate with a diachronic corpus whether there has, as intuition would suggest, been a change in the use of extracomunitari*. Certainly, we can see that clandestini* is the most negatively evaluated of the groups. However, the large amount of overlap in the use of the terms raises interesting questions, and confirms that the use of stranier* covers a much wider domain than foreigner or stranger which are often given as translations. This also suggests that the growing distinction suggested by

Sciortino and Colombo (2004) between straniero and immigrato is not as marked as expected in the use of these terms.

With reference to the findings of the collocational analysis regarding RASIM reported in Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), there are overlaps, such as the references to provenance, transit, residence, repatriation and legality. However, there are also clear differences. Perhaps most strikingly there is no equivalent to the category of 'economic problem', in the Italian data there is no sense that ICES represent a threat to the financial security of an 'us' group, there are no echoes of the 'tax-payer's' money discourse we might associate with some UK newspapers. On the contrary, an alternative category would be work and education, which appear to carry a more favourable evaluation. Although, as Sciortino and Colombo (2004) claim, it may be that this category has become less prominent over time, it is still very much present, however.

Additionally, in the Italian data examined here, the category of 'legality' dominates the ICES discourse, whether with reference to crimes represented as perpetrated by ICES, or to the legal status of the people. The category of 'plight', present in the items vittime, morti and sfurttamento, is less well represented in the Italian data, although we may hypothesise that had the data been collected in the summer months this would change. It was also noticeable that the items for 'number' were less emotionally charged than those found in the (much larger) corpus used in Gabrielatos and Baker's study.

Finally, the other major difference regards the category of 'description', including items referring to the donne, giovani and so on, which was not reported in their UK data.

In summary, drawing on the RASIM categories, we might say that the main thematic categories of ICES are:

- Legality
- Provenance / destination / transit
- Residence
- Description
- Work and education

Followed by the less well represented:

- Return / repatriation
- Entry
- Number


## Metaphor

The Lancaster team also report on the use of conceptual metaphor to negatively construct RASIM. As has been convincingly argued by Partington (2006), metaphor always functions evaluatively, as by transferring some attributes to another entity some elements will be foregrounded while others are backgrounded. The analysis of patterns of metaphor is, therefore, a means of identifying patterns of evaluation.

In the case of ICES, perhaps due to the much smaller corpus used here, no clear metaphorical patterns emerged from the collocation analysis. Therefore, an alternative, but less objective, approach had to be taken to identifying metaphorical usages. Additionally, in order to extend the search, the target was widened beyond the four ICES terms to all items associated with ICES. The results are very briefly reported here.

Firstly, drawing on the water metaphors reported in Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), possible translation equivalents were tested and the collocates searched for ICES related items. Secondly, the concordance lines of ICES were manually scanned for other possible metaphorical usage.

The examples of ondata/e di (67 occurrences in total) illustrate that the water metaphor functions cross-linguistically and cross-culturally, being used in both English and Italian newspaper discourse with similar targets.
prep070216 La ragione sta nell' ultima ondata di immigrazione, proveniente
pgdb070410 e lo scafista che ha guidato l'ondata di tre sbarchi successivi che hanno
prep070412 muni europee per fermare le ondate di clandestini.
prep070407
pgdb070215
pcds070324
pgdb070412
pgds070210
dilizie e al rischio che nuove ondate dimmigrati arrivino a Castelcovati. enuto in passato con le tante ondate di immigrati? Credo sia necessario fare Per fermare le ondate di immigrazione clandestina in tutta , criminalità internazionale, ondate di migrazione, energia, ambiente e così

Figure 5. Concordance lines of water metaphors with immigration related terms

The representation of immigrants as water, also seen with the phraseologies afflusso di and flusso/i $d i$, portrays the situation as being out of control, and therefore legitimises the response of stopping or blocking the movement of ICES (note the occurrences of fermare in the cotext). The presence of terms like rischio and criminalità in the concordance lines in Figure 5 also emphasises the unfavourable evaluation which is offered of the 'other'.

Water was not the only source domain in the metaphors, there were also two occurrences of orde di (17 occurrences total), and five instances of esercito di (100 occurrences total), as shown in Figure 6.
prep070314 labrodo d' Europa, invasa da orde di immigrati estranei alla nostra cultura". pcds070427 ato a mettere sotto contratto orde di giocatori stranieri, tecnici esotici,
prep070415 iuzze si è rotto da tempo, un esercito di cinesi è fuoriuscito ed è dilagato
prep070413
prep070330
pcds070302
pcds070412 i "circondati" da un piccolo esercito di cinesi in pantaloni neri e camicia ". Zenti tende la mano all' esercito di immigrati che vive nella Marca: "Se nificava soltanto unirsi all' esercito di immigrati illegali che ogni giorno i negli ultimi 10 anni), e un esercito di irregolari che già sfiora le 700 mila
Figure 6. Concordance lines of other metaphors with immigration related terms

It is noteworthy that the only nationality mentioned in the metaphors shown in Figure 6 is cinesi in the conceptual metaphor of 'immigrants are an INVADING ARMY'. Like the example of immigrants are WATER, this metaphor functions argumentatively to legitimise an action favoured by the speaker: opposing immigration.

## 6. ICES nationalities

As noted earlier, the number of migrants from a given country was not necessarily reflected in the visibility of that nationality in the collocates of ICES in the newspaper discourse. In order to explore this further, albeit somewhat crudely, Table 6 shows the 15 nationalities which were identified in the Istat report (in descending order) listed firstly by the number of migrants in Italy, secondly by the total number of references in the corpus, and, in the third column, by the number of times the nationality collocates with ICES. The aim of this ranking is to identify variations in the position of each group which may indicate a disproportionate media focus, indicative in turn of a particular evaluative narrative.
\(\left.\begin{array}{llllll}Country of origin \& \& Total occurrences in corpus \& Occurrences within a 10L/R span of <br>

\& \& \& ICES\end{array}\right]\)|  |
| :--- |
| Romania |
| Albania |
| Morocco |

Table 6. Comparison of ordering of nationalities by: number of migrants in Italy, visibility in the press, and co-occurrence with ICES.

One of the most noticeable differences in position is the place of cines*, despite the fact that, according to the Istat report, the number of Chinese migrants in Italy is less than half that of migrants from Romania and Albania, cinese/cinesi collocate more than twice as often with ICES. In direct contrast, Ukraine is fourth in the list ordered by number of migrants, but the references to ucrain* in the co-text of ICES are negligible. Here again, it would be interesting to extend the study diachronically, as intuition and background knowledge would suggest that there has been a shift in the role and representation of Albanians in the Italian press.

If we go on to look at the first four nationalities which occur within the context of ICES, it is interesting to note which other nationalities they collocate with (Figure 7).


Figure 7. Collocation network of nationalities identified as ICES ${ }^{\text {xvii }}$

As can be seen from Figure 7, Albanian, Romanian, and Moroccan all refer to Chinese in their collocates, although the relationship is not necessarily reciprocated. Given that the countries of China, Morocco, Albania and Rumania have little in common geographically, politically, culturally, or economically, we may, therefore hypothesize that the connection in the newspaper discourse is the presence of migrants in Italy, and perhaps more specifically, that these nationalities are all, in some way, visible in Italy. From the collocates, we may also note the 'split' identity of Chinese in the press, as it is associated both with other ICES nationalities and with more affluent and/or powerful countries. In contrast, the other three nationalities predominately co-occur with geographically proximate countries (one notable exception being Pakistani as a collocate of marocchin*).

## Cinese/cinesi

Following these findings the items cinese/cinesi were investigated in more detail. The collocates for cinese/cinesi are shown ordered by z-score in Figure 8 because the z -score indicates the strength of the collocation. The ordering by z -score explains why an item like luo may register with a high z score despite only collocating with cines* four times - it actually only appears four times in the whole corpus and therefore the strength of co-occurrence is particularly high. The advantage of
using the $z$-score is that it shows us which terms occur particularly frequently with the node word, in this case cines*, rather than words which are generally frequent.

| Word | Frequency | Z-score |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| scatole | 42 | 213.4 |
| limin | 10 | 138.9 |
| qin | 9 | 85.9 |
| comunità | 75 | 78.3 |
| zhang | 18 | 74.4 |
| console | 25 | 70.9 |
| luo | 4 | 69.1 |
| chery | 6 | 53.6 |
| sarpi | 9 | 49.4 |
| copiano | 3 | 47.6 |
| tzu | 3 | 45.9 |
| chinatown | 11 | 45.6 |
| kai | 6 | 45.0 |
| quartiere | 27 | 45.0 |
| censura | 12 | 44.8 |
| commercianti | 16 | 43.9 |
| indiani | 12 | 43.5 |
| residenti | 19 | 41.2 |

Figure $8.5 \mathrm{~L} / \mathrm{R}$ collocates of cinese/cinesi ordered by z-score

From this list, three items appear to overlap: comunità, Chinatown and quartiere, all of which point to a physical or geographical isolation or 'othering' of the Chinese in Italy, as will be discussed below. Further analysis also showed that the item comunità although seemingly neutral, nearly always functions to refer to exclusion, see for example (9), and therefore may be described as having a negative semantic prosody.
(9) Come altre comunità immigrate, quella cinese tende a chiudersi in se stessa e a restare impermeabile rispetto al contesto sociale in cui si trova. (Giornale di Brescia 070421)

Of the 50 lexical 1R collocates of comunità, the only other nationalities referred to, though much less frequently, were: eritrea, turca, afgana and pakistana. However, the terms rom and nera also featured among the collocates which is revealing in itself. Many references were religious e.g. comunità + ebraiche / ebraica / islamiche / islamica / amish and so on. To avoid falling into the trap of the corroboration drive, that is only looking for items to confirm our hypothesis, items that we would predict to be inclusive, such as comunità italiana, were also examined, but here too, they proved to refer to an isolated group, for example with reference to Italians in Fiume (Rijeka), America, Egypt, Israel, Wales, and, as in (10), in Europe:
(10) E oggi che sempre di più si va verso l' integrazione europea, la comunità italiana rimane chiusa in se stessa, col rischio di perdere un altro treno. (Corriere della Sera 070206)

Taking the second of the three terms, Chinatown ( 185 occurrences, all from April), we can see that it displays a more explicit negative semantic prosody in this corpus, with the 'otherness' or alterity additionally being emphasised by the use of the English loanword. ${ }^{\text {xviii }}$ The item Chinatown most commonly occurred in reference to two specific incidents: protests by some Chinese migrants and/or Italians of Chinese origin against fines issued by the traffic wardens, and the murder of two men of Chinese origin, as illustrated in Figure 9. The two separate events occurred within a twoweek period, and this often led to an attempt in the press to combine them into a single narrative.

| pgdb070413 | Milano, rivolta a Chinatown |
| :--- | :---: |
| pcds070414 | La tregua di Chinatown. "Ma la protesta continuerà" |
| pgds070413 | Tafferugli a Chinatown a Milano cinesi in rivolta si scontrano con |
| prep070413 | Milano, guerriglia a Chinatown: decine di feriti |
| prep070428 | Milano, due morti a Chinatown |
| pcds070428 | Sparatoria in strada a Chinatown: 2 morti a Milano |
| pgdb070428 | A . Chinatown un probabile regolamento di conti |
| pcds070428 | Sparatoria a Chinatown, due vittime |

Figure 9. Concordance lines of Chinatown illustrating the two main stories

Chinatown was also used frequently to refer to problems of integration, as illustrated in the concordance lines in Figure 10.
prep070415
pcds070416
prep070415
pcds070416
pcds070428
prep070413
prep070415
pcds070416
artiere che si chiama Chinatown, cioè contrario dell' integrazione e quindi grandi vere e proprie Chinatown, colonizzandone le più importanti attività stessa della enclave- Chinatown, di quel "territorio etnico", le nuove generazioni a. È molto grave. Le Chinatown vanno smantellate per evitare ghetti etnici". obbiamo impedire che Chinatown diventi una zona estranea alla comunità milane Chinatown si è allargata, ha conquistato interi isolati di 1 carattere dei vecchi di Chinatown. Scontrosi e chiusi, sono l' ombra incupita degli

Ma, alla fine, la Chinatown milanese è davvero un ghetto? "Più che altro -

Figure 10. Concordance lines of Chinatown illustrating reference to problems of integration

The use of colonizzandone, and conquistato in the concordances in Figure 10 also illustrate the use of the INVADING ARMY metaphor in relation to the Chinese, as seen in the previous section with reference to esercito di.

Returning to the issue of la nostra lingua, with which we started, we note that the perceived reluctance to learn Italian, perhaps a metonym for presumed reluctance to integrate and become 'Italian', is commented on here too:
(11) A quanto pare nella Chinatown milanese, dove tra l' altro si stampa in migliaia di copie un quotidiano rigorosamente in lingua cinese, ben pochi conoscono la lingua italiana, pur essendo residenti da anni in Italia. (Giornale di Brescia 070421)
(12) Caro Romano, letta l' intervista concessa al Corriere dall' ambasciatore cinese in Italia, Dong Jinyi, mi rendo conto che non sono solo i cinesi della Chinatown milanese a essere restii all' apprendimento della nostra lingua. (Corriere della Sera 070418)

Quartiere too, though less frequent, was similar to Chinatown in predominately referring to the protests in Milan. It was most characteristic of the Repubblica and half of the references were from this newspaper. On three occurrences in the Corriere della Sera it co-occurred with the term guerriglia, as illustrated in (13), once again evoking a military association.
(13) In rivolta il quartiere cinese Assalto ai vigili, ore di guerriglia (Corriere della Sera 070413)

Considering the results discussed above, we might ask: are the Chinese the subject of a moral panic story in the Italian media?

## 7. Moral panics

Much research on moral panics owes its origin to the sociological work carried out by Cohen (1972), in defining moral panics Cohen noted that:

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or groups of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media
(Cohen 1972: 9)

The role of the media is central to the notion of the moral panic, and is also emphasised in O'Sullivan et al's definition that:

Moral panics then, are those processes whereby members of a society and culture become 'morally sensitized' to the challenges and menaces posed to 'their' accepted values and ways of
life, by the activities of groups defined as deviant. The process underscores the importance of the mass media in providing, maintaining and 'policing' the available frameworks and definitions of deviance, which structure both public awareness of, and attitudes towards, social problems.

As the O'Sullivan et al quote illustrates, moral panics require the construction of 'in' and 'out' groups, of an essentially binary 'us' and 'them' opposition, and therefore potentially represent a rich resource for the analysis of identity issues. Furthermore, the citation above illustrates that, although the term 'panic' is used, the subject is not necessarily trivial, and may indeed be a threat.

McEnery (2005) develops a set of moral panic roles for the analysis of the phenomenon which were based on qualitative observations, subsequently tested against a range of texts. In addition to the six discourse roles, McEnery also includes a final category relating to the language of the moral panic discourse These roles/categories are:

1. Object of offence - that which is identified as problematic;
2. Scapegoat - that which is the cause of, or which propagates the cause of, offence;
3. Moral entrepreneur - the person/group campaigning against the object of offence;
4. Consequence - the negative results which it is claimed will follow from a failure to eliminate the object of offence;
5. Corrective action - the actions to be taken to eliminate the object of offence;
6. Desired outcome - the positive results which will follow from the elimination of the object of offence
7. Rhetoric - register marked by a strong reliance on evaluative lexis that is polar and extreme (adapted from McEnery 2005: 6-7)

Because the current corpus is not large enough to accurately rely on collocates of cinese/cinesi for the analysis of moral panic, the next stage is purely qualitative. This does raise questions of objectivity, but, I would argue, it is largely justified by the identification of the Chinese as an area of particular concern for the newspapers in the quantitative analyses. However, the interpretative and subjective nature of the analysis does mean that these findings should not be generalised beyond the corpus.

In addition to the metaphors already seen in the previous sections, we might want to consider the conventionalised metaphor of China is a DRAGON. Although it was not a common metaphor (six occurrences excluding references to films, exhibitions and so on), the findings are
indicative of the negative evaluation and high visibility of the Chinese. In example (14), although three nationalities are mentioned, it is only the dragone which is referred to in the headline.
(14) ROMA Il Dragone all' assalto. Avanzano le mafie straniere, la nuova criminalità ha il volto di cinesi, nigeriani, russi. (Repubblica 070219)

In (15), from Repubblica, scare quotes are put around the term razzisti, thus distancing the speaker's opinion from that put forward by the Chinese media and government.

Il Dragone difende i cinesi d' Italia 'Sono vittime di abusi e brutalità' Diplomazia e mass media si schierano contro i 'razzisti' (Repubblica 070414)

In (16), which also appeared in the Repubblica, the Chinese are characterised as ospiti in Milan, a choice of term which negates their citizenship or right to be in Italy. Furthermore, they are again seen to be stereotyped as silent.
(16) Negli ultimi cinque anni Milano ha osservato il volo del dragone con lo stesso atteggiamento dei suoi ospiti orientali: in silenzio, credendo che dialogare con i fantasmi fosse impossibile, sperando, come sempre, che tutto si sistemasse. (Repubblica 070413)

From the data seen so far we may conclude that the object of offence is the non-integration and distinct, 'non-Italian' identity of the Chinese comunità (the scapegoat), which is portrayed through the failure to obey the rules, and refusing to talk, as in examples (17) and (18).
(17) E anche qui si torna a parlare di regole, quelle del tessuto economico italiano, le stesse che $\mathbf{i}$ cinesi non conoscono e in definitiva non praticano. Riccardo Marini, della Marini Industrie (azienda tessile), vicepresidente dell' Unione Industriali, parla chiaro: ‘I cinesi? potevano essere una risorsa e non lo sono, anzi... non rispettano le regole che noi siamo invece chiamati a rispettare [... 'Negli Usa - racconta Marini - la comunità cinese si è integrata perchè rispetta la legge americana, le regole, persino la lingua. Qui non mi trovi un cinese che capisce I' italiano'. (Giornale di Brescia 070414)
(18) A quanto pare nella Chinatown milanese, dove tra $l^{\prime}$ altro si stampa in migliaia di copie un quotidiano rigorosamente in lingua cinese, ben pochi conoscono la lingua italiana, pur essendo residenti da anni in Italia. Molti tra poco potranno votare, avendo conseguito a pieno titolo la cittadinanza italiana, decidendo così anche per noi. Non importa se sanno comunicare solo con
ideogrammi e hanno poca motivazione a conoscere la realtà esterna alla loro comunità. (Giornale di Brescia 070421)

In example (18) the offence is also the power of the Chinese in Italy over the 'us' group, decidendo anche per noi, an expression of resentment of their right to vote in a country in which they are not perceived to be integrated, in which they are an 'other'. In (17) the emphasis on a disrespect for rules attributed to the Chinese people is contrasted with the 'us' group in non rispettano le regole che noi siamo invece chiamati a rispettare. Example (17) also offers a desired outcome, in the model of the American situation, and a sort of corrective action is offered, in that this outcome is seen to be the result of the respecting the laws, rules and language of the new country of residence. The figure of the moral entrepreneur is less clear in the examples seen here, in (17) a voice is given to the vice-president of 'Unione Industriali', who is considered an authority worthy of being heard because he is in an industry where many Chinese work. Alternatively, in (19) Amato is given a voice, in his role as a lecturer who has had some students of Chinese origin, is quoted as offering another corrective action in noting that some second generation Chinese graduates are willing to open the comunità.
(19) A tale proposito, il ministro [Amato] ricorda i suoi corsi alla Scuola Superiore Sant' Anna di Pisa: 'Dove insegno, c' è qualche cinese laureato, immigrato di seconda generazione, di Prato: giovani che si adoperano ad aprire quella comunità e la sua organizzazione del lavoro'. (Repubblica 070413)

Finally, the presence of a forceful rhetoric is visible both in the presence of metaphors discussed previously, and in the over-generalisations present in the examples above, including the dismissive 'sanno comunicare solo con ideogrammi'. Further evidence of a concentration of rhetorical devices may be drawn from the presence of the interrogation mark, ?, noticed in the collocates of cines* (67 co-occurrences 10R/L). Inverting the research sequence and looking at all (possible) nationality terms in the collocates (10R/L) of the question mark in order to test this, the ten most frequent were: italian*, american*, ingles*, frances*, tedesc*, cines*, turc*, spagnol*, afgan* and iranian*. (Another interesting group in the collocates of the ? were formed by religious groups: ebrei, islam, musulamni, cristiani, islamico).

In the light of the examples discussed in this section, I would conclude that, in the Italian press present in the IntUne corpus, there is a moral panic surrounding Chinese people in Italy, which was brought to the fore by two specific events. Such temporality is typical of moral panics, which, by definition, are not permanent. What is perhaps most interesting and revealing is to note which moral panics recur, or, in this case, which groups of nationalities re-occur within similar moral panic stories over time (a task which may be facilitated by the media group's second stage of the IntUne project which involves an almost identical data collection at a distance of two years). While such quantitative data is needed, it is still interesting to note that at the time of writing the Chinese in Italy were the subject of another moral panic story in Italy, this time regarding the sale of contaminated milk, and with much more prominent moral entrepreneurs. The Under-Secretary for Welfare, with responsibility for Health, (Francesa Martini) advised Italians to eat 'Italian' food, declaring 'Io non sono mai stata in un ristorante cinese e mai ci andrò' (Repubblica TV, 24 September), adding two days later the soundbite 'parlare di latte cinese è parlare di latte killer' (Radio24, 26 September). ${ }^{\text {xix }}$

## 8. Conclusions

Within this paper, which was originated in the para-replication of the Lancaster group's research into refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM), we have briefly seen that even translating search terms from a study in one language to another may be more complex than expected, as the cultural associations of seemingly similar terms will lead to differing functions within a given discourse, and therefore requires particular attention in any cross-linguistic/cultural analysis.

From the collocation analysis it is clear that, like RASIM in the British press, immigrati, clandestini, extracomunitari and stranieri (ICES) are frequently constructed negatively in the Italian newspapers. However, there were differences compared to the British findings, such as the presence of more the favourable environments of work and education, and the large category of descriptive collocates.

Yet, although not all ICES are associated with unfavourable evaluations, certain nationalities appear more visible and therefore more threatening. In particular, in our corpus it appears that people of Chinese origin in Italy are the subject of a moral panic story.

Finally, it should be noted that the press are clearly self-aware, as this last example from Corriere della Sera illustrates. Although the quote comes from a letter to the editor, and is therefore an instance of attribution rather than avveral in the Birmingham school's terms (see Hunston 2000) which is to say that the evaluation is presented as deriving from someone other than the author thus
allowing responsibility to be delegated, it still represents a voice that has been selected and been given space within the newspaper:
(20) 'Non si vogliono integrare. Non vogliono imparare la nostra lingua. Mandano tutti i loro guadagni all'estero. Non pagano le tasse. Abitano tutti insieme nello stesso quartiere. Lavorano troppo'. Queste le critiche quotidiane fatte a spese degli immigrati italiani che leggevo sui giornali mentre crescevo nell' Australia degli anni ' 50. Adesso si sentono le stesse critiche fatte dai media italiani e specialmente nei tg a carico degli immigrati cinesi! (Corriere della Sera 070414_LTE).

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## Dictionaries

www.oxfordparavia.it
http://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano_inglese.shtml
http://www.garzantilinguistica.it/

## i The IntUne project involves 29 European institutions and is being coordinated by Siena University, see www.intune.it <br> ii Thanks to the work of Łukasz Dróżdż, simple queries of the corpus are possible at http://ia.uni.lodz.pl/intune/ iii The acronym TEI refers to the Text Encoding Initiative, which is a consortium dedicated to the development of standards for the representation of texts in electronic form, see http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml XAIRA stands for XML Aware Indexing and Retrieval Architecture, for more information see http://www.oucs.ox.ac.uk/rts/xaira/ <br> iv Data for June 2008 supplied by Prima Comunicazione Online. See www.primaonline.it <br> $v \quad$ For motives of clarity, instead of referring to words, the total number of words in a corpus are referred to as tokens, while the number of original words are referred to as types. <br> vi See also Morley and Bayley (forthcoming) for a more detailed discussion of CADS by Partington, and chapter length examples of CADS in action. Some information is also available in the Wikipedia entry, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corpus-assisted discourse_studies [retrieved 10 October 2008] <br> vii The British National Corpus, see http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/ <br> viii The asterisk indicates that the forms nostra, nostre, nostri, nostro were included. <br> ix Although no clear reference is made in the article, the study did not seem to differentiate between citizens and non-citizens. <br> x In Xaira z -score is a measure of collocational strength, the higher the z -score the less likely it is that the cooccurrence of the two items is random.

xi For motives of transparency, in concordance lines the date and newspaper are indicated in the form (paper year month day)
xii Data from Home Office Statistical Bulletin: Asylum Statistics 2007
http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs08/hosb1108.pdf and Consiglio Italiano per i Rifugiati, http://www.cironlus.org/Statisticheitalia.htm [accessed 10/09/2008].
xiii www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/assets/files/15/0673_Rapporto_immigrazione
BARBAGLI.pdf
xiv The frequency of status in the collocates of rifugiat* also points to the difference in meaning as rifugiato additionally carries a legal definition, according to the 1951 Geneva Convention, although it is not consistently used with this restrictive, specific meaning in the newspaper discourse analysed here.
xv http://www.ismu.org/files/Tabelle\ .pdf
xvi http://www.istat.it/salastampa/comunicati/non_calendario/20070411_00/testointegrale.pdf
xvii As previously, the collocation analysis is limited to items which collocate at least five times.
xvii It has been suggested that Chinatown may also have been used because is the name of a 1974 film (Morley, p.c.), and the press's fondness for such intertextuality is well-known, as is illustrated by the two references (in Corriere della Sera) to another film Grosso guaio a Chinatown (Big trouble in little China, 1984).
xix The reaction to the contaminated milk may been affected by the events in February/March 2008, when, following concerns over the contamination of Italian mozzarella with dioxin, China declared that imports would be blocked. At the time the Italian Minister for Agriculture responded that Italy did not export mozzarella to China.

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