

iscte

INSTITUTO
UNIVERSITÁRIO
DE LISBOA

Hate speeches in the current Italian panorama

Mariasole Sanfilippo

Master in International Studies,

Supervisor:

PhD Raquel da Silva, Integrated researcher, ISCTE – University
Institute of Lisbon

October , 2022



SOCIOLOGIA
E POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

Department of History

Hate speeches in the current Italian panorama

Mariasole Sanfilippo

Master in International Studies,

Supervisor:

PhD Raquel da Silva, Integrated researcher, ISCTE – University
Institute of Lisbon

October , 2022

Acknowledgments

I want to extend my sincere thanks to those without whom the writing of this thesis, and the conclusion of this path would not have been possible.

I want to thank my supervisor, the Professor Raquel da Silva, for always guiding me with outstanding professionalism and patience and giving me the best advice.

To my mom and dad, without whom, none of this would have been possible. You are my source of inspiration, source of love and security, and I dedicate my path and my victories to you.

To my friends for their constant support.

To my family for constantly pushing me to give my best.

Resumo

O discurso de ódio é agora parte integrante da comunicação moderna, e esse fenômeno está aumentando constantemente, especialmente nas sociedades ocidentais. De fato, devido ao advento das mídias sociais, tem havido um gradual desinteresse pelas formas de comunicação alfabética direta e um súbito interesse pela cultura visual e audiovisual, juntamente com informações midiáticas incorretas, sobrecarregadas e constantemente filtradas e influenciadas pela política paisagem. Esta tese investigará o fenômeno do discurso de ódio, com foco na Itália e realizando um estudo analítico das narrativas midiáticas presentes na Itália e como elas levaram a um violento surto de discurso de ódio, tomando como exemplo o caso do Sea Watch.

Abstract

Hate speech is now an integral part of modern communication, and this phenomenon is constantly increasing, especially in Western societies. In fact, due to the advent of social media, there has been a gradual lack of interest in direct alphabetical forms of communication and a sudden interest in visual and audiovisual culture, together with incorrect media information, overwhelmed and constantly filtered and influenced by the political landscape. This thesis will investigate the phenomenon of hate speech, focusing on Italy and carrying out an analytical study of the media narratives present in Italy and how these have led to a violent outbreak of hate speech, taking the Sea Watch's case as a prime example.

Index

Acknowledgments	iii
Resumo.....	v
Abstract	viii
Introduction... ..	11
Chapter. 1 Literature Review	13
1.1. Hate Speech: A Challenging Definition	14
1.2. Hate Speech and Social Media	15
1.3. Duties And Responsibilities: The Ethics of Journalism.....	16
1.4 Specific Measures for online hate speech	18
Chapter. 2 Methodology.....	21
2.1. Research	
Design 21	
2.2. Data Collection	23
2.3. Data Analysis.....	24
2.4. Limitations	25
2.5. Conclusions.....	26
Chapter 3. Results and Discussions.....	27
3.1. Hate Speeches.....	27
3.2 Hate Speeches in Italy.....	28
3.3 The Sea Watch's	
case 29	
3.4. Italian Political landscape 2018-2019.....	30
3.5 How are the hate speeches related to the Sea Watch addressed in Italian news media? ...	31
3.6 What is the motivation behind motivated hate speech in Italy?	38

Chapter 4.Conclusion	40
Bibliography.....	44

Table of Figures

Table 1 List of Newspaper articles and report

LIST OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND REPORTS

NEWSPAPER	TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE
Corriere Della Sera	Migranti, Sea Watch soccorre 50 migranti dalla Libia	Redazione Online	12-06-2019
Il Giornale	Sea Watch bloccata, ma ne sbarcano altri 45. Scortati a Lampedusa da Fiamme gialle e Guardia costiera. L'Ong prosegue la battaglia legale.	Raffa. V	20-06-2019
Il Secolo XIX	La Sea Watch tenta di entrare in porto ma viene bloccata a un miglio dalla costa.	N,A	27-06-2019
L'Avvenire	Lampedusa. Sea Watch bloccata. L'Olanda: la nave è nostra.	N,A	27-06-2019
Il Messaggero	Sea Watch tenta blitz: bloccata. Parlamentari a bordo, scontro Salvini-Olanda.	N,A	27-06-2019
La Repubblica	Sea-Watch forza il blocco e si avvicina al porto. Di nuovo l'alt della Guardia di finanza a un miglio dalla costa.	Ziniti. A.	27-06-2019
Corriere Della Sera	La Sea Watch bloccata a un miglio dal porto di Lampedusa.	De Gregorio, A. & Piccolillo,	27-06-2019
Euronews	La Sea Watch tenta l'attracco, bloccata dalla guardia di finanza.	Tassinari. C	27-06-2019

LIST OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND REPORTS

NEWSPAPER	TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE
Ansa	Sea Watch prova a entrare nel porto di Lampedusa, bloccata.	N,A	27-06-2019
La Sicilia	Lampedusa, Sea Watch bloccata e intanto arriva un altro barchino....	N,A	28-06-2019
La Stampa	Sea Watch, indagata la capitana. Migranti ancora a bordo.	N,A	28-06-2019
Corriere Della Sera	Sea Watch, la capitana Carola ai finanziari dopo l'arresto.	Piccolillo. V	29-06-2019
Il Giornale di Sicilia	La Sea Watch entra in porto nella notte, "la capitana" arrestata.	N,A	29-06-2019
Open Online	Sea Watch, la capitana Rackete ai domiciliari. Salvini: «Espulsione subito».	Mazza, M.P	29-06-2019
Il Messaggero	Sea Watch, Carola rischia 12 anni. Francia e Germania attaccano l'Italia.	N,A	29-06-2019
Rai News	Sea Watch 3 entra a Lampedusa. Sbarcati i migranti, la comandante è stata arrestata.	N,A	29-06-2019
Il Secolo XIX	Arrestata la comandante della Sea Watch, Parigi e Berlino.	N,A	29-06-2019
Monreale Press	La Sea Watch sperona motovedetta ed entra in porto.	Redazione	29-06-2019
L'Avvenire	Capitana arrestata, le critiche di Germania e Francia.	Spagnolo, Vincenzo. R	29-06-2019
Washington Post	Captain of ship with 42 rescued migrants defies Italy's orders.	Harlan. C	26-06-2019
Times of Malta	Sea-Watch migrant rescue boat in Italy port stand-off.	N,A	27-06-2019

LIST OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND REPORTS

NEWSPAPER	TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE
Deutsche Welle	Sea-Watch captain arrested as ship docks at Lampedusa.	N,A	29-06-2019
The Guardian	Rescue ship captain arrested for breaking Italian blockade.	Tondo. L	29-06-2019
Al Jazeera	Sea-Watch enters Lampedusa, captain Carola Rackete arrested.	N,A	29-06-2019
Der Standard	Sea-Watch 3 vor Hafen von Lampedusa von Polizei gestoppt.	N,A	26-06-2019
Die Presse	29)."Sea-Watch" im Hafen von Lampedusa gelandet,	N,A	29-06-2019
Krone	29). Sea-Watch 3 legte illegal an: Kapitänin verhaftet.	N,A	29-06-2019
Kleine Zeitung	"Sea-Watch 3"-Kapitänin im Hafen von Lampedusa festgenommen.	N,A	29-06-2019
<u>K.at</u> News	Sea-Watch-Kapitänin rechtfertigte ihr Handeln. Kurier	N,A	30-06-2019

Glossary of Acronyms

ECRI	European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance
asGI	National Association for Legal Studies on Immigration
LICRa	Association International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism
GDF	Guardia Di Finanza
ICCPR	The International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
CERD Discrimination	The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial
UNHCr	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

INTRODUCTION

"Few people can be happy unless they hate another person, nation, or creed.", said Bertrand Russell (1872-1970), the non-conformist philosopher and winner of the Nobel prize for literature in 1950, and this observation is as relevant today as it has ever been. (Cerquozzi 2018). G.Pino (2008) states that the expression hate speech belongs to a category developed in the 1970s jurisprudence, to indicate a kind of words and speeches that have no other function apart than expressing hatred and intolerance towards a person or group, and that are likely to provoke violent reactions against that group or by that group. Ziccardi (2016) affirms, that although there is no universally shared definition of hate speech, European institutions have tried to delimit the concept. According to the Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, "hate speech" includes:

“All forms of expressions that contribute to propagating, stimulating, promoting or justifying hatred racial, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, that is other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including that which express, in the form of aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility towards minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin " (Council Of Europe, 1997, p.106).

Italy stood out for the most significant number of discriminatory statements, according to the latest data provided by Comparitech (2021). The report “ The pyramid of hatred in Italy ", written by the JFOX Commission (2021), agrees with what was stated by Comparitech, examining the dimensions, causes and effects of hate speech. Hate speeches, in general, are increasing, and the victims of these hate crimes continue to be the same: women, people belonging to the LGBT + Q community, immigrants, asians and people with disabilities. (Comparitech 2021). In 1998, in his definition of "biopower", Foucault clarified forms of ‘state of racism’, and this concept will be used by many to define hate speeches and crime. This project will conduct a thematic analysis of Italian and foreign news articles about hate speeches and crimes, with a focus on the Sea Watch case in a limited time frame (12-30th June 2019). This will guide an analysis that comprehends the rise of motivated hate speeches in Italy during that period's broader political and social context, as exemplified by the aforementioned specific case. The goal is to provide a general perspective on how the news media portrays hate speeches, and thus this dissertation intends to contribute to this unexplored field of

research. It also plans to grasp whether the Italian sociopolitical context during that time influenced the occurrence of motivated hate speeches and crimes. Hence, this thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

Q.1: Is it possible to define hate speeches?

Q.2: How are hate speeches portrayed in Italy?

Q.3: How did Italian mass media address hate speeches with the Sea Watch case?

A thematic analysis is used in this study to answer the research questions. The aim is to better understand the general context of the outbreak of hatred in Italy in 2019. The dissertation will be divided into the following chapters. In chapter 1, the literature review of this dissertation will be presented, which will provide a description and a critical evolution of the works concerning the research problems being investigated to answer the research questions mentioned above. This chapter will also include the theoretical framework that guides the dissertation: duties and responsibilities in the media sector. Chapter 2 concerns the methodology approach of this project, which will explain every step of the development of this dissertation, addressing the research design that guides the analysis and the character of the project. Eventually, the third chapter will analyse how Italian mass media, thanks to the data collected in the second chapter, participated in or contributed to the spread of hate speeches in Italy. Lastly, I present the conclusion of the dissertation project, with the most relevant remarks to determine the Italian reality of motivated hate speeches.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Hate speech: a challenging definition

Hate speech, according to J. Waldron (2012), is nothing more than a type of insult motivated by any form of discrimination towards certain people or towards a respective social group. Defining and framing the field of investigation that reflects on this phenomenon is difficult. Although hate speech has always existed, with the advent of technology and the birth of social media, this phenomenon has grown, and the victims are increasingly numerous (Floridi 2014). Despite the widespread use of the term, there is no universally accepted definition of hate speech. As Gianmarco Gometz (2017) argues, everyone condemns hate speech behaviours, for the uncommon rate of vagueness that characterizes each of its available definitions, but none knows what it is. (Bogdani, Faloppa, , Karaj, 2021). Regardless of the fact that many cities in Europe and beyond have passed legislation prohibiting hate speech, definitions of what is prohibited, the extent to which expression could be harmful and transmit hatred, and in general, what content of hate speech, may change (Strossen, 2016). Sellars (2016) provides a critical and comprehensive overview of various interpretations of hate speech by intending to formalize the myriad of available approaches and viewpoints and describes hate speech using several concepts from academic and legal discourse. Sellars (2016) identifies common traits as targeting a group or an individual as a group member based on physical, social, and cultural characteristics. “The presence of content expresses hatred, causes harm, incites criminal behaviour outside the scope of the speech, and serves no redeeming purpose—the intent to harm or offend, as well as the public nature of the speech” (Bogdani, Faloppa, , Karaj, 2021). Nevertheless, what is hate speech and who are the primary victims of this phenomenon? Several sources have described it accurately, but few are relevant:

- The International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) adopted in 1966
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) 1965
- The Council of Europe Hate Speech Recommendation, 1997

According to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (2012):

“Hate speech must be understood as the act of inciting, promoting or encouraging, in any form, the denigration, hatred or defamation of a person or group, as well as the

fact of subjecting a person or a group to abuse, insults, negative stereotypes, stigmatisation or threats".

In the General Recommendation no.15 / 2015, ECRI, the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance, stated that:

"By hate speech we mean behaviour that consists in fomenting, promoting or encouraging, in any form, the denigration, hatred or defamation of a person or group, as well as subjecting to abuse, insults, negative stereotypes, stigmatising or threatening a person or group and the justification of all these forms or expressions of hatred just mentioned, based on race, skin colour, ancestry, national or ethnic origin, age, disability, language, religion or belief, sex, gender, 2 gender identity, sexual orientation, and other personal characteristics or status" (ibid: 58)

Hate speech, therefore, has the following main characteristics: it identifies public and disparaging manifestations of thought intended to provoke a violent and exclusionary reaction or action on the part of the interlocutors; it incites discrimination, hostility or violence against an individual or a specific social group, violates fundamental rights of the person, as the right to equality, human dignity, freedom, participation in political and social life. (Words are Stones, 2019). In fact, according to the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) , hate speeches include a broad range of expressions that promote, instigate, encourage, or defend hatred, violence, and discrimination against a person or group of people for various reasons. It puts at risk the representative democracy society's cohesion, as well as the safeguards of human rights and the law. If left unaddressed, it has the potential to turn into a wider conflict of violence. (ECRI 2015). Hate speech, in this sense, is an extreme form of intolerance that contributes to hate crime. This is confirmed by Susan Banesh (2014), who considers that the rise of hate speech has sparked concern in various quarters because it can cause or inspire serious harm in various ways. It directly affects its intended audience – the people it claims to represent – by frightening, offending, humiliating, or demeaning them. Fear frequently has the unintended consequence of silencing them. Hate speech can also cause indirect but severe harm by inciting or pitting members of one group of people against members of another. Foxman and Wolf (2014) explain how several converging factors help elucidate why many countries are raising hate speech. First, migration and refugee flows have created new minority communities when economic and political changes have increased the stigmatisation of

minorities. Second, in several countries, economic hardship is blamed on minorities, particularly those perceived as foreigners, because their ancestors immigrated. However, contemporary members of minority groups are actually native-born. In some cases, political leaders use minorities to mobilise their supporters, or leaders of ethnic or religious groups for political power, putting their followers against one another (Benesh, 2014).

1.2 Hate speech and social media

As seen in the section above, hate speech spreads in various ways. It is popular on the Internet and social media because some individuals feel free to express their resentment and hatred there, even if they would not act similarly in a public Internet setting. Hateful speakers on the web motivate and instigate one another, intensifying their victims sufferings. "YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, as well as national newspapers, current mass media and press, have all contributed to a "sudden and rapidly increasing wave of bigotry-spewing videos, hate-oriented affinity groups, racist online commentary, and images encouraging violence against the helpless and minorities – blacks, Asians, Latinos, gays, women, Muslims, Jews – across the Internet and around the world", states Benesh. (2014).According to Brown (2018), in recent years, hate speech has been almost unconsciously imposed as a lifestyle for many people, especially young people. Due to the advent of social media, there has been a gradual lack of interest in direct alphabetical forms of communication and a sudden interest in visual and audiovisual culture. Specific aspects characterize the hate speech phenomena. The persistence of hatred, as the structural system of today's social media, permits messages or posts to remain visible for a long time, and the uncertainty of a possible return of the message, as the hate words used, can return to be visible through the diffusion by a third. (Samarro 2021). While hate speech has found space mainly with the advent of social media, reliable channels such as local newspapers or national journalists have also been found to be part of the overall problem. In fact, according to many scholars that will be encountered in the next section, the ethics in journalism no longer exists, or it is challenging to find.

1.3 Duties and Responsibilities: The ethics of Journalism

In his work "To tell you the truth: The ethical journalism initiative" (2008), Aidan White talks about the lack of ethics in today's journalism. Ethical Journalism, states the author, is a concept whose roots go back to the birth of the mass media about 150 years ago. It includes a system that seeks to provide reliable, accurate, and relevant information and is dependent on journalists' or editors' ability to think and act independently when providing data and news. According to Aidan White, it cannot exist without transparency, pluralism, and integrity from the top to the bottom of the media pyramid. Both political and economic pressures dominate newsrooms across Europe, and journalists face challenges to express themselves in a context of values. In his work, he asserts that ethical journalism has evolved over the past decades in tandem with the evolution of democratic principles in Europe, and that journalism and human rights now intersect at a period of significant cultural evolution associated with globalization and the proliferation of digital media. The report also mentions "dark forces" in journalism, such as people who work with corporate sponsors to provide paid content disguised as good news, reporters who take money, and a slew of other unethical tactics that are hidden from the general public. Many reporters and media channels do a good job. Nevertheless, in times of economic difficulty, many media sources, even in the most stable European democracies, cut some headings and violate their ethical principles. Aidan White founded the Ethical Journalism Network in 2008, and in March 2014, it published a report titled "Untold Stories: How Corruption and Conflicts of Interest Stalk the Newsroom." The report, which covers 18 countries, along with the Western Balkan states, the United Kingdom, Ukraine, Denmark, and Turkey, explains how the financially strained news media of interest groups, both political and corporate, are being overwhelmed. Industry executives collaborate with advertising companies to convey funded equipment disguised as real news. Several reporters and chief publishers take bribes and irregular payments, and a culture of addiction to political and corporate friendships makes distinguishing journalism from propaganda and impartial fiction from public relations increasingly difficult. Aidan White affirms in his other report, "Ethics in the News: EJN Report on Challenges for Journalism in the Post-Truth Era," (2016):

"The world's changing culture of communications, driven by the imperial power of internet companies and social networks, not only encourages users to create personal echo chambers at the expense of information pluralism, but it has also shredded the market models that used to nourish ethical journalism." (A. White, 2016, p. 5).

It is often complex, the author states in his report, to find a newspaper that stands up to the facts and reports the news without a specific type of influence, political, cultural or social. Bill Orme (2016), the author of "How US Media Played the Wrong Hand on Right-Wing Success" (2016) during Trump's election, agrees about this communication issue. Orme argues:

"Hate speech had never been considered a good strategy in the presidential politics of the United States. However, the world woke up on November 9, 2016, to learn that this was no longer the case. For the first time in modern history, the US had a president-elect whose victory was applauded publicly by the Ku Klux Klan. At the same time, the American Nazi Party was equally exultant." (Orme 2016)

Presenting this case as a severe outbreak of hate speeches in America by the media, pointing out that America has a free speech problem. Gareth Harding, an associate director of POLITICO in Europe, presented another excellent example of this changing culture of communications in her work, "Media lies and Brexit" (2016). It is not a new thing that Britain, since 1973, the year of its entrance into the European Union, has had the most Eurosceptic press, stated the author. Harding, in his report, pointed out that its two top-selling papers, The Sun and the Daily Mail, are hastily anti-EU.

"The Daily Telegraph, the fourth best-selling paper in the UK, feeds its readers daily with negative news about the European Union, while the sixth biggest – the Daily Express – has led a "crusade" against British membership." (Harding, 2020, p.12).

Typical hatred headlines, as presented by Harding, include "EU brainwash our children", "Now EU Wants to Ban our Kettles", and "Get Britain out of the EU". The focal point of ethical journalism can be found in this quote by Gareth Harding, which contains what has been said so far on the problem of communicability in the world of information.

"The duty of journalists in this post-truth environment is the same as it has always been – to separate lies from facts, inform readers as honestly as possible, and aim at the closest approximation of the truth. Inventing or doctoring stories to fit the political lines of media outlets, as often happens with EU coverage, is an abdication of basic journalist ethics. It also blurs the line between public relations and journalism to the extent that the two become indistinguishable. If your primary role as a reporter is persuading readers or viewers to back a specific position, whether keeping migrants out of the UK or the UK out of the EU or both, you are no longer doing journalism; you are doing communication and spreading hate." (Harding, 2020, p.13).

Misja Pakel and Maud Van de Reijt (2018), in their review ‘ ‘ Refugee Images’’ (2018), focus their attention on how journalism nowadays deals with migratory flows and how the press represents them, asking:

“What decisions are made before photographs of refugees and war victims appear in our newspapers or as video and still on our computers, mobiles and television screens? Should journalists be more critical when publishing and interpreting such pictures? “ (Pekel & Reijt, 2018, p. 18).

Rarely, when it comes to immigration, authors states, the press shares positive images or images of hope. However, there is often this tendency to stage only the most terrifying aspects of migratory flows. According to Pekel and Reijt, a notable example was the image of Aylan Kurdi, the toddler whose body was discovered on the shores of Bodrum in Turkey in 2015. This image, as well as others used to tell the story of refugees and migration, has led to a debate in editorial offices worldwide. The authors affirmed that a viral photo does not prevent journalists from making ethical choices, asking:

"To what extent do journalistic imperatives weigh against interests such as privacy of the subject of respect for family members?" (Pekel, M. Reijt, 2018, p. 20)

Amol Rajan, Editor-at-large of London's *The Independent*, wrote that different aspects had been thoroughly discussed before the publication, revealing:

“ It was a to shock the world into action, improve refugee policy, and put pressure on a prime minister whose behaviour in this crisis has been embarrassing. (A, Rajan, 2018).

The authors, however, hold a different viewpoint. As they say, a journalist's work does not end when the photograph is taken and published. It is also critical to provide context, and editorial offices must consider whether there is enough information to interpret what they see in the image.

“Is it acceptable to publish a sensitive photograph simply because it is visually appealing?” ask the authors. (Pekel, Reijt, 2018, p. 20)

Journalists, both authors affirm, must stick to the facts and provide the context in the cases described above. Furthermore, journalists should consider why they publish specific photographs and the consequences of sharing those images. There were numerous comments on social media expressing hatred and mockery in response to this photo. This event shows, the authors point out , how an incorrect way of communicating facts or events leads to hate speeches and innate prejudices. (Pekel, Reijt, 2018, p.21)

1.4 Specific measures for online hate speech

In this section, the researcher will analyse how some EU governments dealt with hate speeches and how they prevented them. The researcher focused on Italy, France, Greece, Cyprus, Spain and Austria, using the European report "Words are stones" written in 2019 by "Europe for citizens", a European Union programme. Injustice, hostile, and violent public rhetoric dominates public and political debate, with particularities related to national historical, political, and social contexts. The concept of establishing appropriate initiatives that aim to prevent the spread of political hate speech, is therefore important. According to the Words Are Stone report (2019), a committed strategic framework has yet to be defined at the administrative level in many European countries. However, some important structural initiatives have been taken in some countries. The report's main question,

is “ How has civil society responded thus far?”. The recognition of the special connection between the spread of offensive, discriminatory, derogatory and dehumanising public discourse and the propagation of aggressive and violent xenophobic and racist acts and behaviors is deeply ingrained. A collaborative intervention plan in the community of civil society seems to be lacking in almost all European Union countries. Furthermore, measures specifically dedicated to combating hate speech persist few in number, fragmented, and limited in their ability to impact public debate significantly. As stated in the report (2019), hate speech reporting remains underdeveloped in all of the countries examined. The main reasons are the lack of an international normative definition of hate speech, the absence of national norms that provide a precise meaning and detailed defense for victims, and the delicate balance between ensuring free expression and securing hate speech. At the same time, it appears more solid and valid in countries such as Austria and France(Report, 2019). In Italy, the few associations active in guidance and legal assistance work mainly in immigration and asylum. In fact, among the few exceptions, one valid association, asGI (National Association for Legal Studies on Immigration), is very active in promoting anti-discrimination complaints but less so in protecting against crimes and hate speech. (Words are Stones, 2019). In Austria, the Zara organization helps p the victims of discrimination and racism with legal counsel. In France, the LICRA(International League Against Racism and Anti- Semitism) association, offers a free legal service to those who are victims and witnesses of racist and violent acts, anti semitism, or xenophobia. (Words are Stones 2019). Since 1992, SOS Racism(Servei D’Atencio I Denuncia por las victimas de Racisme y Xenofobia) in Spain, has provided a legal and psychological services to victims. The racist violence recording network founded in Greece in 2011, created an action plan for the national commission for human rights and the Greek department of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCr), and carried together 42 istitutions which provides legal support, social and medical care to victims of racist violence. (Words Are Stone 2019). The European MORE project (2019), which includes a variety of institutional and non-governmental actors from all across Europe, including KISA in Cyprus and IDEO in Italy, has created a web based system that permits victims to report crimes and hate speech. Based on the International Report (2019), the fundamental intervention areas in tackling hate speeches and crimes are: teaching, school based education and digital literacy initiatives. In this case, the initiative documented in Austria, Italy and Spain are numerous and for, the most part, disorganised, because are frequently supported by the community scale and carried out as part of projects with defined duration. Despite the lack of legislation against hate speech, all countries presented in the report (2019) have a normative framework for combatting crimes and racist discourses. The members of "Words are Stones" emphasise that legal action is simply one of the options available to keep victims safe. However, it would be beneficial to change and reorganise the

current legislation to have a systematic strategy towards coordinated strategies to combat discriminatory, xenophobic, and racist discourse. What strategies should be employed? This question frequently appears in the words of stones' report. The authors state that it must be kept in mind that audiences differ: not everyone interprets (or even detects) hate speech in the same manner, and knowledge of media, the propagation of fake news, and other topics varies by generation and social environment. Any program to combat hate speech must evaluate the target audience, the location, and the desired outcome. As can be seen, hateful language is not just "used" by singular individuals in society. However, the media also have significant roles in the discrimination issue since they are those who first share the information with the public.

2. METHODOLOGY

This dissertation project analyses motivated hate speeches portrayed by the Italian news media, using as a prime example the Sea Watch's case, concerning the period from June 12 to June 29 2019. Consequently, this methodology chapter will outline each step of the project's development, attempting to address the qualitative research that guides the analysis along with the project's character. As a result, the research questions presented in this study will be presented, in addition to a description of the project's research. After that, it follows a description of the data collection and analysis process, which comprehends the thematic analysis, methodology and codification process of the news articles I focused on. Eventually, I introduce some limitations of the study as well as a conclusion.

2.1 Research Design

This dissertation project uses a qualitative analysis method, with news articles serving as primary sources. This dissertation project's methodological approach reports for a thematic analysis of the reported news on hate speeches. This research draws upon articles published in 30 newspapers between June 12 2019, and June 29 2019. The news articles were collected from 15 Italian newspapers and 15 international newspapers. It is essential to highlight that the Italian ones are at the top of the list because this dissertation mainly focuses on the Italian portrait of the event. This project dissertation aims to respond to the following research questions:

Q.1: Is it possible to define hate speeches?

Q.2: How are hate speeches portrayed in Italy?

Q.3: How did Italian mass media address hate speeches with the Sea Watch case?

2.2 Data Collection

The advent of hate speeches in the digital World is a topic that has been debated for a long time over the years in today's literature. All the information and data in this dissertation were selected from a wide range of articles published in major Italian, Austrian or international national newspapers. Also helpful were some tweets provided by former Ex-Prime Minister Matteo Salvini and Giorgia Meloni as an example of the position taken by Italian politics at that time. To carry out this dissertation project, the researcher selected 30 foreign and non-foreign articles, including articles in national

newspapers, podcasts and online newspapers. The thematic analysis of the news is achieved by manually selecting articles from the newspapers' websites from 12-29 June 2019. The search contemplated the following set of expressions: "hate speeches in Italy", "Hatred language in the Italian context", "racial hate towards the 45 Libyan migrants", "Sea Watch's case event", and "Italian Public Opinion's reaction to the Sea Watch case". In order to enable the process of collecting news about racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Italy during that time. This process culminated in the collection of more than 100 news articles. Many newspapers dealt with this story during that period. Still, today's news keeps speaking about that episode as the result of Europe's failure when it comes to human rights (TPI, 2021), but only 30 were selected by the researcher to be used in the methodology chapter. The reasons are as follows: As for the Italian articles, the researcher focused primarily on the most famous and influential newspapers of the Italian journalistic panorama, such as *Il Messaggero*, *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere Della sera*. The newspapers mentioned above are not only the most widely read newspapers by Italians but also spokespersons for the political parties on the Italian scene. *Il Messaggero* tends towards the right-wing party, occasionally against migrants and purely sovereign. *La Repubblica* tends towards the left-wing party, much in favour, and *Corriere Della Sera* propose itself as an impartial "centre" newspaper. Precisely because of this divergence of thought, the researcher considered it appropriate not to limit herself to a single vision of the facts, for or against the arrival of the 45 Libyan migrants, but instead wanted to select articles that present both visions of what happened, how they portrayed the event and the language used. In Table 1, it is possible to observe the newspaper, title of articles, author name and date of the 30 articles chosen to conduct this qualitative research. Many articles have been written about this event. Hence, as mentioned above, the researcher has selected those from the most influential (Italian) newspapers. Some of the foreign articles are written in dutch. For this regard, an international report was used, "Controversial topics represented on Media" (Erum, 2020), where some scholars have collected and selected international articles, like those that appear in table 1, translated into English on the events of the Sea Watch, as an example of controversies in the media. Twenty pieces are written in Italian by Italian newspapers; five are in dutch by Austrian newspapers; thus, the remaining five are in English from various countries: the United Kingdom (*The Guardian*), Germany (*Deutsche Welle*), Malta (*Times of Malta*), Qatar (*Al Jazeera*), and the United States (*The Washington Post*). Most of the Italian articles come from several sources: *Il Messaggero*, *La Repubblica*, *Ansa*, *Euronews*, *RAInews*, *Il Giornale*, *La Stampa*, *Avvenire*, *Il Secolo XIX*. Among these some come from local newspapers, including: *Monreale Press*, *Il Giornale di Sicilia* and *La Sicilia*. The articles in dutch are from various Austrian newspapers, including *Der Standard*, *Die Presse*, *Kronen Zeitung*, *Kleine Zeitung*, and *Kurier*. Some English essays are also newspapers, such as *The Washington Post*, *The*

Guardian, and The Times of Malta), while others are either TV broadcasters, such as Al Jazeera, or websites, such as the Deutsche Welle. The publications encompass all aspects of the immediate rescue mission on June 12, 2019, to the the last evacuation of migrants and the arrest of the Captain on June 30. Only one article, from la Repubblica, mentions initial rescue operations. On June 26, 2019, Sea Watch 3 attempted to impose the maritime embargo for the first time, and the remaining publications cover the choice to enter the naval base and depart the migrants instead. Among the articles from Austrian newspapers, one in particular refers to the first attempt to get into the port, while the others deal with the Captain's detainment and final disembarkation. In the articles, authors discuss the main occurrences and cite the introduction statements by the appropriate authorities without deconstructing those factual information or theories. Moreover to reporting, a few publications demonstrated their personal views more publicly and managed to bend toward that specific point of view. For the following reasons, the researcher chose to study such articles from the newspaper shown in table 1: Although it can be simple to follow and back up the main theories in either online or offline editorials and opinion publications, the methodology seems to be more challenging in reports. Nevertheless, in the selected articles in the table above, rigorous examination of stylistic preference, vocabulary, source materials, and visual information is plausible and more convenient. This thesis aims to investigate the data transmission controversial issues that ultimately led to intolerance; thus, these articles were selected not only for the importance of their journals, but also for a specific and focused use of language. Political parties had also unquestionably had an effect on this (including extremists on the migrant issue), of which they are spokespersons.

2.3 Data Analysis

For this thesis, the researcher opted for a qualitative analytical method known as thematic analysis. This method has been used for data collection, research and collection of patterns and issues of interest within the data and their reporting (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As an example of the analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke, this qualitative analysis allowed the researcher to conduct a semantic investigation, proceeding with a search of the themes proposed in the synthesis of the literature in the first chapter. Braun and Clarke's (2006) conceptual analysis method takes into account the following steps: 1) becoming acquainted with the available data through the transcription or review process; 2) producing coding categories through systematic assessment of relevant data features; 3) generating themes by categorizing the codes used and collecting all data relevant to each of them; 4) reviewing

themes by evaluating the correspondence between the themes and the coded extracts, as well as the overall data set 5) Define themes by naming them and thus understanding what they convey or do not convey; 6) locating exemplars by selecting compelling examples that demonstrate the theme in relation to the research questions (Scharp & Sanders, 2018). Therefore, several articles were analyzed that reported the events of the Sea Watch. The search was considerable, and articles with incomplete or slight information or unsettled data were erased. The selected articles come from national newspapers of a certain level, except for some that belong to minor publications but are always reliable and well-known in the Italian panorama. The same procedure was used for foreign articles. Being primarily in Dutch, the researcher first searched for articles in English. By analyzing a report on media disputes, I then identified other articles in foreign languages, which were read through dedicated translators. All selected articles are found in Table 1. Afterwards, relevant ideas or information were integrated into codes and organized into themes. Each theme was given a name, such as "ship docking", "international laws", or "sea politics", which captured the essence of those codes, thus conforming an overview of the data. The identification of themes must be conducted broadly, as themes can be used as "an attribute, descriptor, element and a concept", which accounts for the conservative nature that the process demands (Braun & Clark, 2006, p.13). Using this qualitative analysis method will allow this project to examine how actual life events affect the discourse within society (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Hence, the news corpus under study served as the primary source of information for the coding approach used to carry out this project. The formulation of a comprehensive overview of the problem is made possible by the thematic analysis of the Italian news media's reporting on motivated hate speech and crimes while taking into account introductory statements about the particulars of this phenomenon.

2.4 Limitations

Some limitations applied to this dissertation. The corpus of analysis, consisting of a collection of 30 news articles, is a relatively small data set, severely restricting the conclusions drawn from a qualitative investigation. In addition, the researcher would like to draw attention to the fact that there are substantial gaps in the data and literature about studies on the reality of hate speech and crimes in Italy. It has been considered a limitation because this field of study has yet to be well investigated; hence, there are few specific facts.

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, to sum up, the management of this project will rely on the thematic analysis of 30 news articles from different national newspapers: Italian and international. The languages of the articles vary from Italian, English and Dutch, accounting for the time frame of 12-29 of June 2021, during the docking of the Sea Watch 3. This will create an opportunity to explore the reality of motivated hate speech and crimes in Italian public opinion, attending to its various specificities explained in the following chapter.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Now that the literature on the media controversies and hate speeches has been gathered and explained, and the methodology used for the project has been presented, the analysis of hate speeches portrayed by the Italian news media concerning the period from June 12 to June 29 2019, can be developed.

Hence, the following questions will be answered:

Q.1: Is it possible to define hate speeches?

Q.2: How are hate speeches portrayed in Italy?

Q.3: How did Italian mass media address hate speeches with the Sea Watch case?

3.1 Hate speeches

As seen in the literature review, it is rather difficult to give an accurate definition of what hate speeches are. However, the authors mentioned in chapter one described common traits. Usually, hate speeches are perpetrated by certain subjects belonging to the society against particular minorities. Foxman and Wolf (2014) said that migration and refugee flow created new minority communities when economic and political changes increased the stigmatisation of minorities. The nature of discrimination turns out to be a profound trait of every society whose reproduction depends on social stability and for which its top endings, the institutions, are responsible. The mechanism of the propagation of hatred works in this way and has remained almost the same, as have the categories on which the blame for worsening the situation has been discharged. Above all, foreigners, non-Christians, those with different sexual orientations, Rom, and women, who become the systematic object of hate attacks, are placed at the centre of collective insecurities. There has always been discrimination in Western societies to characterize their recurring "isms", such as sexism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Gitanism, and generalized fears against social categories that deviate from a supposed definition of normality as homosexuals, disabled, criminals, and homeless. For a hate message to take root in common sense and identify the target of hate, a narrative context is also needed that enhances its effectiveness, which relates to what Pekel and M. Reijt argued about in their ‘refugee images’ report. In conclusion, to answer the first research question, the common traits shared by most definitions refer to the targeting of a group or an individual as a member of a group based on physical, social and cultural features (Sellars 2018). The presence of content that expresses hatred causes harm, incites criminal actions beyond the speech itself and has no redeeming purpose

nor the nature of speech. However, they do not necessarily form, or can be included in – a single, uncontroversial, and comprehensive definition, which is a limitation of this dissertation regarding a standard universal definition of hate speech.

3.2 Hate speeches in Italy

In the last data provided by Comparitech(2021), Italy stood out for the most significant number of discriminatory statements towards minorities: foreigners, women and the disabled. According to the Italian report: The pyramid of hatred in Italy (2021) by the JFOX commission, Italy present a pyramid of hatred, which are placed stereotypes, false or misleading representations, insults, "normalized" hostile language or trivialized and, higher levels, discrimination and therefore language and hate crimes, especially on national news. According to the IPSOS MORI Ignorance Index, studied by the JFox commission in the report, Italy is the country with the highest rate in the world of ignorance about immigration: 47.4 % of Italians think that immigrants residing on Italian soil are 30% of the population, instead of 8%, and that Muslims are 20% when they are 4%. 54 % of Italians believe that, in conditions of shortage of work, employers should give priority to Italians; 35% think that immigrants take jobs away from Italians. (JFOX 2021). 56,4 % believe that "a neighbourhood deteriorates when there are many immigrants", and 52.6 % that "the increase in immigrants favours the spread of terrorism and crime". (JFOX 2021) 29.1% of foreigners declare that they have suffered discrimination while working (16.9%) or looking for a house to buy or rent (10.5%), to public premises/offices or means of transport (8.1%), in relations with the neighbourhood (6.2%) (JFOX 2021). The ‘words are stones’ report (2019) states that hate speech has increased exponentially in Italy since 2013, but that in 2018 the peak was reached, thanks to the new right-wing sovereign policies, with the birth of the ‘bis decree,’ which will be explained in the next chapter regarding the case of the sea watch. According to the report, hate speech in Italy is portrayed in three ways: 1) Public statements by politicians, 2) Hate messages spread through social networks and national news, 3) Initiatives implemented at the local level, including by self-organized groups, characterized by racist messages and slogans. Cases of hate speech in social networks and national news appear to have a slight predominance; meanwhile, the public declarations mostly see the exponents of certain political parties as the main actors. (Words are Stones 2019).

3.3 The Sea Watch's case

The researcher chooses as an example of hate speeches in the Italian panorama the sea watch's case. It includes one fundamental aspect that relates to this dissertation: Hatred language used by news media towards minorities, migration in this case, in the Italian panorama. For some years, emigration to countries bordering Europe has become increasingly frequent. The Mediterranean Sea route is one of the most interesting: it is undertaken yearly by thousands of men, women and children who, aboard makeshift boats, try to cross the Mare nostrum to find safety. Unfortunately, as Amnesty International states (2019), the central Mediterranean route has become increasingly dangerous and is characterized by a high mortality rate. The only glimmer of salvation for these inflatable boats is the NGOs that save thousands of lives yearly. Sea Watch, founded in 2014, is one of these organizations and, in the course of its work, has saved the lives of more than 35,000 people. Last year the NGO found itself at the centre of a major scandal and the consequent trial. Carola Rackete, captain of the Sea Watch 3 ship, after rescuing drifting migrants off the coast of Libya, decided to force the port block imposed by the Italian authorities, which did not allow her to dock in a safe harbour, Lampedusa. The Sea Watch 3 case caused a great uproar in the Italian summer of 2019: on the one hand, the government accused the captain of breaking the laws. On the other hand, Rackete defended herself by saying that she had complied with her obligations, which led to a violent outbreak of hate speeches and crimes in Italy.

3.4 Italian political landscape 2018-2019

Before proceeding with the linguistic analysis of the selected articles, the researcher considered it appropriate to make a brief presentation of the Italian political landscape in 2019 to understand better the hateful media process surrounding the Sea Watch case. In 2018, Matteo Salvini, former parliamentarian and federal secretary of the Italian party LEGA, a party that declares itself conventionally independent from Roma Capitale, Federalist, Nationalist and Sovereignist, became Minister of the Interior. On November 28 2018, the Chamber approved the 'security decree'. The present was a measure desired by the Minister of the Interior Salvini, who introduced new regulations on security and restrictions on the reception of foreigners to facilitate the management of immigration at the national level. The intent was to make it more difficult for asylum seekers to stay in Italy, to facilitate the suspension of international protection, and to reduce the costs of managing those in the country, making their conditions worse. This decree fits perfectly into the history of Italian and European migration policies, accelerating some underlying trends.

An example is the emergence of character, the tones, and the explicitly excluding contents. The new restrictions on certain rights and services have further exacerbated the vulnerability of those already in the territory, exposing them to labour exploitation, even by criminal networks. These policies are based on the idea of temporary immigration, which has, however, become, in fact, increasingly "permanently temporary". Over the years, an immigration policy has been articulated, characterized by a peculiar migratory pattern, which has ended up causing various separations. There is a separation within the life of the immigrant, another between the different immigrant populations and, finally, a separation between natives and immigrants, administrative action to support security policies (Barella, 2019). Italy has always been a country with a sovereign attitude, also due to the strong push from the numerous right-wing parties present in the Italian panorama. Therefore it is not surprising how the Sea Watch affair has been received and discussed.

3.5 How are the hate speeches related to the Sea Watch addressed in Italian news media?

The first newspaper to talk about the Sea Watch was Corriere Della Sera on June 12 2019, as seen in Table 1. On that date, the ship had yet to enter the Italian ports, so the article only presented the rescue of 50 Libyans. The title already underlines the idea of opposition to the landings by Matteo Salvini, reporting a statement by him regarding the arrivals that could occur:

"Salvini" faces "the first migrants: no more doing good, no to a summer of landings" (Corriere Della Sera, 2019)

It is not the first time a cargo ship has entered Italy with migrants on board. The same happened in 2018 with an NGO ship from Tunis, but the tones were markedly different from those reserved for the Sea Watch. It is helpful to remember that during the entry of the Tunis ship, the security decree had yet to enter into force. An article dated 2018 from Corriere Della Sera:

"In the first group on board a rescue boat off the Libyan coast, there were 17 women, one of whom is pregnant and 29 minors. The other 115 were transshipped onto the NGO ship by a Dutch merchant ship, in trouble due to the rough seas, which had spotted them on board another overloaded and deflated inflatable boat. " (Corriere della Sera, 2018)

In June 2019, with the entry into force of the bis decree, the tone regarding migrants and immigration also changed in national newspapers.

"A second immigrant landing took place: 50 arrived aboard the Sea Watch 3 ship, the remaining 126 with a pleasure boat flying the Dutch flag, but traceable to a German NGO." (Corriere Della sera, 2019)

Following this event, the then Minister of the Interior reported on Twitter a statement in an entirely negative key, referring to migrants as " Refugees ", a term that, based on the second principle of the Rome Charter, would be inappropriate as the legally correct one is asylum seekers. A term that from then on will be used by many Italian newspapers such as Il Messaggero, La Stampa and Il Corriere Della Sera.

"Protect asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants who choose to talk to journalists, adopting those precautions regarding identity and image that allow for the identification of the person." (Matteo Salvini 2019)

The second article examined the actual entrance of the Sea Watch in Lampedusa, where the German commander Carola Rackett, was arrested. The article, starting from the title and the summary, speaks little of the landing itself:

"Sea Watch, the Captain, arrested. Berlin: rescuing is not a crime "(Corriere Della Sera, Redazione Online, 2019)

Salvini: no lessons. Her ship seized: the Captain risks an accident with a patrol boat, apologising. " (Corriere Della Sera 2019)

The purpose of the article is instead to outline the trend following the landing against Carola on a legal level, following the collision with the patrol boat of the Guardia di Finanza which tried to act as a shield and obstruct the docking of the 'Sea Watch ':

"So, at 1.45 am, Sea Watch 3 finally moored at the commercial dock, but after an hour, the financiers got on board and arrested the captain, taking her away on charges of" resistance or violence against a warship », An offence that includes a penalty of between 3 and 10 years." (Corriere Della Sera 2019).

The rest of the article also focuses on Carola and her manoeuvre rather than migrants. The statements by Salvini, Di Maio, and the German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas cited later also refer primarily to the ship's manoeuvre. Then there is a short note with a slightly sensationalist title that describes the heavy insults and sexist invectives addressed to Rackett during the landing as if the intent were to demonstrate to the reader the lack of education and the lack of information provided to citizens concerning reasons that push people to emigrate from their country:

"Shock insults at the port: I hope they will rape you" I hope they will rape you, Gypsy.
"And again: «Go back to Holland». "The wives have to rape these clandestine there."
And finally, the chorus: "Italians first, Italians first". (Corriere della Sera 2019)

This is the welcome given by some present on Friday night on the Lampedusa pier to the Sea Watch commander Carola Rackete during her arrest. The insults were documented by the senator of the Democratic Party, Davide Faraone, who posted a video on social media. The article of June 29, written by La Repubblica, on the other hand, deals with the landing in Lampedusa in which the commander of the 'Sea Watch' is arrested:

"The Sea Watch docks at the port of Lampedusa. The financiers arrested the Captain. The migrants disembarked at dawn. Carola Rackete has invoked "the state of necessity", but the financiers take her away on charges of resistance or violence against a warship. The police patrol boat tries to stop her twice, risking being crushed against the quay. Applause on the dock of the many people who have shown solidarity with migrants "(La Repubblica, 2019)

In this case, at the end of the summary, the insults addressed to the commander are not mentioned. The article begins by providing information on when the ship is docked (1.50 am) after 17 days at sea without authorization and "invoking" the State of necessity. It continues with the arrest of Commander Carola Rackete and the authorization, at dawn, for the landing of the 40 emigrants. It should be noted that it immediately emerges that the writer's sympathy reaches out to Rackete. In particular, her deeds are enhanced by returning a determined and firm image:

"Once again, it was a surprise move by the German Captain Carola Rackete to break the deadlock. She entered the port without prior authorization, invoking the State of necessity. She said it, and she did it. After an hour, the financiers got on board and arrested the Captain, taking her away on charges of "resistance or violence against a warship", a crime that includes a sentence of between three and ten years. " (La Repubblica 2019)

The journalist's position, which does not look favourably on having kept the migrants at sea for days, also emerges in other points, for example, where it is written that, once the authorization has been received, the emigrants have "finally" come ashore. Immediately after having reported a photograph

depicting the moment of disembarkation of the people who had remained on the ship until then, the story in which the GDF patrol boat had obstructed the ship's entry into port is told in an objective and detached manner. However, the enthusiasm of some people present on the dock is reported upon the arrival of the Captain after the last manoeuvre with the 'Sea Watch':

"When the Captain finished the manoeuvre, she looked out on the bridge and was greeted by long applause of about a hundred people who arrived on the dock. Among them, Sea Watch activists Pietro Bartolo, doctor of the island and MEP of the Democratic Party, Don Carmelo, parish priest of Lampedusa, and the people who had sympathized with Sea Watch in recent days by sleeping in the churchyard. " (La Repubblica 2019)

The conclusion of the article is left to the invective sentences of the former senator of the League, Angela Maraventano, reported in such a way that they are perceived as an obstacle to the previous enthusiasm:

"However, the attention was attracted by former Lega senator Angela Maraventano who arrived on the dock with a group of Northern League supporters and shouted at the Sea Watch crew: "Shame on you. You are the accomplices of the smugglers. This is my island, and you are invading it. Get the migrants off, but the Captain must be arrested immediately. Italy was raped this evening ". (La Repubblica 2019)

One of the most controversial moments of this event happened when Giorgia Meloni, the current Italian premier, on June 27, 2019, recorded a video of herself, posting it on Twitter, urging to sink the Sea Watch with the Captain and all the migrants on board. A few hours after the publication of this tweet, many users, mainly Italians, given the language of the tweets analyzed using the #SeaWatch, began to insult Captain Carola Rackete and all 50 Libyan migrants, urging them to return to Libya. Most of the tweets analyzed presented very similar phrases: #primagliitaliani (Italians first) and #tornateacasavostra (which means go back to your country). In just a few hours, an abysmal hatred towards migrants spread and only a very few newspapers, entirely from the left party, took sides with the arrival of the Migrants. The video published on Twitter obtained 5.399 likes in just a few hours and more than 2000 comments in favour of what she said. There were very few tweets with the #SeaWatch among the Twitter users who welcomed them. The current Prime Minister, Giorgia Meloni, was not fundamentally interested in the arrival of the Sea Watch. Reading the articles and

the various tweets of politicians about the story, it appears evident that this story has been exploited to take up the migrant issue again following the security decree on illegal immigration. Therefore, it has become a sovereign political campaign, using hate speeches as political marketing strategies. The second incriminating tweet, dated June 26, comes from the former Minister of the Interior, Matteo Salvini. It is mentioned in an article written by Il Messaggero on the same day.

"They are not castaways; they are people who pay 3 thousand dollars, money smugglers then use to buy weapons and drugs. They do not arrive in Italy, and I do not have Italian laws dictated by a German NGO on a Dutch ship. " (Il Messaggero, 2019)

The article does not differ in the slightest but instead agrees with the words of the Minister of the Interior. The language used by journalists can be defined halfway between passive aggressive and sarcastic. In many articles the classic stereotype regarding migrants is treated and re-proposed, namely that they are criminals, thieves, dangerous and above all of a different race. As seen in the literature review, often these types of messages are addressed to a specific target, which is that part of the population angry and frustrated, with racist and xenophobic tendencies, fueled by the concept of violation of national borders, as Mesa & Mogos affirm. (2019). In addition to the use of expressions that are reminiscent of real battles, some quotes seem to want to fuel anger and frustration towards the 50 migrants on board the ship. The tones are very often sensationalistic, exaggerated and with a military terminology, as if there really was a war going on between two opposing parties. Two newspapers in particular, such as Avvenire and Corriere della sera, make use of this language. Amplifications of the event itself can be found in both, especially when the meeting between the Italian financial police and the NGO Sea Watch took place after entering the port of Lampedusa. A striking example is that of a local newspaper, La Sicilia (2019), which writes:

"La Sea Watch e bloccata, nel mentre un'altra barchetta arriva.."

"The sea watch is stuck while another small boat arrives..."

(La Sicilia 2019)

This observation corresponds to the block charged to Sea Watch 3 in relation to the attempting of landing in a unauthorised boat in Lampedusa (EMUR 2019). The articles chosen from the journal Il Giornale (2019) use a harsh tone, whether it's about Captain Carola and the NGO overall, or concerning the "undeclared" and unauthorised landings of 50 Lybians. One article in particular, always from Il Giornale (2019), talks about migrants defining them as "lucky" 'to have experienced

this event, since being saved by an NGO allows them to move around the territory without being subjected to rigid controls and registers, which most migrants are submitted when entering the Italian territory. In another article from *La Repubblica* (2019), sarcastic tones are used, but negatively. In the article, the tonality used not only condemn the saving of the 50 migrants but also attacked that part of " Italians " who are in favour of the rescue by the NGO, calling them " do-gooders ", a derogatory and deprecative term used by far-right parties to offend and denigrate those who are instead in favour of migratory movements, therefore left-wing parties. It allows an understanding of how the use of hate speeches comes from disparate territorial policies. The articles analyzed so far have also shown a need for more objective interpretations of the main events. Although Italian articles were the main ones analyzed, it is interesting how some foreign newspapers have dealt with this event. The *Kronen Zeitung* (2019) reports that the Captain has decided to enter Italian waters to " save " the Libyan migrants. It is not easy to understand what kind of tone the authors used, but having put the word "save" in quotes, makes think that the tone was mainly sarcastic. The *Washington Post* (2019), on the other hand, speaks only about Captain Carola Rackete, addressing the Captain by calling her by her name, excluding the appellation " captain " and her surname. This friendly and confidential language leads not only to a total devaluation of the gesture made by the Captain, but also of her institutional role. The same thing happens in an Italian Catholic newspaper, *Avvenire* (2019), in which Carola is described as a young woman, an angel who did the right thing, purely female role, once again distancing her from her institutional role as captain. The article by *Al Jazeera* (2019) concurrently focuses on the figure of Carola Rackete without mentioning the 50 migrants. The writing concentrate on " Carola, the Captain with dreadlocks". The use of this expression is not accidental but incites, instead, to go against what Carola did. The Captain's hair detail, highlights one of the many hateful prejudices, as dreadlocks are seen as not serious, dirty, and, above all, used by leftists, liberals, and those with revolutionary ideas. The analysis of these articles and the literature used for this thesis has allowed to demonstrate how hate speech finds space in filtered and not very objective communication. The *Sea Watch's* case is remembered not only for the arrival of migrants in Lampedusa and the Captain's action against the Italian normative but, above all, for the increase of hate speeches and crimes offline and online in Italy in 2019.

3.6 What is the motivation behind motivated hate speech in Italy?

For hate speech to be effective, it is necessary to have interpreters capable of channelling resentment against someone and activating propagation devices, as happened with the case that this dissertation aimed to describe. This scheme, dramatically always equal to itself, described by the theory of relative deprivation, is finding renewed vitality in this passage of the era. The abrupt interruption of the welfare curve and the loss of the ontological security of the West given by the processes of globalization describe the triggering and the fact that some marginal categories become sacrificial victims with the consequence. The search for a scapegoat (Girard & Bonazzi, 1983) to whom to attribute responsibility for the crises represents, in fact, widely studied rhetorical devices. The "decreto bis" made in 2018 is a passage of responsibility itself to have someone to blame. The nature of discrimination turns out to be a profound trait of every society whose reproduction depends on social stability and for which its top endings, the institutions, are responsible. Foucault himself (1998), in his definition of "biopower", clarifies, critically, the principle according to which the modern State, for the necessity of survival and internal equilibrium, implements forms of "state racism" to delimit and keep the boundaries between dominant and dominated groups firm. The mechanism of the propagation of hatred works in this way and has remained almost the same, as have the categories on which the blame for worsening the situation has been discharged. Above all, foreigners, non-Christians, those with different sexual orientations, Rom, and women, who become the systematic object of hate attacks, are placed at the centre of collective insecurities. There has always been discrimination in Western societies to characterize their recurring "isms", such as sexism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Gitanism, and generalized fears against social categories that deviate from a supposed definition of normality as homosexuals, disabled, criminals, and homeless. Xenophobic, racist and homophobic rhetoric, widely diffused in the public and political debate, should be opposed not only at the legal but also at the political and cultural level (Casey et al., 2012), are cyclically subjected to a process of revision. In order for a hate message to take root in common sense, in addition to identifying the target of hate, a narrative context is also needed that enhances its effectiveness. For this reason, even the frames within which hate statements are placed must be taken into consideration, define a subject or cause as a potential explanation of the interpretative discomfort (Entman, 1993; Barisione, 2009; Bruno, 2014), as can be seen in the articles that have been analyzed. The research above on the language used insists that the context within which the expressions of offence are placed is often more important than its target. The anti-political rhetoric, the request for security and defence of the territory from invaders, gives power to the message. At the same time, the targets alternate from time to time based on the functional needs of the narrative context. In this game

of references and blame, the enemy can also become the authority that takes charge of the marginal categories indicated as potential subversions of the established order. It can be the State when it deals with the local dimension or supranational institutions when they limit the exercise of sovereignty. All these attributes of meaning, in some circumstances, coagulate. Suppose they are not effectively deconstructed, an often tricky undertaking because rational and normative arguments are contrasted with feelings of uncertainty and discomfort. In that case, they become a potent propaganda weapon in anti-force communication. -systemic.

4. CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to define hate speeches and how they are addressed in the Italian news. As seen in this dissertation, Italy still needs to have the foreign mentality necessary to fit into the multi-ethnic and globalized landscape. There are still severe political alignments, which affect the entire Italian panorama, Italians themselves, and the high illiteracy rate (Istat, 2021), which does not help but makes people even more easily manipulated by the media both offline and online. This dissertation also tried to highlight that national newspapers and the wrong "use" of media platforms are the leading causes of the outbreak of hate speeches in Italy. The Sea Watch's case is a prime example. National newspapers, and politicians, still fail to adopt that neutral drive but instead are firmly anchored to Italian (right-wing) politics and Western sovereignty. They are making the narrative of migrants a minor issue, denaturing them from their humanity, thus unleashing an endless vortex of hatred without the possibility of comparisons. Incorrect communication can lead to irreparable damage. The phenomenon of hate speeches is increasingly on the rise, and more and more young people suffer ferocious attacks from third parties, especially on social networks. Articles on minorities are written daily, which often do not reflect the truth but are written only to exacerbate specific uncomfortable issues further. It is increasingly difficult to open debates without denigration and defamation, and obtaining truthful information on specific facts or information that is not filtered or altered by third parties for political or marketing interests is challenging. Hate speeches have become an integral part of today's communication. There are categories, as seen in this thesis, such as those of migrants, who are constantly in this vortex of deep hatred and targeted prejudice without ever having the possibility of defending themselves. This thesis, however, has encountered limitations. The literature on hate speeches, being an increasingly growing phenomenon, is vast, and the researcher has focused on more general issues. Furthermore, being a challenging and delicate subject, this thesis does not propose real resolutions to overcome hate speeches in Italy but instead proposes a modern portrait of a part of Europe and an accurate portrait of the consequences of these vortices of hatred more and more on the rise. I want to conclude my thesis by stating that: Given the results, some fundamental questions remain unresolved, for example, how to overcome hate speeches, but this discussion could serve as a starting point for tracing new lines of research and intervention around the recovery of the category of complexity: a central element of modern societies, the use of which could help construct an overall vision capable of placing the experience of migration authoritatively at the centre of the debate that should deal with it. The fascination for "simple solutions" does not belong only to that part of society that is found in the slogans of the nationalist narrative. Even the progressive components, which

should be able to offer an equally strong and opposite vision, easily fall into the trap of one-dimensional reduction of the whole phenomenon. Therefore, what strategies to adopt to build a debate capable of making the different "localist" and globalist souls dialogue "reach a shared understanding point? The first step to take would concern, in my opinion, the recovery of the concept of humanity of migrants: giving them back their voice and making them active subjects of the debate that concerns them. Concerning hate speeches in general, a solution to online hate speech can only be collaborative; on the one hand, the institutions must take charge of understanding the problem and identifying rules and definitions; on the other hand, the online platforms must implement the answers that are identified. It is obvious that the simple suppression of hate speech is not a possible solution; more answers are needed depending on the type of speech: Precise definitions of crucial terms set out in the laws, restrictions on freedom of expression provided for by law, judicial system to guarantee the uniform interpretation of the rules, prediction of a series of responses, not limited to simple repression and proportionate to the type of content, promotion of intercultural dialogue, pluralism, diversity and the protection of minorities, transparency obligations for online platforms. However, the urgency of honest and fair communication is an essential aspect to be taken care of, as has been pointed out several times in this thesis. In order to allow a truthful circulation of facts and information, the lack of this is the primary cause of the daily increase in hate speech.

Bibliography

- Abraham H. Foxman. A, Wolf. C, 2013. *Viral Hate: Containing Its Spread on the Internet*
- A.Brown, 2014, *What is hate speech?*
- A.White, 2016, ' *Ethics in the news: EJN Report on Challenges for journalism in PostTruth era* ",
- A.Orme, 2016, *How US Media Played the Wrong Hand on Right-Wing Success*"
- Al Jazeera, 2019, *Sea-Watch enters Lampedusa, captain Carola Rackete arrested,*
- Ansa, 2019, *Sea Watch prova a entrare nel porto di Lampedusa bloccata*
- Bakker, E., 2006. *Jihadi Terrorists in Europe, their Characteristics and the Circumstances in which they Joined the Jihad: an Exploratory Study.*, The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael.
- Barisione, M, 2009, "So, What Difference Do Leaders Make? Candidates' Images and the 'Conditionality' of Leader Effects on Voting", in *JOURNAL OF ELECTIONS, PUBLIC OPINION & PARTIES*. 19(4). pp. 473-500.
- Bruno, M. 2014. *Cornici di realtà*. Roma: Guerini Associati.
- Benesch. S, 2020, *Proposals for Improved Regulation of Harmful Content Online, Reducing Online Hate Speech: Recommendations for Social Media Companies and Internet Intermediaries*, 247-306, Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3686826>
- Bonazzi, G. 1983. *Colpa e potere. Sull'uso politico del capro espiatorio*. Bologna: Il Mulino
- Bogdani, Faloppa, Karaj, 2021, Beyond definitions: a call for action against hate speech
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101
- Council Of Europe, 1997, *of the Committee of Ministers to Member states on ' hate speech '*, p. 106
- Deutsche Welle, 2019, *Sea-Watch captain arrested as ship docks at Lampedusa*
- Der Standard , 2019, *Sea-Watch 3 vor Hafen von Lampedusa von Polizei gestoppt*
- Die Presse, 2019, *Sea-Watch im Hafen von Lampedusa gelandet*
- De Gregorio, A. & Piccolillo, 2019, *La Sea Watch bloccata a un miglio dal porto*

di Lampedusa, Corriere Della Sera

Entman, R. M., & Rojecki, A, 1993, *Freezing out the public: Elite and media framing of the U.S. anti-nuclear movement*. Political Communication, 10 (2) , 151-167.

Europe for Citizen programme, 2019, *Words are stones: Analisi dell'hate speech nel discorso pubblico in sei paesi europei*

Francesca Cerquozzi, *"Dall'odio all'hate speech Conoscere l'odio e le sue trasformazioni per poi contrastarlo"*, in "Tigor. Rivista di scienze della comunicazione e di argomentazione giuridica - A. X (2018) n. 1", Trieste, EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2018, pp. 42-53

Floridi L, 2014, *La quarta rivoluzione. Tr. it.* Milano: Raffaello Cortina.

Foucault, M, 1997, *"The Ethics of the Concern of the Self as a Practice of Freedom"* In: *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*. New York: The New Press.

G. Harding, 2016, *Media lies and Brexit*

Gometz.G, 2017, *L'odio proibito: la repressione giuridica dello hate speech*, in *"Stato, Chiese e pluralismo confessionale"*, n32, pp. 18-27, http://www.statoechiese.it/images/uploads/articoli_pdf/Gometz.M_Lodio.pdf.

JFOX, 2021, *The Pyramid of Hatred In Italy*

Krone , 2019, *Sea-Watch 3 legte illegal an: Kapitänin verhaftet*,

Kleine Zeitung, 2019, *"Sea-Watch 3"-Kapitänin im Hafen von Lampedusa festgenommen*

K.at News, 2019, *Sea-Watch-Kapitänin rechtfertigte ihr Handeln*, Kurier

White. A, 2008, *To tell you the truth: the ethical journalism initiative*

Harlan. C, 2019, *Captain of ship with 42 rescued migrants defies Italy's orders*, Washington Post

Il messaggero, 2019, *Sea Watch, Carola rischia 12 anni. Francia e Germania attaccano l'Italia*,

Il Secolo XIX, 2019, *Arrestata la comandante della Sea Watch, Parigi e Berlino*,

La Sicilia, 2019, *Lampedusa, Sea Watch bloccata e intanto arriva un altro barchino*

Mazza, M.P, 2019, *Sea Watch, la capitana Rackete ai domiciliari. Salvini: «Espulsione subito»*, Open online

Pekel & Reijt, 2018, *Refugees Images*, p. 18

Pino. G, 2008, *Discorso razzista e libertà di manifestazione del pensiero*, in *Politica del diritto*, XXXIX, n. 2, pp. 293-294.

Piccolillo. V, 2019, *Sea Watch, la capitana Carola ai finanzieri dopo l'arresto*, Corriere Della Sera

Rai News, 2019, *Sea Watch 3 entra a Lampedusa. Sbarcati i migranti, la comandante è stata arrestata*,

Redazione, 2019, *La Sea Watch sperona motovedetta ed entra in porto*, 2019, Monreale Press

Sellars. A, 2016, *Defining Hate Speech*, Berkman Klein Center Research Publication, Boston Univ. School of Law, Public Law Research Paper No. 16-48, Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2882244> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2882244>

Strossen. N, 1996, *Hate Speech and Pornography: Do We Have to Choose between Freedom of Speech and Equality ?*, 46 Case W. Rsrv. L. Rev. 449

Scharp. K, Sanders. M, 2019, *Teaching Thematic Analysis in Qualitative Communication Research Methods*

Spagnolo. V, 2019, *le critiche di Germania e Francia*, L'Avvenire

Samarro. M, 2021, *Disability in the crosshairs of online hate*

Ziccardi. G, 2016, *L'odio online. Violenza verbale e ossessioni in rete*, Raffaello Cortina Editore, Milano, p. 21.

Tassinari. C, 2019, *La Sea Watch tenta l'attracco, bloccata dalla guardia di finanza*, Euronews

Times of Malta, 2019, *Sea-Watch migrant rescue boat in Italy port stand-off*

Tondo. L, 2019, *Rescue ship captain arrested for breaking Italian blockade*, The Guardian

Ziccardi. G, 2016, *L'odio online. Violenza verbale e ossessioni in rete*, Raffaello Cortina Editore, Milano, p. 21.

Waldron, J, 2012, *The harm in hate speech*, Harvard University Press.