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**COVID-19 INFORMATION
FROM THE THREE MOST WIDELY READ NEWSPAPERS IN EUROPE.
DIFFERENCES AND CONVERGENCES³**

**Informacje o COVID-19 w trzech najpoczytniejszych gazetach w Europie.
Różnice i zbieżności**

Abstract: *Our study aims to understand the mutability of virus-related discourses by tracing common points of reference. To do so, we chose three newspapers from as many European states and monitored each mid-month Wednesday during the first wave of COVID-19: January to October 2020. The newspapers investigated were those with the largest audience: Corriere della Sera (Italy), Das Bild (Germany), and The Sun (United Kingdom). To do so, we used categories such as context, frame, and theme. We sifted the corpus, comprising 1175 articles, with Atlas.ti. Based on the categories used and their frequency, we reconstructed contextualization, framing, and thematization – all at a more abstract level. On content revolving around the keywords COVID-19 and Coronavirus, the only differences that emerged were a greater interest in sports for The Sun and vacations for Das Bild. All the newspapers considered granting little space to the weakest areas of the population: disabled or young people, women, immigrants, and the unemployed.*

Keywords: COVID-19, Coronavirus, Information, Corriere della sera, Das Bild, The Sun

Abstrakt: *To opracowanie ma na celu zrozumienie zmienności dyskursów związanych z wirusem poprzez śledzenie wspólnych punktów odniesienia. Aby to zrobić, wybraliśmy trzy gazety z trzech krajów europejskich i monitorowaliśmy ich zawartość w każdej środę w połowie miesiąca podczas pierwszej fali COVID-19: od stycznia do*

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października 2020 r. Badane były gazety mające największą liczbę odbiorców: *Corriere della Sera* (Włochy), *Das Bild* (Niemcy) i *The Sun* (Wielka Brytania). Przy analizie użyte zostały kategorie, takie jak kontekst, kompozycja i tematyka. Materiał został wyselekcjonowany z głównego korpusu, zawierającego 1175 artykułów, za pomocą *Atlas.ti*. Na podstawie użytych kategorii i częstotliwości ich pojawiania się zrekonstruowaliśmy kontekstualizację, kompozycję i tematyzację – wszystko na bardziej abstrakcyjnym poziomie. Jeśli chodzi o treści krążące wokół słów kluczowych COVID-19 i koronawirus, jedyne różnice, jakie się pojawiły, to większe zainteresowanie sportem w *The Sun* i wakacjami w *Das Bild*. Wszystkie gazety poświęciły niewiele miejsca dla najstańszych grup społecznych: ludzi niepełnosprawnych, ludzi młodych, kobiet, imigrantów, bezrobotnych.

Słowa kluczowe: COVID-19, Koronawirus, Informacje, *Corriere della sera*, *Das Bild*, *The Sun*

Introduction

The COVID-19 emergency has engendered a multitude of discourses. That was to be expected considering the intrusiveness of the epidemic repercussions in every field of human activity. Likewise, the areas and arguments of the discussions have been the most varied: scientific, journalistic, radio and television programs, and social media. In other words, the entire media ecosystem, with all its possible declinations of genre, form, content, and register, was affected.

This colonization of communication in every social context has a two-fold effect. On the one hand, it raises questions like whether it is communicative or strategic acting (Habermas 1988) – and reflections on surveillance capitalism would make us lean towards the latter (Zuboff 2019). On the other hand, it finds a joint interpretive basis: communication presides over several spheres that it should represent or regulate or of which it should solve the intrinsic complexity.

To summarize, we will hold the following assumptions true:

- a) The construction and interaction of reality, meaning, and identity are based on a communicative dimension that takes over from the cognitive one (Besozzi 2006).
- b) Communication generates reality rather than describes it (Colombo 1995; Ribolzi 2012).
- c) Communication, integrated and connected, becomes “communic-action” (Cipolla 2015): “It is information that is in action, the knowledge

that produces, the knowledge that becomes praxis, news that does not stop within itself, but is transformed and activated around itself" (Cipolla 2015: 178).

- d) Politics is replaced by the various forms of direct communication between leaders and their supporters, as well as the informational organs of control of politics itself (Morcellini 2020).
- e) Finally, even in the pandemic and broader sphere of emergency management: "communication processes [...] also assume a priority role in the construction, identification, and selection of risks" (Mangone 2020: 132).

Within the media universe, our work considers three different cultural news-making contexts on COVID-19 over 2020. We will deem culture the decisive dimension and investigate it in three distinct countries: Germany, the United Kingdom, and Italy. We will decline this variable by the most read newspaper that is, in turn, an expression of different government systems: federal, constitutional-monarchical, and parliamentary government, respectively. It is also an expression of the measures – and their timing – adopted in the face of Coronavirus. It is clear from the outset that we cannot aim at descriptive exhaustiveness with only one newspaper per State.⁴ Therefore, this essay is the first step of a more extensive work that intends to examine more than one newspaper per nation, monitor communication in social media, or extend the observation to a larger share of the media ecosystem.⁵

1. Methodology

Methodologically speaking, we cannot consider newspaper articles as valid and unfiltered documents about facts. Even assuming good faith and intellectual honesty in media operators, newspaper articles remain an elaboration through a news-making process. This procedure converts (at best) the information into news, selecting what is considered newsworthy, discarding what is less valuable – or less appropriate – in the article, or reducing it to give space to other news considered more relevant (Poecke 1988).

⁴ On COVID-19, see the significative research by Mangone, E. (2021), *Incertezza, futuro, narrazione*, (Fisciano, Italia: NaSC Free Press).

⁵ For the definition of a *media ecosystem*, see Bisoni, Innocenti 2013.

Therefore, news outlets broadcast a specific view of reality and the related process of selection and mediation. Indeed, the latter is not less crucial for social research through content analysis (Losito 2007).

Through content analysis, we will address the articles on COVID-19 “as an epistemology that lives, feeds and communicates through many discursive situations, very useful methodologically, but bearers of partial truths” (Cipolla 1997: 786). We will use it as a starting point to understand the mutability of virus-related discourses, trying to trace some common reference points. The internationality of the terms COVID-19 and Coronavirus, used as keywords in our research, offers us two constant and unchanging linguistic signs. Regardless of the surrounding text, they can produce a different sense within the three national contexts considered (as per the hypothesis of the present work). According to Frege (1892), the sense corresponds to how the sign is offered, and denotation can exist – and vary – only within the utterance context (Frege 1892; Bateson 1978). The possible formats of media utterances (in our case, articles and the syntagmas that compose them), in turn, direct the production logics that structure the organizational features of the media themselves (Spedicato 2000), including the process of constructing utterance-messages.

For format, we accept Altheide’s (1976) definition: “how information is collected, processed, and presented to the audience, through a process that incorporates standardized procedural strategies, cultural content, but also implicit protocols for interaction between media professionals and between media and the audience. It is through the format that the news [...] incorporates and makes readable to the viewer the order of the narrative, structuring the experience of the latter on a mediatized reconstruction of time; and it is always through the format that the implicit assumptions of journalistic professionalism become the basic grid of the criteria of newsworthiness and relevance, those criteria that allow the editorial organizations to interpret reality along axes and orders of priorities relatively stable over time (Spedicato 2000: 9, personal translation).”

We find the context above the format; the frame, and the theme below it. For the categories of frame and theme, see again Altheide’s (2000) definitions above.

Through formats, we can identify frames, which, in turn, provide us with a general definition of what we are dealing with. Frames represent a parameter or boundary within which a particular event is discussed. They focus attention on what will be discussed and how. “An example

[of frame construction, or framing] is treating illegal drug use as a «public health issue» as opposed to a «criminal justice issue.» These are two different frames that entail a way of discussing the problem and the kind of discourse that will follow” (Altheide 2000: 48).

Frames also determine the appropriateness of themes, which are “the recurring typical theses that run through numerous reports” (Altheide 2000: 49). We can conceive themes as mini-frames, meanings, and recurrences, or interpretive frames. In this article, we will denote as theme “the thematic emphasis” (Altheide 2000: 48), which can also be placed on multiple mini-frames, which we will also call the topic or center of the article or part of it.

Regarding context, we embrace Cipolla’s definition of it as a “unity that relates to a plot that gives meaning and depth. Meaning that is determined not only by the word but also by the sentence in which it is inserted, by the tone in which it is said, by the characteristics of the place in which it is pronounced. A Complex of facts and events that help the identification of a subject” (Cipolla 1997: 532, personal translation).

Context can be either internal to the text or external to it (Simone 1995). It directs a series of functions that contribute to giving meaning and denotation to individual words and their overall construction in a text (Frege 1892; Slama-Cazacu 1973; Ricci Bitti, Zani 1983).

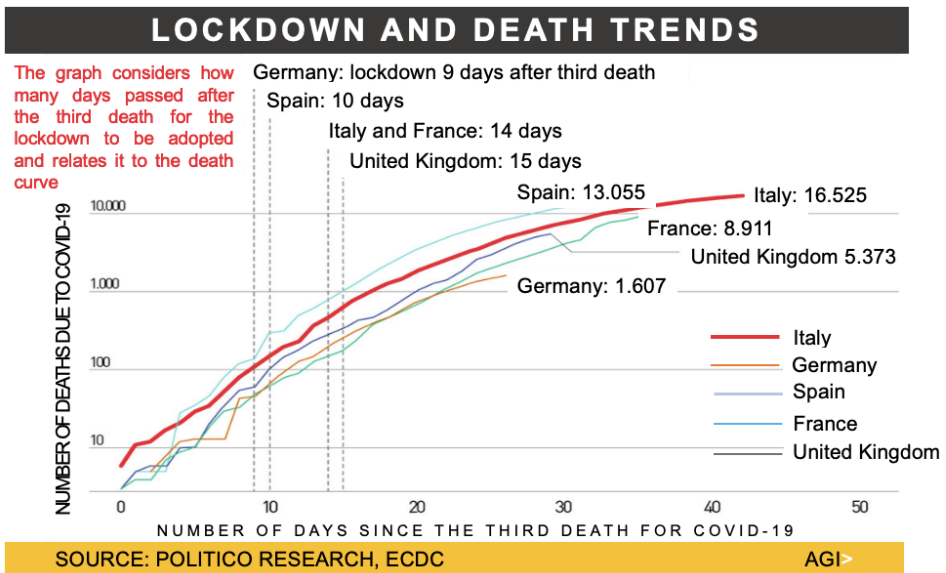
We based our study on four categories: context, format, frame, and theme.

2. Case selection and data collection

We carried out a qualitative and quantitative analysis (Bryman 2006; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie 2004).⁶ We started from the recurrent relationships, within the text, between the categories listed above. We also considered their frequency in each of the newspapers considered. From here, we attempted to assess whether there are differences between them (and hypothetically in their respective countries) in articles addressing COVID-19 or Coronavirus.

⁶ We reproduced the method and research structure of Strizzolo (2008). Thanks to the use of software, we extended the analysis to a quantitative level.

Our choice of countries (Germany, the United Kingdom, and Italy) is due to the different timings and methods for implementing COVID-related restrictions. As the AGI (Italian Journalists Agency, agi.it) graph shows, Germany and the UK were on opposite poles regarding a swift response to the pandemic. Germany was among the first to adopt lockdown measures and the UK the last. Italy and France lie mid-way between the two (Graphic 1).



Graphic 1. Lockdown measures implemented after three deaths

We chose the newspapers to investigate from among the most widely read paid ones in their respective countries: The Sun (United Kingdom; source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/246077/reach-of-selected-national-newspapers-in-the-uk/>), Das Bild (Germany; source: <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/73448/umfrage/aufgabe-der-ueberregionalen-tag-zeitungen/>), Corriere della Sera (Italy; source: Audipress).

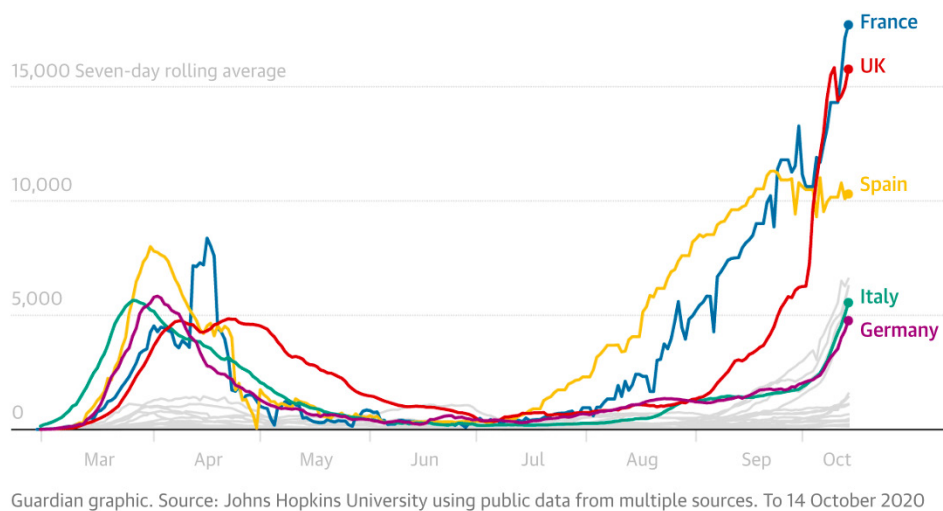
The choice of newspapers was based simply on the number of circulations: they are the ones with the largest audience in their respective countries. We understand the different nuances of the more sensationalist news of the tabloids with the opinion newspapers. But in Italy, there are no tabloids with a circulation comparable to the English ones, whose circulation is not comparable to that of their opinion newspapers. If one of the motives

of the study is the comparison of different cultural readings of COVID-19, even the preference of one type of newspaper over another is the result of a cultural variable.

Thanks to the University of Udine, we could use the Nexis Uni platform, a database that collects articles from newspapers and specialized journals. We identified the first articles mentioning COVID-19 or Coronavirus (used as keywords) in the three newspapers chosen and started a systematic search focused on every Wednesday, falling around the middle of the month. We chose Wednesday because it is halfway through the week, away from the sports news: same day of the week and mid-way – as far as possible – through the month.

In the first month, we selected the articles mentioning our keywords starting from the first applicable issue in each newspaper. We then reached mid-October 2020, when the second wave was already underway in Europe.

See below, as an explanation, the graph by The Guardian elaborated using data from Johns Hopkins University (Graphic 2).



Graphic 2. Infection rates in Europe

We collected the articles on Microsoft Excel, subdivided on a spreadsheet for the dates considered, and inserted them into a data matrix

articulated in the following columns: Title, Text, Journal. Each record of the matrix contained a single article extrapolated from the database.

The material has been coded entirely by hand, the categories have emerged gradually in the course of the analysis, verified, and the concepts have been grouped by affinity so as to be able to effectively group them into meaningful categories from the point of view of semantics and meaning.

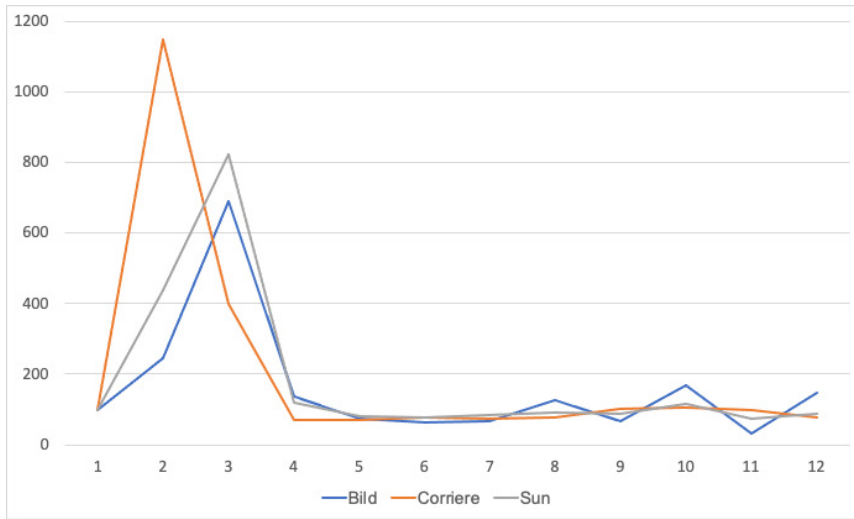
We have combined a qualitative and a quantitative process. The qualitative aspect lies in the work of creating categories with which to represent item characteristics. In addition, we rely on quantitative survey tools such as the co-occurrence matrix, but this is made from categories that are not predetermined or from artificial intelligence selection processes but from qualitative manual coding work.

We used the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti for coding the recurrences of the words surrounding our keywords (COVID-19 and Coronavirus) depicting the context, format, frame, and theme. We imported our matrix on the software as .csv to provide the list of cases to code. We then coded all code presences within each article, determining the presence of specific keywords and narrative styles, through which we could classify the articles based on six code families. We then obtained one symmetric co-occurrence matrix to assess the relevant cross-occurrences between the code families used.

The collection tool used, Nexi Uni, provided a different number of articles for the three newspapers considered. The Sun had the highest article count, and Das Bild the lowest. Il Corriere was situated in between the two.

Therefore, we chose to standardize the number of articles to 100 (January) and produced the following graph to get a perspective of the interest increase along 2020 (Graphic 3).

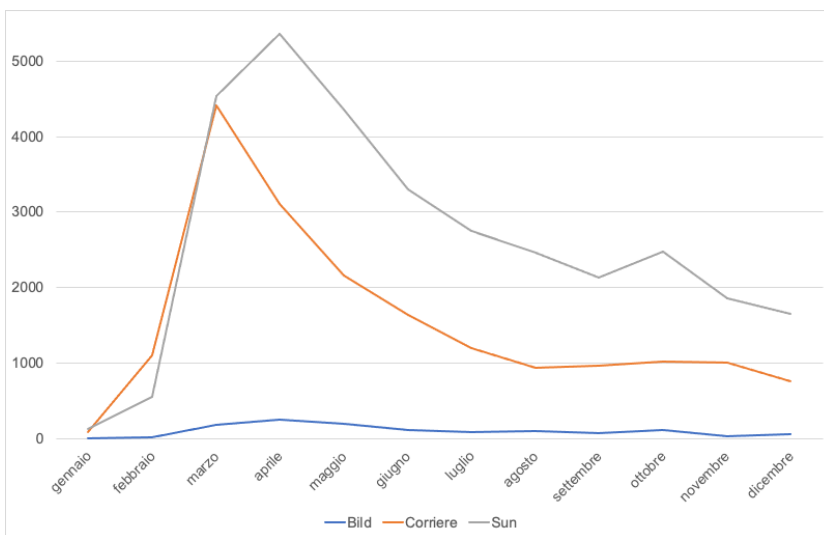
A significant quantitative difference already emerges. The Sun and Il Corriere have a very similar trend, while Das Bild is much more irregular. Its irregularity could be due to the low number of Das Bild articles that Nexi Uni makes available. Even a tiny increase, if standardized to 100, can seem a much bigger one. The hypothesis is confirmed by reading the absolute data.



Graphic 3. Articles containing the words COVID-19 or Coronavirus in 2020, values standardized to 100 (January n = 100)

We also report the graph with absolute numbers (Fig. 5), aware that both can attest to the obvious: with the spread of the virus, the number of articles mentioning it has increased.

The number of articles is such that we chose to isolate each mid-month Wednesday from February to October.



Graphic 4. Articles containing the words COVID-19 or Coronavirus in 2020, absolute values

3. Analysis of news context, format, frame, and theme

For article coding, we employed six code families: dates, newspapers, formats, context, frame, and theme. Dates identified the precise date of the article based on the sampling performed. Newspapers indicated which of the three hosted the article. Regarding the formats, we adopted a standard classification to categorize the article type: editorial news, in-depth analysis, interviews, journalistic investigations, letters to the editor, news, and summary.

The categories were divided according to a logic of this type: type of journalistic content (format) dividing between different formats and methods of dealing with a news item, then the prevailing context was isolated, that is, the main ground of meaning in which to insert the treatment of the news item. Next, the interpretive frame was isolated, i.e. the way in which the news was treated and, lastly, the main message conveyed by the article (themes).

We applied the remaining families of codes through a deductive approach by reading the individual articles as a whole. Our first step was to determine the context, i.e., the macro-topic to which every single article referred. We partly referred to the classic press categories (sport, politics, science, medicine, technology) and partly assigned the contextual field based on the content and the addressed issues.

To define the interpretive frame, we relied on an in-depth reading of the single articles and a comparison between them. We identified recurring ways of telling the news. These are interpretive and detailed models of them based on the identified context, above all how it was treated in a journalistic key for construing its connotation.

Finally, to determine the theme of each article, we borrowed the code families from our first interpretative frame. We identified a series of recurring themes around which to summarize the article's focus. In short, this code's family is the main message that the article aimed to convey to the readers according to a specific interpretive frame based on a definite reference context.

We relied systematically on Nexis Uni to consider articles containing our keywords (COVID-19 and Coronavirus) on the following days:

Sunday, January 12 (first 2020 issue in *The Sun* – henceforth TS)

Thursday, January 16 (first issue in *Il Corriere della Sera* – henceforth C)

Wednesday, January 22 (first issue in *Das Bild* – henceforth B)

Then, always on mid-month Wednesdays: February 12, March 18, April 15, May 13, June 18, July 15, August 19, September 16, and October 14.

The total number of articles examined is 1175, divided as follows:

B: 39

C: 505

TS: 631

We have no way to understand such a vast difference between B and the other newspapers. Therefore, we will consider their percentage of categories over the number of articles per newspaper. We will also express it graphically, where the number of sections and the splitting makes it appropriate.

3.1. Context

The dominant information contexts are related to health, sports, people's lives, the economy, politics, and society (Table 1).

Regarding B, due to the limited corpus, observations make sense only with a high number of articles, as in the case of health-related content. We can also highlight its greater regard, compared to other newspapers, to the context of vacations (10.25 with four articles).

TS shows a remarkable – even impressive – interest in the context of sports (32% with 207 articles).

Table 1. News context (in percentage and absolute number)

	Bild		Corriere		Sun	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Health	35,90	14	28,71	145	14,42	91
Sports	5,13	2	9,50	48	32,81	207
People	10,26	4	11,88	60	13,47	85
Economy	10,26	4	13,07	66	12,20	77
Holidays	10,26	4	1,19	6	0,63	4
Politics	5,13	2	7,52	38	5,86	37
Society	5,13	2	11,88	60	9,19	58
Media	5,13	2	1,39	7	3,33	21
Science	5,13	2	0,99	5	0,32	2
Education	2,56	1	2,77	14	2,38	15

	Bild		Corriere		Sun	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Culture	0,00	0	3,96	20	1,11	7
Law	2,56	1	0,20	1	0,95	6
Technology	2,56	1	1,19	6	0,32	2
Art	0,00	0	1,78	9	0,95	6
Environment	0,00	0	1,78	9	0,48	3
Transports	0,00	0	0,99	5	0,79	5
History	0,00	0	0,79	4	0,00	0
Fashion	0,00	0	0,20	1	0,32	2
Sex	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,32	2
Disability	0,00	0	0,20	1	0,00	0
Travel	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,16	1
Totals	100	39	100	505	100	631

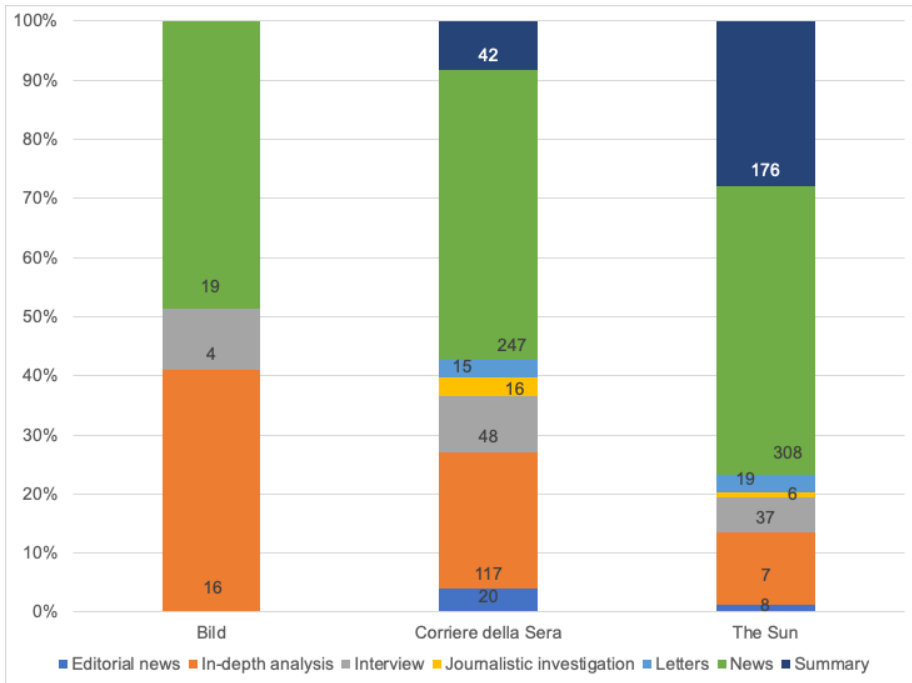
3.2. Format

The predominant formats are news articles, followed by in-depth articles and interviews (Table 2 and Figure 6).

In contrast, TS summary articles stand out (27.89%, 176). Indeed, they are notoriously a characteristic of this newspaper.

Table 2. News format (in percentage and absolute number)

	Bild		Corriere della Sera		The Sun	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
News	48,72	19	48,91	247	48,81	308
In-depth analysis	41,3	16	23,17	117	12,20	77
Interview	10,26	4	9,50	48	5,86	37
Summary	0	0	8,32	42	27,89	176
Editorial news	0	0	3,96	20	1,27	8
Journalistic investigation	0	0	3,17	16	0,95	6
Letters	0	0	2,97	15	3,01	19
Totals	100	39	100	505	100	631



Graphic 5. Item format, graph. Absolute number in bars and % on the vertical axis

3.3. Frames

Among the frames, “Uncertainty,” “Changing of life,” “Still life with COVID-19,” “Positivity to COVID-19,” and “Danger” ranked high (Table 3). TS grants more space (19.83%, 120 articles) to “Uncertainty.”

Table 3. News frames (in percentage and absolute number)

	Bild		Corriere della Sera		The Sun	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Uncertainty	16,22	6	11,52	59	19,83	120
Life Changes	10,81	4	11,52	59	12,89	78
Life has stopped with COVID-19	8,11	3	13,48	69	12,23	74
Positivity to COVID-19	5,41	2	4,88	25	8,26	50
Danger	13,51	5	6,05	31	3,97	24
Medicine	5,41	2	5,47	28	1,32	8

	Bild		Corriere della Sera		The Sun	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Opinion of a doctor	13,51	5	4,10	21	1,16	7
Sanitary emergency	2,70	1	6,64	34	1,82	11
Trying to do things as before	2,70	1	2,93	15	4,30	26
Risk of infection	5,41	2	2,73	14	4,96	30
Activism	0,00	0	2,15	11	3,80	23
Allegation of negligence	5,41	2	1,37	7	3,64	22
Security & insurance	5,41	2	1,37	7	0,83	5
Difficulty in providing services	0,00	0	1,76	9	0,83	5
Virus from China	0,00	0	1,17	6	0,66	4
Virus as a public enemy	0,00	0	0,59	3	0,83	5

At the bottom (not reported in the table):

“Bad work conditions” (C); “Curfew at night” (C and TS, one article); “Economic waste” (TS, one article); “Not the right one” (referring to unsuitable choices or people; TS, one article); “Refunds” (C and TS, one article); “Virus as a natural product” (TS, one article); “Smart working” (TS and B, one article).

3.4. Themes

Among the themes, the top ones are: “New solutions for doing old things,” “Not yet a concrete threat,” “Criticisms,” “Economic crisis,” “New problems” (Table 4). In line with its greater attention on the health theme, B grants space to “Prevention,” “Protection and disinfestation” (15.79%, six articles).

Table 4. News themes (in percentage and absolute number)

	Bild		Corriere della Sera		The Sun	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
New solutions for doing old things	7,89	3	14,91	75	13,22	75
Not yet a concrete threat	5,26	2	7,36	37	11,46	37
Criticisms	10,53	4	5,17	26	7,96	26

	Bild		Corriere della Sera		The Sun	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Economic crisis	7,89	3	5,17	26	9,55	26
New problems	10,53	4	4,97	25	2,71	25
Prevention, protection, and control	15,79	6	3,18	16	4,46	16
No solutions right now	5,26	2	2,19	11	5,89	11
New weapons against the virus	2,63	1	4,57	23	1,11	23
Personal sacrifice	2,63	1	1,99	10	5,25	10
Praise to healthcare	2,63	1	1,19	6	1,43	6
Hope for the vaccine	5,26	2	0,99	5	0,32	5
Lockdown solution	5,26	2	0,60	3	0,64	3
Quarantine needed	0,00	0	1,79	9	2,87	9
Demands for accountability	0,00	0	0,20	1	0,64	1
Support to Chinese people	0,00	0	0,60	3	0,16	3
Victim's stories	0,00	0	1,79	9	1,11	9
Virologists as media stars	0,00	0	1,79	9	0,00	9
Virus damage	0,00	0	2,78	14	0,96	14
Virus is coming	2,63	1	1,79	9	0,64	9

At the bottom (not in table): "Closing business" (TS, one article); "Correct nutrition" (C and TS, one article); "Domestic violence" (TS, two articles); "Excuses" (TS, two articles); "Social media are bad" (TS, one article); "The virus of the last: immigrants & poor" (C and TS, one article); "Unemployment" (TS, two articles); "Women's condition" (C, two articles); "Youth" (TS, two articles).

4. Discussion and Conclusion

For all the newspapers considered, the most relevant contexts relate to health, sports, people's lives (VIPs as well as the Average Joe), and the economy.

For the disability context, which also involves people most exposed to the consequences of a viral infection, we found only one article in C.

The main format was that of news or in-depth coverage.

Uncertainty, lifestyle changes, coexistence with the virus, being COVID-positive, and danger were the dominant frames in the articles examined.

Other topics are provided instead for less popular frames. Among these, inadequate working conditions, economic losses and compensations, criticism of government decisions, remote working, and reflections on the virus origin.

Three main themes were detected: novelty (as new problems and new solutions); the economic crisis; the (initial) lack of risk awareness. At the bottom of the popularity scale, we find closing businesses; nutrition advice; domestic violence; the excuses of those leaders who have not been able to address the pandemic adequately; the condition of women and young people.

Compared to previous studies (Strizzolo 2008), virus-themed discourses do not seem to diverge, except for a few aspects. Namely, the particular focus on sports in S and vacations in B.

In the latter, we find added attention to health (as a context), medical opinions (as a frame), prevention, protection, and control (as a theme). These findings align with previous research showing that, in this newspaper, the news with Hashish and Cannabis keywords focused more on the health theme, compared to British and Italian newspapers (Strizzolo 2008).

The considered news content also converges on the marginal positioning of the most fragile categories, not only during the virus: disabled and young people, women, immigrants, and the unemployed.

Social studies results on the COVID-19 pandemic began to come out around the end of 2020. A comparison of our data, with those coming out (Salzano, Scognamiglio, 2020; Mangone 2021; Lupton, Wills 2021), shows that even in this crisis, there have been areas and sectors more fragile and that marginality not only has consequences associated with each other, in terms of social, economic and health (hence the transformation from pandemic to syndemic; Woesler, Sass 2020), but also in terms of social visibility through the media. Recognition is also a struggle for visibility (Thomposon 1998): the less visible categories disappear from the agenda of the media as well as from those of politics, and specifically of health and care policy (Caporale, Pirni 2020).

The convergences found between content types and newspapers may be a clue that the influencing variable is the relevant newspaper. But having considered only one newspaper per country, we cannot know if the culturally determined variable is the country, which for us is a more interesting aspect and a direction to follow in the research, which here is by no means definitive, in fact, it is taking its first steps.

Regarding future research perspectives, the limits mentioned in the introduction are the transit point beyond which we intend to continue the present work. Examining just one newspaper per country, we cannot yet trace, if not hypothetically, the different foci to as many national sensibilities. Moreover, we will have to read the articles under a more qualitative lens. We should, however, point out that their collection and initial analysis already represented a considerable effort.

The steps above uphold a twofold necessity: not to waste the extensive corpus collected (1175 articles) and promote a greater scientific and methodological appeal.

First, we intend to solve the scarcity of articles from B, including by collecting more from at least one other newspaper per State. We also intend to use software for investigating networks on the individual recurrences of each article. We aim to represent each newspaper as a hub unfolding its discourses as a relationship between contexts, frames, and themes.

By analyzing more newspapers for each State, the comparison between these networks could corroborate the hypothesis of the difference not only between newspapers but even between national journalistic cultures.

Finally, we consider the possibility of using special software for the automatic collection of articles.

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