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“Better Naked than Dead”

COMMUNICATING SECURITY
ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN PERCEPTION OF
SECURITY RELATED ISSUES

Contribution to the SECONOMICS project and
Prague Graduate School in Comparative Qualitative Analysis 2013

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In this discussion paper series, the Prague *SECONOMICS* team intends to allow the broader academic community taking part in an on-going discussion about risks and threats as well as trade-offs between them and security. This research focus stems from the fact that until now, social scientists have primarily studied threats and risks through the perspective of social psychology by conducting the so-called “risk assessment” analyses, especially looking at the concept of “risk perception”. This research thus aims to probe these concepts in order to broaden our understanding of the multivariate study of risks and threats in social sciences by adding some context-dependent and temporal aspects.

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1. Introduction

Security is both a sense and a fact, two sides of the same coin which do not always correlate. Security can be mathematically calculated based on the probability of different risks and the effectiveness of various countermeasures. But security is also a perception and is evaluated on psychological reactions to both risks and countermeasures. A person can feel secure even though he or she is not, just as a person can be secure without feeling it.¹

At the same time, security requires compromise. With security comes many benefits, for instance goods are safe from thieves. But it also entails losses, because one must pay for an alarm to deter those thieves. For this reason security should be viewed as a balance that requires some sacrifice of freedom, privacy, money, and time. The thorniest question then is whether X is worth the exchange of Y.² Furthermore, the evaluation of this trade-off must consider the context and its observers, and also be ready to evolve as those circumstances and actors change.³

Many factors already identified in psychological studies contribute to a person's risk assessment.⁴ For instance, people tend to exaggerate striking but rare risks while downplaying common ones. They also have trouble estimating unfamiliar risks, overestimate risks in situations they cannot control, consider personal risks to be greater than communal risks, and, finally, overestimate risks currently in the public eye. Factors such as cognitive biases, fears, and prejudices filter reality, building frames within which reality is interpreted. Science, technology, religion, and cultural attitudes, as well as media, politicians, experts, and education all contribute to the parameters of an individual's security frame of reference.

Given the complexity of estimating risk, in every time and culture the responsibility for security has been assumed by some institution that manages security through a variety of means. Guaranteeing security gives great power over people and leaders devote much effort to creating a sense of security among those governed. Moreover, smart politicians use security threats to persuade people that they need a strong leader, a figure with the power to both enact concrete and visible security measures (reactive most of the time) and manage the welfare of society.⁵

For these reasons, security issues of one kind or another are very often the subject of political communication. In this communication media abets politicians, broadcasting their words and making their arguments more ubiquitous than ever. But the media is not simply a passive mouthpiece. Indeed, it has much power to shape the public's perception of security and the degree to which they accept security measures. This power is what makes the media such a worthy subject of

1 Schneier 2008

2 Severs 2012

3 Douglas 1985

4 Please see Yudkowsky 2008, and Sjoberg, 2000 for more detail.

5 Schneier 2013

research.⁶ According to Mazur, “public concern about an alleged hazard waxes with increasing news coverage and wanes with diminishing coverage.”⁷ But acceptance also depends on technical knowledge, as most of today’s security measures are technologically driven. Ultimately, media and technology make it difficult to make good security trade-offs. While technology obscures the detailed complexity of a situation, the media inevitably edits that complexity, cutting it down into a manageable narrative to suit its own needs.⁸

This research was carried out within the SECONOMICS project.⁹ Its main purpose is to provide stakeholders, as well as policy and decision makers, with valuable and innovative tools. These should help assess risk by considering social and economic aspects within the observed context of three domains, namely airports, critical infrastructure, and urban and local transportation. These case studies are of genuine and immediate relevance, posing questions and making suggestions for contemporary security dilemmas.

As previously noted, what security strategies authorities do employ are a balance between security, freedom, privacy, money, and time. Also, this balance inevitably requires sacrifice that is not always accepted by all. An analysis of media as a barometer of social moods can provide relevant insights into the cultural models and behavioral patterns that inform a country’s attitudes toward these challenging topics. Indeed, perception often varies between different cultural and socio-economic demographics and is not stable at all times.

Therefore, the main purpose of this research is to understand how national media frame the implications of security, how they organize these topics into themes, and what kind of arguments they present to the public, all while noting the peculiarities of the Italian context. In this way national research provides meaningful data for a comparative analysis among eleven EU and non-EU countries, to be achieved in the next period.

To carry out these objectives and to establish a thematic link with the aims of the SECONOMICS project, three themes were selected. These are the attempts to introduce 3D body scanner technology as a security measure in Italian airports, the implementation of CCTV systems in public and private areas, and the story of the Stuxnet virus, which infected the computer systems of an Iranian nuclear plant in 2010. These themes were analyzed through a coding methodology, permitting a focus on the salience of each code through the analysis of co-occurrences and relationships among the codes. Ultimately, we were able to identify which codes (actors, topics, argumentative strategies, and justifications) inform and lead the debates around determined topics. The code results were then combined with contextual analysis to give meaning to the data collected.

The following paper begins with an introduction to the Italian media landscape, including a brief description of the two newspapers from which the analyzed articles were drawn. The third chapter outlines the methodological

6 See D4.2 SECONOMICS (http://seconomicsproject.eu/sites/default/files/content-files/deliverables/D4.2_Report_on_perception_of_security_and_acceptance_of_risk.pdf).

7 Mazur 2006 p.1

8 Schneier 2008

9 Funded by the EU, <http://seconomicsproject.eu/>

framework used in the research. This chapter is particularly relevant as it outline potential biases. The fourth chapter describes each of the three case studies, and also provides an overview of the recurring security-related fears of Italians, delineating the realms within which their fears exist. The last chapter, the core of this paper, provides a descriptive analysis of the coding salience and outlines the general tendencies related to security issues. A final conclusion summarizes the findings and is followed by additional reference material.

2. Media landscape in Italy

2.1. *Role of media in building society*

In *Imagined Communities* Benedict Anderson theorized that the printing press paved the way for an imagined community to become realized as a nation, allowing the creation of a common sense of group identity within national boundaries.¹⁰ According to the author this process allowed the “making” of the nation itself.

The anthropological point of view supports this interpretation. While media has now grown to encompass a myriad of fields, including radio, television, films, recorded music, newspapers, magazines, popular literature, and the Internet, it continues to contribute much to the construction of a society. Media participates in the creation of a common representation of reality and disseminates the ideas and the images around which communities can identify as a coherent group in opposition to other groups that share different cultural values. Media contributes to the spread and strengthening of social behavioral patterns, knowledge and beliefs, and all the other aspects that Edward Taylor defines as constituent components of culture.¹¹ In addition, when media transmits its contents it also acts as vehicle of culture.

Obviously, media not only creates culture, but is also shaped by it. Media is economically and politically driven, and also depends to a high degree of technological development and accessibility. Given all these attributes, media is a “total social fact.”¹² The relation between media, culture, and society is therefore a relevant topic in the analysis of culture itself, as it can provide a better understanding of the working principles that gives life to a society.

In analyzing this complex relationship, one must consider several interrelated factors. The choice of language used, for example, can affect the tone of a message. Indeed, linguistic forms and expressions are conscious choices, made with an eye on what a piece is meant to communicate in a specific context to a particular target audience.

Especially in political communication, the selection of register assumes particular relevance in persuading audiences, and generates a characterized style that supports a core message.¹³ Language choice is never harmless or empty, and it reveals strategies of concealment and persuasion, as well as procedures intended to legitimize and justify.

The power of the media itself is another aspect to consider. According to the features taken into consideration so far, it is undeniable that the ability to

10 Anderson, 1993

11 “Culture, or civilization, taken in its broad, ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Taylor, 1871, p.1).

12 Term coined by Marcel Mauss (Mauss 1923) to define an activity that has implications throughout the society, in the economic, legal, political and religious spheres in the same way.

McNair 2011

control media production represents a very thorny issue that one must handle cautiously. As we will see in the following pages, this matter is particularly serious in the Italian media context. But even though the control of media is a concern, nowadays we are witnessing a change in direction due to the increasing diffusion of the Internet. This has allowed people to play an active part in this process of producing and sharing content. The so-called democratization of both public and social media¹⁴ represents an important shift in the future of communication, and will no doubt change the structure of society as well.¹⁵

One cannot, of course, gain a complete understanding of media's production, consumption, and evolution without analyzing the process by which an audience interprets the information presented them. The linear model of "message production - message transmission - message reception" ignores the interpretation factor that highly informs and affects the audience's reception of the message. Moreover, according to Marshall McLuhan, the perceived meaning is part of the message itself.¹⁶

2.1. *Italian media*

Two recent and opposite dynamics characterize the Italian media landscape. First, the share of traditional media, i.e. television, radio and the press, has been decreasing. Meanwhile, new digital media has been growing, thanks to easier access to the Internet through mobile devices.

It is important to note that a limited number of large companies, involved in a variety of economic sectors, control most Italian news media outlets. While some minor groups operate in only one sector, others, such as Gruppo Fininvest¹⁷ and RCS,¹⁸ have several subsidiaries in multiple media sectors (Table 1 in Appendix). As a consequence Italy lacks a "pure" editor that has interests only in his own sector.

Ownership, though, is more complicated than direct control. Rather, the Italian media landscape breaks down into a myriad of partial, but not insignificant, holdings. For instance, the Fininvest Group holds 39% of Mediaset, a television broadcaster, and 50% of Mondadori, a publishing house. Rai¹⁹ is a public limited company 99.56% owned by the Ministry of Economy. Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation owns 100% of Sky Italia. Finally, Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, a

14 Luca De Biase (<http://blog.debiase.com/>)

15 A meaningful example in this field is the unexpected landslide of the Movimento 5 Stelle in the 2013 national election in Italy. The party, led by comedian Beppe Grillo, conducted his entire election campaign through website and meeting tours in the main Italian squares, never appearing in TV or releasing interviews for the newspapers. This political strategy could be objectionable (critiques are still going on), but surely represents an extremely important turning point in the Italian politics.

16 McLuhan 1967

17 The Fininvest group is composed of some big companies among which are [Mediolanum](#) (an insurance and banking company), Medusa (an Italian film production company), Mondadori, A.C. Milan (a football team) and Mediaset. Fininvest is managed by a holding of Berlusconi family members.

18 RCS is an international multimedia publishing group operating in daily newspapers, magazines, books, radio broadcasting, new media, digital and satellite TV and advertisement sales.

19 Radio Televisione Italiana (Italian public broadcasting).

company with TV, radio and newspaper outlets, is controlled by Carlo de Benedetti²⁰.

Due to a distinct Italian peculiarity, the relationship between media and politics is very tight. This leads to conflicts of interest best personified by Silvio Berlusconi. As previously stated, he owns both the publishing group Mondadori through his family's financial holding company, as well as Mediaset with its three commercial TV stations. In addition to this, as head of government he had great influence over RAI, the state-owned broadcaster. As a result of Berlusconi's flagrant and problematic conflicts of interest, Reporters without Borders rated Italy as 57th out of 179 countries rated by their press freedom index.²¹

The following subsection contains an analysis of these different media outlets and their contexts. However, as this research was based on analysis of articles, the press was investigated in greater detail, with a particular focus on the two newspapers from which analyzed articles were drawn.

Television. In Italy the shift away from traditional media has brought about a crisis in the press, but television remains one of the most used devices and the first source of information for the Italian population.²² Three holding companies, Mediaset (32%), Rai (28%) and Sky (30%),²³ manage more than 90% of Italian television. This makes the Italian television market very concentrated and strictly controlled by only a few people. Taking into consideration that Sky is a paid TV service (77.4% of shares are owned by Sky and 17% by Mediaset Premium), the duopoly of Rai-Mediaset controls 87.8% of the total share.²⁴

Radio. Consumed mostly for entertainment, radio is the most competitive sector with a strong presence of traditional operators, e.g. Rai, and groups active only in this sector, e.g. RDS²⁵ and RTL.²⁶ Driving-hour peaks characterize the radio broadcast market, influencing the nature and tone of its programs.

Internet. Internet represents a very different situation in which concurrence is higher since every operator competes on the same multimedia platform. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that every operator is equal, as they must still compete for audience share and the advertising revenue it can generate. This revenue remains one of the main sources of income. In 2011, 78% of users followed news events online (20.7 million users). Also, 86% of web consumers were registered on social media sites, and 87% used the Internet for entertainment (23 million people).²⁷ The sector most affected by the increasing number of internet users is the press, though it has succeeded in stemming the crisis by providing online content on their own platforms. At this moment

20 The figure of Carlo de Benedetti is linked with the 20 years long legal-financial case called "Lodo Mondadori" related to the ownership of Mondadori, contented between de Benedetti and Berlusconi. During the process Berlusconi was indicted of bribing the judge but statute of limitations expired before the appeal was completed so Berlusconi was acquitted.

21 http://en.rsf.org/spip.php?page=classement&id_rubrique=1054

22 EU, Eurobarometer Standard 76, 2011.

23 <http://www.quattrogatti.info/>

24 AGCOM, 2012. AGCOM is the Authority of for the Guarantees in Communication (Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni).

25 Radio Dimensione Suono (Radio Dimension Sound).

26 Radio Trasmissioni Lombarde (Radio Broadcasting Lombardia).

27 AGCOM, 2012.

LaRepubblica.it (see below for La Repubblica details) is the 10th most visited website in Italy.²⁸

Press. The press sector shrank in 2011 (-1.4%)²⁹ due to a migration of traditional readers to digital outlets, pushed further by an increase in the price of newspapers.

The only division among Italian newspapers is a political one. However, the best-selling Italian newspapers, *Il Corriere della Sera* (The Evening's Courier, daily circulation 482.800³⁰), *La Repubblica* (The Republic, daily circulation 438.695) and the financial *Il Sole 24 Ore* (The 24 Hours, daily circulation 266.596) manage to be quite impartial, with both left and right-leaning journalists. However, *La Repubblica* is slightly left-leaning, as well as *La Stampa* (The Press, daily circulation 273.806).

As for other papers, *L'Unità* (The Unit, daily circulation 40.641) and *Il Manifesto* (The Manifesto, daily circulation 18.047) represent the left of the Italian national newspapers, while *Libero* (The Independent, daily circulation 105.796) and *Il Giornale* (The Journal, daily circulation 155.455) are the most popular among the right-wing national newspapers. Then there are *L'Avvenire* (The Future, the Vatican's paper), *Il Messaggero* (The Messenger, Rome's daily) and *La Padania* (The Padania, the Northern League's paper³¹). As opposed to other media sectors, the press focuses on writing news and accounts for 70% of employed journalists. Television accounts for only 20%.³²

2.2. *Italian newspapers*

La Repubblica. The second best-selling newspaper in Italy belongs to the Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, led by Carlo de Benedetti, along with three national radio stations.³³ Founded in 1976 by Eugenio Scalfari, the journal is headquartered in Rome. In the first years *La Repubblica* wavered between the extra-parliamentary left and the Communist Party, supporting university movements and competing with *Il Corriere della Sera* for preeminence in sales.³⁴ Since Berlusconi entered politics in the 1990s, the newspaper has been critiquing his conflicts of interest as an entrepreneur and politician. One of the latest examples of this is its director's decision to publish daily for 6 months the well-known "10 Domande" (10 questions) to which Berlusconi systematically avoids replying.³⁵

Il Giornale. Indro Montanelli founded this paper in 1974 in Milan and led it until 1994. Since 1979 it has been owned by Berlusconi's family. In the 1970s Italian politics and newspapers became polarized and charged with accusations of

28 <http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/IT>

29 AGCOM, 2012

30 All these data refer to the daily average circulation rate in 2011; the source is Ads – Accertamenti Diffusione Stampa (<http://www.adsnotizie.it/ads/index.php>).

31 Lega Nord per l'Indipendenza della Padania (North League for the Independence of Padania) is an extremely right-wing party, federalist and regionalist, in coalition with the Popolo della Libertà-PdL party (The People of Freedom), launched by Berlusconi in 2007.

32 AGCOM, 2012.

33 <http://www.quattrogatti.info/>

34 <http://www.lastoriasiamonoi.rai.it/puntate/la-repubblica/548/default.aspx>

35 As consequences Berlusconi sued the newspaper for defamation (<http://www1.lastampa.it/redazione/cmsSezioni/politica/200908articoli/46749girata.asp>)

fascism. Il Giornale tried to move beyond this dichotomy and gained readers by following a moderate path. Namely it did not take part in the long-running feud between the Catholic Party and the Communist Party. However, during the election campaign of 1976, Montanelli himself suggested that readers, “hold their nose and vote [for the] Catholic Party.”³⁶

In 1979 Berlusconi began investing in Il Giornale. He payed the company's debts and eventually became the owner. In 1990 the Mammi Law (Legge Mammi) prohibited TV channel owners from also controlling newspapers. Berlusconi, already the owner of 3 channels in Mediaset, was forced to sell his stock to his brother. In 1994, when Forza Italia (Berlusconi's party) was founded, Berlusconi openly asked for the support of the Il Giornale. Montanelli realized that the newspaper was becoming a party journal and resigned, followed by 40 journalists that did not approve the management's overt political actions.³⁷

Feltri, Belpietro and Sallusti have been managing the newspaper in recent years.³⁸ They openly support Berlusconi and his party, reporting news, often invalid and untrue, to discredit Berlusconi's political opponents.³⁹ In March 2013 Il Giornale was convicted and fined €100,000 by judges of the Milan Court for having accused them of “persecuting behavior” against Berlusconi.⁴⁰

36 http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Il_Giornale

37 <http://www.polisblog.it/post/4356/quando-montanelli-se-ne-ando-dal-giornale-di-silvio-berlusconi-come-andarono-veramente-le-cose-seconda-e-ultima-parte>

38 All of them have been under investigation during their mandate.

39 One example of this occurred in 2009 when Dino Boffo, the director of Avvenire, the Vatican's newspaper, criticized Berlusconi's lifestyle and Il Giornale reacted by publishing an article claiming Boffo was homosexual. They based this report on an “anonymous letter from an adversary” and accused him of harassment. Boffo resigned and Feltri, then the director at Il Giornale, was suspended for 6 months by the Journalists' Order. http://www.repubblica.it/politica/2010/10/11/news/dossier_d_avanzo-7933677/?ref=HRER1-1

40 http://milano.corriere.it/milano/notizie/cronaca/13_marzo_5/risarcimento-ilda-boccassini-centomila-euro-articolo-giornale-berlusconi-21237237497.shtml

3. Methodology

As already mentioned, this research hopes to conduct a descriptive analysis of how national media communicate security issues to society. A team of researchers has been working in parallel on other countries' media with the purpose of providing data for a comparative study. For this reason a good method design is doubly needed.

The chosen methodology for the comparative analysis is coding with the support of Atlas.ti software for qualitative analysis data.⁴¹ For methodological correctness, the project's scientific coordinator has established procedures for compiling an orderly set of data, disassembling it, and then reassembling and interpreting the data.

The first phase of the research consisted of data collection and began with the selection of the top ten Italian daily newspapers in 2012, based on their daily circulation according to Ads⁴². From those ten the most popular right-leaning and left-leaning newspapers were selected. *Il Giornale* (right) and *La Repubblica* (centre-left) are the best representative samples. The selection of articles was based on the articles' use of at least one of three key-words. These words included "body scanner," as well as its variations, 3D body scanner, 3D body scanner, and body scanner, as well as "CCTV cameras" and "Stuxnet."⁴³ *La Repubblica* articles were collected from its online archive at *Larepubblica.it*, which allows one to search by both key-words and time period. The data collected from this source is thus entirely trustworthy, as the system recognizes the words in the archive and selects all those which meet the set criteria. *Il Giornale* does not provide an advanced search system of its archive, so the research for its articles was conducted through Google.

For the period analyzed, January 2010 to April 2013, ninety articles were selected and a sample of forty-one articles was drawn together with the help of the scientific research coordinator (see **Table 2 in the Appendix**). This was intended to guarantee the representativeness of the selection through various criteria, namely time, distribution of topics, and the journal's political orientation. In terms of time period, the articles found were mostly from 2010, though Stuxnet articles were mainly drawn from later years.

Looking in detail, 3D body scanner coverage had a high peak in the first months of 2010. This period corresponds to the introduction of the devices to Italian airports for the test phase. In the summer months of 2010, the articles mention the topic again as the airports' attendance is higher. Then, in the last months of 2010, unsatisfactory results stopped the first phase of trials. In the spring of 2011, *Il Giornale* dedicated some articles to the body scanner issue. This was in response to the latest security measures established during the Anti-

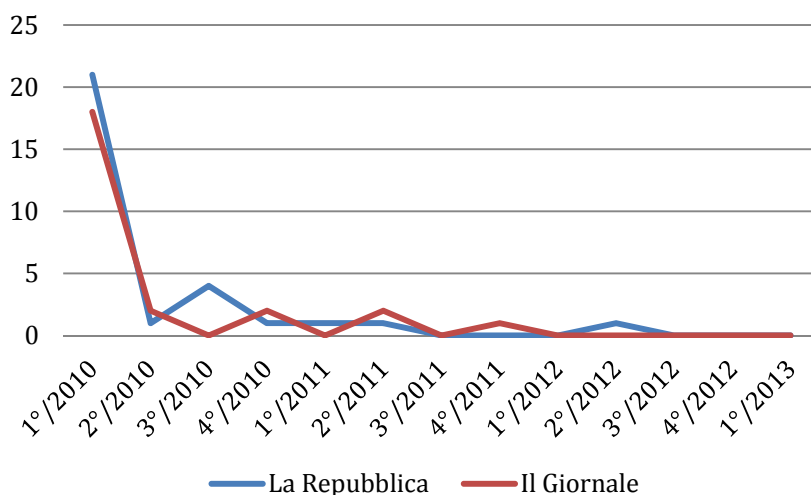
41 <http://www.atlasti.com/index.html>

42 Accertamenti diffusione stampa (Ads), is a public Italian body that certify the data about the diffusion and circulation of the daily and periodic press in Italy.

43 In Italian the following key words have been searched: *body scanner*, *3D body scanner*, *3D bodyscanner*, *bodyscanner*; *telecamere a circuito chiuso*, *telecamere di sorveglianza*, *sistema di telecamere a circuito chiuso*, *sistema di telecamere di sorveglianza*; *Stuxnet*.

terrorism Committee meeting held in May 2011 in Rome following Osama Bin Laden's death.⁴⁴ The scanner devices were finally reintroduced at the end of May 2011 in a second test phase, but since then there has been almost no coverage (Table 1).

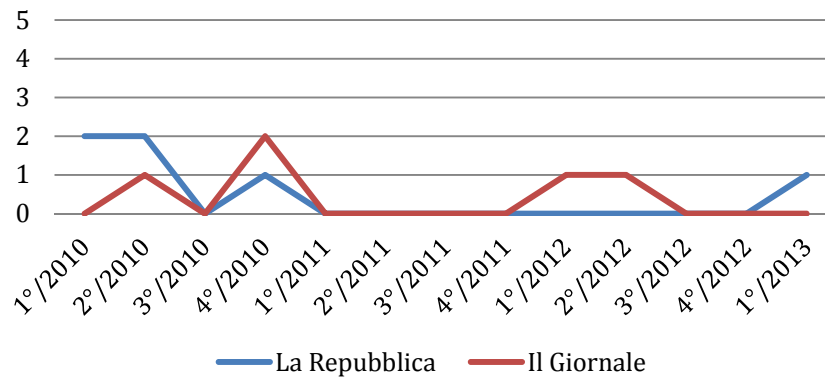
Table 1: 3D body scanner newspapers coverage



The analysis of CCTV cameras did not show peaks in coverage but a notable balance during the whole period considered. Articles address the topic quite generally, presenting numbers and statistics about the cameras' diffusion throughout Italy. We decided not to consider articles referring to the help that cameras give in the prevention or the resolution of a crime, firstly because they would have been too much to analyze, and secondly because in these articles the camera is usually just mentioned and no reflection is made about it. Rather, in the last month of 2010, Il Giornale focuses on the use of a new security camera system in the Milan train station. Meanwhile, La Repubblica wrote about the future trend of so-called "smart cities" and the implications that new technology can have for citizens' privacy and general security. Nevertheless, the debate over the CCTV cameras is very poorly investigated in Italy (Table 2), probably because this security measure seems to be largely accepted by citizens. The legitimacy of the CCTV cameras is never debated in the articles. What is slightly contested is the more and more pervasive use of this device in different aspects of daily life. Furthermore, no particular event is related to the presence of the topic in the articles.

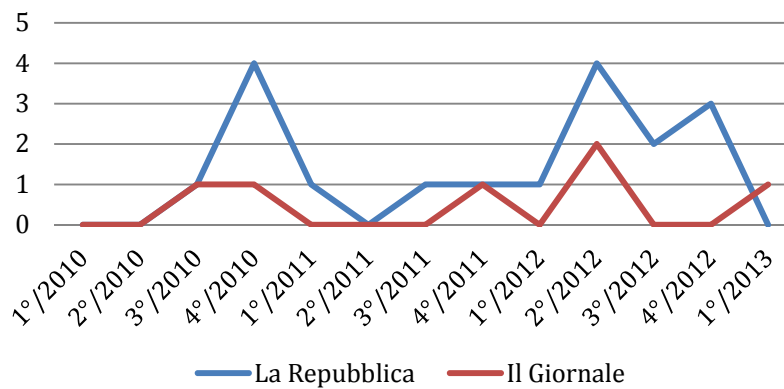
44 In April 2011 the ONU Anti-terrorism Committee also met in Strasbourg for an unscheduled assembly.

Table 2: CCTV cameras newspapers coverage



Though the virus had been discovered earlier,⁴⁵ the debate around Stuxnet began in autumn 2010 and continued at a slow pace, almost ignored, until June 2012 when the Italian media returned to the topic, confirming the involvement of the U.S. administration and Israeli government in the development and the deployment of the virus. The discourse then widened to a more generic reflection about the risk of cyber war and the implications of information and communication technology (ICT) systems security. One interesting note is that this topic was mostly written about by the online service of La Repubblica, meaning that online readers are considered to be most interested in this kind of news (Table 3).

Table 3: Stuxnet newspapers coverage



Before starting analysis, a coding scheme (Table 3 in Appendix), slightly different for each of the three cases studied, was set and improved with further codes during the inter-code reliability test previously carried out by the coordinators' team. Ultimately, nine code categories were identified. These categories are as follows:

- Actors (those who took part in the discourse);
- Topics (what the subjects were);

⁴⁵ Being a top-secret topic, it is not easy to define a date for the first launch of the malware. Some sources date it at June 2010, other sources go back to 2009 (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-11388018>).

- Argumentative Strategies (what type of statements were used, either definitive, evaluative or advocative);
- Direction of Argument (whether statements were positive, negative or neutral);
- Justification (arguments used by actors to support their claims);
- Interaction (between actors);
- Actors' Origin;
- Political Orientation of the paper (as previously established);
- Country code (journal's country origin).

In each article, every sentence containing one of the key-words⁴⁶ was highlighted as a “statement,” and every statement was codified with the codes mentioned above. In this way, by reading the list of codes selected, it was possible to infer the meaning of the sentence itself. To avoid bias the statements were coded blindly, without knowledge of the statements' source and considering exclusively what was written in the statements in an attempt to avoid bias and personal preconceptions.

The choice to work through predefined categories proved useful for a comparative analysis when data was collected by many different researchers. However, it is undeniable that this jeopardizes the complexity of the data itself, reducing and constricting data to predetermined categories. To overcome this bias, the use of memos was required. What did not fit into the categories was written in these notes. This includes personal opinions, contextual annotations, and reflections that are still extremely relevant to the analysis.

After the meticulous coding phase, we moved to a higher level of analysis where abstractions allowed us to find concepts and patterns, interweaving raw data with contextual elements. The code analysis was made with an Atlas.ti tool that allows one to correlate different codes and groups of codes, as well as investigate the co-occurrence and the salience of the codes in the topics. Getting back into raw data (articles in this case) strengthens the power of the arguments generated, making the research both methodologically and scientifically more valuable.⁴⁷

One must remember that, in spite of the linearity accorded to the description of these phases as a strict procedure, they have a recursive and iterative relationship strongly affected by the personal background of the researcher.

46 Words such as “the system” for CCTV, “the device” for body scanners, and “the virus/worm” for Stuxnet have also been utilized.

47 Friese, 2006

4. Security perceptions in Italy

In recent years the phenomenon of insecurity has shifted from the physical to the social world. According to Osservatorio Europeo sulla Sicurezza (OES),⁴⁸ from 2006 to 2008 insecurity was defined as the personal threat to one's self, one's family, and one's home, and was used in the context of crime. In that period immigrants embodied that threat. Both citizens and media shared this fear, even if the crime rate was stable for at least 10 years. Immigration became one of the principal issues in the election campaign that the centre-right won in 2008.⁴⁹

Nowadays, though, we are witnessing a change in the semantic meaning of insecurity, which has assumed a social characterization. In the climate of economic crisis, insecurity is now defined in relation to jobs, unemployment, market, revenues, inflation and retirement issues. Among the concerns revealed by research of public opinion, the economic insecurity is the most concerning problem for 73% of those interviewed.⁵⁰

Some sociologists refer to "ontological insecurity," defined as a widespread feeling of deep and generalized insecurity that characterizes today's society.⁵¹ According to OES, Italians now have a common sense of global vulnerability⁵² which undermines the basis of the social and familiar stability of daily life. It is no more a matter of "external" insecurity, as this feeling permeates social uncertainty and the private sphere as well.

From 2011 issues stemming from the economic crisis dominated European public opinion. According to the report⁵³ 76% of Italians cited "global insecurity" as a fear related to problems with the environment, food quality, war, earthquakes, floods, and new epidemics. Furthermore, housewives between 45 - 64 years old were most likely to express these concerns. Equally frightening was economic insecurity: this fear stems from the international bank and stock exchange crisis, unemployment, layoffs, the loss of savings, and the challenges of retirement. Housewives and workmen were the most concerned, but women generally are also more concerned than men, and the young more than the old. Also, people that do not have strong relationships with their neighbors and communities, and spend more than four hours daily watching television are more likely to be affected and cited these fears at a rate of 85%. In spite of these shifts, crime, specifically burglary and theft, still concerned 43% of those studied.

Interestingly, television has been slow to reflect this shift. Historically, television newscasts spoke of insecurity only in regards to crime, especially when covering the drawn-out criminal cases with which Italians are particularly fascinated. Only recently have economic issues come to dominate the newscasts. Afternoon infotainment programs, too, contribute to disseminating the perception of insecurity,⁵⁴ influencing 93% of the TV-watching public⁵⁵.

48 OES 2012.

49 Ibidem.

50 Ibidem.

51 Bauman 1999

52 Ibidem.

53 Ibidem.

54 In Italy these kinds of programs are renowned for their low level of quality in terms of information content. (http://www.nuoviocchiperimedia.it/generi_infotainment/).

A sense of insecurity in the criminal sense breaks down by political leanings as well. For instance, Northern League voters felt this insecurity at a rate of 92%.⁵⁶ This is not surprising if one considers that Studio Aperto (Open Studio, the newscast of Mediaset) dedicated 1,711 stories to criminal events in 2011, and only 147 to the economic crisis. Meanwhile, Rai's newscast, TG3, inverted this balance with only 272 stories about crime and 634 about the financial crisis.⁵⁷

The continual discussion of particular security trends makes them more and more pervasive, convincing, and real, even if statistical data does not confirm these trends. Insecurity evokes and arouses insecurity itself in a vicious cycle that feeds on people's fears. Moreover, Italian media narratives are characterized by waves of interest in a theme. For instance, Italians are currently fixated on entrepreneurs committing suicide for financial reasons, as well as on episodes of gendered violence. But despite this fascination, interest is rarely followed by public indignation or the demand for political action. Rather, such discourse seems to naturalize the problem and neuter political debate, an effect seen in both the former criminal and current economic insecurities. Here politics is not seen in its protective function, but is perceived as a part of the problem itself and a source of additional insecurity. This has been especially true following the 2013 national election, as no party has won a popular majority and the government continuously runs the risk of failing.⁵⁸

Despite the shift towards economic concerns, many issues besides the economy remain worrisome. Organized crime, for instance, is still a concern for more than 50% of Italians.⁵⁹ Regarding terrorism, the last period of terrorist attacks in Italy was in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶⁰ Except for very sporadic acts resulting from the re-emergence of anti-immigrant, neo-fascist and militant communist groups (the last actual violent crime linked to terrorism was in 2002), political violence has decreased substantially in recent decades. Thus, one could say that terrorism does not represent a threat to the population. Nevertheless, the Italian government continues to make use of strengthened counter-terrorism legislation enacted in 2005⁶¹ that facilitates the detention of suspects, mandates arrest for crimes involving terrorism, and expedites procedures for expelling persons suspected of terrorist activities. International terrorism otherwise still remains a central concern with consequences to national security policy. The implementation of the body scanner has to be read within this context, especially following the 2010 terrorist attacks against Italian soldiers in Afghanistan which resulted in 27 dead.⁶²

Regarding security laws in general, it is important to notice that, unlike other European countries, Italy does not have a National Security Strategy, i.e. a unique governmental document identifying the main threats to the nation, as well

55 OES 2012.

56 Ibidem.

57 Ibidem.

58 Ibidem.

59 Ibidem.

60 Anni di Piombo - Years of Lead

61 Law No.155/2005

62 <http://qn.quotidiano.net/esteri/2013/06/08/901412-afghanistan-militari-morti-bilancio-isaf.shtml>

as political-strategic response guidelines. Instead there are several documents considering different but non-integrated aspects. As a result, the analysis of the actual context is fragmented, sometimes contradictory, and liable to duplication and lack of coordination.⁶³

Following are the three case studies analyzed by this research which describe real examples of security measures.

4.1. 3D body scanners at airports

In 2010 ENAC, Ente Nazionale per l'Aviazione Civile (Italian Civil Aviation Authority) started testing for the implementation of 3D body scanner devices⁶⁴ at four airports (Milan, Rome, Palermo and Venice) to verify the feasibility of employing them at a national level. The first test found the new security measures inefficient and required a second trial phase in 2011 with updated devices. In February 2012 ENAC presented the final test results to the Inter-ministry Committee for Air Transportation Security and Airports⁶⁵ and gave a positive assessment. They found that improvements to the system reduced the number of false alarms, optimized the time required for screening, and provided a new source of anonymous data.⁶⁶ As a result, ENAC thought the scanners would be an efficient supplement to traditional security measures. The plan was to employ the scanners in airports regularly connected with sensitive destinations, e.g. the United States and Israel. ENAC and the Ministry of the Interior, Infrastructure and Transport allocated € 2 million for the purchase of 4 devices, two for Malpensa (Milan) and two for Fiumicino (Rome) from the Italian firm Gilardoni, a body scanner producer licensed by a U.S. Company.⁶⁷ Vito Riggio, the president of ENAC, claimed that the government could raise airport taxes in the near future to refund these costs.

In 2011 Roberto Maroni, the former Interior Minister, asked the European Commission to draw up common guidelines for the implementation of body scanners throughout Europe. Due to various constraints, mostly related to the failure of the validation phases and the hesitation of the other EU countries, Italy has suspended the devices' installation pending a definitive European directive.

The European Commission had launched a public consultation in 2008-2009 to gather opinions from those interested when, in December, 2009 an attempted terrorist attack reminded policy makers of the urgency to speak out. Six months later the Commission delivered a document⁶⁸ outlining the efficiency and the reliability of the scanners, called "*Security Scanner*," in terms of privacy and health issues. Nevertheless, objections from the Europe Union Agency for

63 Di Camillo and Marta 2009.

64 For details about their functioning see D1.2 SECONOMICS

(<http://seconomicsproject.eu/sites/default/files/content-files/deliverables/D1%20%20Airport%20Requirements%20v0%204-%20public.pdf>)

65 CISA, Comitato Interministeriale per la Sicurezza dei Trasporti Aerei e degli Aereoporti.

66 <http://195.103.234.163/Applicazioni/comunicati/comunicato.asp?selpa1=1641>

67 De Riccardo, S., 2010, 'Body Scanner in Italia fra 3 mesi e 240 dipendenti salvano il posto', [Body scanner in Italy in 3 months, 240 employees will have their jobs saved], La Repubblica, January 2010.

68 EU 2010.

Fundamental Rights (FRA) claim the scanners are illegal, citing human rights, privacy, personal dignity, health, and data protection rights.⁶⁹ In response to these critiques, also voiced at a national level, ENAC guaranteed that the device posed no health threat and that for privacy reasons the reproduced image is not the passenger's figure but a stylized one. Moreover, the images produced will be automatically deleted after inspection.⁷⁰

In November 2011, the European Union adopted a proposal to regulate airport body scanners in member state airports. No European airport is obligated to use scanners, but if they do, the scanners must conform to EU standards (EU IP/11/1343).⁷¹

4.2. CCTV cameras

Today video surveillance represents an effective and widely used crime deterrent both in Italy and abroad. In 2005 a study⁷² carried out by the Emilia-Romagna Region claimed that every municipality with more than 40.000 citizens had an operative video surveillance system. In November 2006, the government established new integrated security policies and established video surveillance as the preferred measure of public administrations.⁷³ The C!VIVO dossier⁷⁴ states that among twenty National Security Agreements signed until 2008, seventeen of them identify video surveillance as a more advisable security measure. Following this directive, regional governments have given substantial resources to local administrations in small Northern Italian municipalities so that they can install CCVT cameras systems.⁷⁵

According to some estimates there are about two million cameras in Italy, or one camera for every thirty-five citizens.⁷⁶ Institutions such as municipalities, ministries and schools, as well as private citizens, companies, and shop keepers use it to improve security in public areas, private residences, and stores. Furthermore,

69 FRA 2010.

70 http://www.enac.gov.it/La_Comunicazione/Eventi/2010/info642835573.html

71 "Security scanners shall not store, retain, copy, print or retrieve images; any unauthorized access and use of the image is prohibited and shall be prevented; the human reviewer analyzing the image shall be in a separate location and the image shall not be linked to the screened person and others. Passengers must be informed about conditions under which the security scanner control takes place. In addition, passengers are given the right to opt out from a control with scanners and be subject to an alternative method of screening" (http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-11-1343_en.htm?locale=en).

72 C!VIVO 2008.

73 The Ministry of Interior and the local administrative representatives of the province of Naples signed a special agreement in November 2006. The agreement outlined a series of security measures intended to fight both organized and minor crimes. Together with reorganization and the deployment of police forces, CCTV cameras will play a relevant role in crime prevention and detection (http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/SoleOnLine4/Attualita%20ed%20Esteri/Attualita/2006/11/md031106napoli_patto_sicurezza.shtml?uuid=a2e43c66-6b60-11db-ae01-000).

74 C!VIVO 2008.

75 <http://revueeltasocial.wordpress.com/2010/06/14/la-telecamera-intelligente-e-le-conseguenze-sociali-della-videosorveglianza/>

76 <http://www.lastampa.it/2012/06/08/cultura/domande-e-risposte/quante-sono-le-telecamere-X3I5yTIQyYCe5pNXOaYFgJ/pagina.html>

airports, train stations, banks, and embassies consider CCTV cameras to be essential security systems. The ANIE Federation⁷⁷ claims that in 2009-2011 the camera market grew 21.3%, with a total sales volume of € 600,000,000.

The discussion of surveillance inevitably generates privacy issues and, consequently, legislation. The Italian Privacy Authority released a measure in 2000, updated in 2004 and 2010,⁷⁸ which aims to gauge the confidentiality of personal data. This legal measure is based on four principles regulating the use of the device: legitimacy, need, proportionality, and purpose. These principles affirm that CCTV cameras should be used only when other measures prove ineffective and impractical, and only when strictly needed for security reasons, and not simply to collect data. Moreover, the law requires the display of informative signs, warning of the presence of operational cameras, and also requires that records be stored no longer than twenty-four hours (except for authorized institutions, e.g. banks).⁷⁹

4.3. *Stuxnet*

Stuxnet is a computer virus, specifically a worm, discovered in 2010 and believed to have attacked the Natanz nuclear facility in Iran before spreading to other critical infrastructure managed by information and communication technology (ICT) systems. According to some investigations, the U.S. and Israel developed the virus in collaboration in an attempt to undermine the Iranian uranium enrichment program.⁸⁰ Furthermore, this virus was a part of a wider program dubbed Operation Olympic Games, a campaign of sabotage by means of cyber-attacks begun by the Bush administration in 2006 and continued under Obama with the development of the Flame virus.

Even if this incident had no negative impacts on the Italian ICT system, it has raised fears about the weakness of Italian cyber-security. Ironically, there have been several recent incidents which have threatened Italian's personal electronic security, but they have gone largely unnoticed by the public opinion. In the past years a number of "minor cases" have had a much bigger impact than Stuxnet on the lives of citizens and users.⁸¹ Identity theft, fraud, online stalking, and child pornography represent threats much more dreaded and frequent. Such crimes may be prosecuted under Article 615 of the Italian Constitution, which bans the diffusion of software aimed at damaging, altering, and destroying any ICT system.

77 The ANIE Federation is the Confindustria member representing the electro-technical and electronic companies operating in Italy (http://www.aniesicurezza.it/it/trend_mercato.asp).

78 Action 27/07/10 (doc.Web1712680).

79 Other restrictions forbid the remote control of workers at work, records in hospital and health institutions, and schools. (<http://www.garanteprivacy.it/web/guest/home/docweb/-/docweb-display/docweb/1006052>)

80 <http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2013/03/stuxnet-act-of-force/>

81 Clusit, 2012.

5. Comparative thematic analysis

5.1. *A general overview*

The analysis of the three themes revealed some parallels in public perception between 3D body scanners and CCTV cameras, while, for reasons that will be illustrated, the Stuxnet case seemed to be received somewhat differently. First of all, body scanner and CCTV camera articles were directly related to people in the sense that, especially for the cameras, these devices are present in the daily life of citizens and have a recognizable shape, an understandable function, and a communal benefit. This is not the case for Stuxnet, an event which happened far away and without any direct effect on Italians themselves. Instead it slips away from the realm of everyday experience and ultimately sounds like the plot of a spy movie. Furthermore, except for experts and amateur hackers, the functioning of the virus and its delivery into the nuclear plant control system was not at all a familiar topic, and was likely never understood by laypeople. Generally, the cyber-attack generated less clear and less moving news because it occurred in a murky international context.

The feeling of insecurity reported by Italians (see section 4) must be read within the following context: a general and unknown fear triggered by the perception of an unclear vulnerability, represented by a global situation in which mechanisms are not under an individual's control, but depend on several interrelated and unpredictable forces.⁸²

Another relevant and related aspect is the pervasive presence of technology. Shifting between being a good collaborator and being a disquieting and independent force, technological innovations contribute to a sense of powerlessness and domination resulting from the speed at which they evolve and the unpredictable directions they take.⁸³ The case studies considered represent some facets of this technological change.

In the article analysis there were two types of article considered. Opinion articles were more likely to be reflective and consider deeper implications, all while giving readers the journalist's point of view. These articles often became reference points for further discussions and debates. On the other hand, there were chronicle articles. These sought to provide readers with mere 'raw' news in the form of a description of events.⁸⁴

In the next section, actors, topics, argumentative strategies, and justifications analysis provide a brief overview of the main results. After that, each

⁸² Beck identifies environmental problems and the financial crisis as clear examples of "global risk" that bypass the boundaries of the three dimension space-time-society (Beck 2002).

⁸³ Thurow 2003

⁸⁴ Nevertheless, it is an illusion to believe that it is possible to convey objective and "true" data free of journalist's interpretation of the fact described.

case study is considered in detail.⁸⁵ Finally, a general reflection summarizes tendencies and patterns of security. To better understand the code variance between the topics, please turn to Table 4 in the Appendix.

Actors. During the pretest phase, twenty-three actors were identified. Nine were institutional actors and fourteen were non-institutional actors. In addition, an actor’s origin, relations, and interactions with other actors were considered. Table 4 briefly shows the main actors’ identity. The top five actors that led the debate over 3D body scanners and CCTV cameras are quite similar, mainly politicians and journalists, and have a national or even a local origin. Most of the time these actors were so well-known by the public that they were cited by their name alone, without any reference to their position, e.g. articles referred to Maroni as “Maroni” not as “Maroni, Interior Minister”. Alternately, as the Stuxnet context was international, articles introduce actors by their position, e.g. Mahmud Liayi, “responsible for ICT at the Industry Ministry.” In the first two cases, the main actor belonged to the category designed to have voice in that specific situation, while in the third case the expert filtered the news.

Table 4: Top 5 Actors Frequency

3D Scanner	Body	No.	%	CCTV	No.	%	Stuxnet	No.	%
Politicians		29	24%	Politicians	8	24%	Experts	7	17%
Transport security Agency		24	20%	Journalists	3	9%	National Security Agency	6	15%
Journalists		16	13%	Citizens	3	9%	States	5	12%
Transport Company		7	6%	Institution	3	9%	State Institution	4	10%
States		7	6%	Municipality	2	6%	Private company	3	7%
			69%			57%			61%

Regarding the actors' origin, actors who participated in the body scanner and CCTV camera debates were from Italy, with the exception of the English advocacy groups involved in CCTV cameras' discourse. Meanwhile, in the Stuxnet debate all of the actors were from Iran, Israel, and the United States, the countries principally involved in the affair.

Topics. Except for some general codes that apply to all cases concerning security, the number of topics largely differs between cases (Table 5). Regardless, the differences between the topics illustrate the fact that these three cases exist in different contexts. Italian society is already familiar with CCTV systems and

⁸⁵ Due to its relevance to the SECONOMICS project and its higher frequency in articles sampled, the 3D Body Scanners will be analyzed in more detail than the other cases.

aware of their advantages and disadvantages. The topics considered were quite general and included the surveillance of public spaces, the purchase and installation of CCTV devices, and the resulting increase in surveillance. In addition, reports mentioned cost and privacy as disadvantages.

The 3D body scanner context was different, since the use of the device was still under debate at the time of the articles' publication. Concerns and doubts were stronger in these articles, a fact reflected in the codes analysis by terms like privacy and health, as well as terms related to security, like rules, regulations, and terrorism.

The discussion of Stuxnet was, necessarily, very limited as it is difficult for laymen to develop an opinion on such a technical matter. More than the other topics, Stuxnet was reported in chronicle articles that focused on the incident itself, reporting facts, actors involved, and the event's implications at both a national level (the reference to Iran as the attack's target is the most cited topic) and at an international level (indicated by the use of the term cyber war). The debate then quickly shifted into a general consideration about ICT security and the fear of cyber war.

Table 5: Top 5 Topics Frequency

3D Scanner	Body	No.	%	CCTV	No.	%	Stuxnet	No.	%
3D Body Scanner		93	61%	CCTV Cameras	13	33%	Attack on Iran	13	16%
Privacy		18	12%	Public domain monitoring	5	13%	Stuxnet	12	15%
Security General	in	11	7%	Purchase/Installation of CCTV cameras	5	13%	Iranian uranium enrichment program	11	13%
Security related rules/regulations		8	5%	Costs	3	8%	Cyber war	9	11%
Health issues		8	5%	Privacy	2	5%	Deployment/attack using Stuxnet	8	10%
			90%			72%			65%

Argumentative strategies. In most statements actors reported news or gave a definition of a topic being discussed. We classified these statements as definitions, i.e. definitive, and they proved to be the most common. Nevertheless, strategies used to communicate can differ. The three case studies analyzed revealed different approaches to argument.

In 3D body scanners, for example, the evaluative strategy was the most common, found in 31% of statements analyzed. Advocative statements, on the other hand, were only used 12% of the time. This was because the scanners had already been agreed upon, installed, and were ready for evaluation. In the case of CCTV cameras, actors used the advocative strategy 22% of the time, and the evaluative only 13% of the time. This was because the debate focused on the

politicians' promises to improve security systems and left little space for debate, especially as the public generally accepts cameras. When analyzing Stuxnet articles, though, the definitions appeared 83% of the time, as the articles were all chronicles. Evaluation was rarely used, only in 17% of cases, and there are no advocative statements at all.

Evaluative statements can have positive or negative judgment, as well as advocative statements. Definitive statements, on the other hand, are always neutral. Generally, the evaluations in the three topics identified were positive. But as we will see in the following sections, different actors expressed different and often opposing opinions.

Table 6: Argumentative Strategies

	3D Body Scanner		CCTV		Stuxnet	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Definitive	70	57%	21	66%	30	83%
Evaluative	38	31%	4	13%	6	17%
Advocative	15	12%	7	22%	-	-

Justification. In general, actors rarely gave clear justifications for their statements. This is especially true of politicians that limited their reasons to security in general, in contrast to journalists and experts that were keener on giving explanations and outlining the motivations for their opinions. The discussion of 3D body scanners had the highest variance in justifications (9 out of 30 statements), while CCTV cameras (4 justifications out of 5 statements) and Stuxnet (1 justification out of 2 statements) reported a lower number of justifications.

5.2. 3D body scanner

The 3D body scanner analysis considered twenty-four articles written from January 2010 to May 2011 by Italian journalists, with the exception of one article written by a German reporter. The period of time considered is quite short and corresponds to the first and the second test phases during which the devices were tried at four Italian airports. After that, the topic did not reappear in newspapers and readers have not been updated about the results of the last test. Out of twenty-four articles, the distribution between right and left-leaning newspapers is quite balanced (46% right versus 54% left), revealing differences in writing and communication styles.

During the coding phase, 167 quotations were identified (twenty of them are memos), as well as seventeen actors, seven topics, nine justifications, and five actor's origins.

Actors. Politicians, cited 24% of the time, were the most cited actors, and together with the Transport Security Agency (ENAC) and journalists, they led the discourse in 56% of the statements (the rest was shared among fourteen more

actors scarcely present). The spokesman for the politicians' category was Roberto Maroni, Interior Minister from 2008 to 2011 and author of two security decrees in 2008 and 2009. He appeared in 56% of the statements. He is also still the secretary of the right-wing Northern League party. Maroni frequently spoke in conjunction with Franco Frattini, who appeared in 22% of the statements. Frattini was the Foreign Affairs Minister from 2008 to 2011 and a representative of the right-wing People of Freedom (PdL) party, which was founded by Berlusconi in 2007. Furthermore, Ferruccio Fazio (PdL), the Health Minister from 2009 until 2011, appeared in 13% of the statements and Letizia Moratti (PdL), the mayor of Milan from 2006 until 2011, was present in 9% of the statements.⁸⁶ All politicians who took part in the debate were from right-wing parties. This political orientation inevitably affected the content and the form of the arguments themselves.

The debate about security during Berlusconi's fourth government was principally fueled by the Northern League, who scapegoated illegal immigrants for a series of minor crimes.⁸⁷ In political speeches and press releases, the Northern League also often declared that crime rates were increasing, when in fact statistical data showed the opposite.⁸⁸ They blamed immigrants for the increased sense of insecurity that frightened mostly suburban citizens. In 2010, after deciding that the state was too moderate and lacked effective security measures, the Northern League released a statement, the Decreto Maroni.⁸⁹ This called for the reinforcement of anti-illegal immigration measures, the strengthening of local authorities, i.e. more power to mayors for security related decisions and the introduction of voluntary citizens' patrols, harsher punishments for suspected sexual assault, as well as more collaboration between anti-terrorism police, border patrol, and illegal immigration police. Even if other right-wing parties in Parliament never made similar statements on security issues, they supported and always sustained these policies. Assiduous and constant preventative measures represented the guidelines for the Italian government politics from 2008 to 2011.

Politicians considered in this analysis tended to stress the urgency of the implementation of security measures, but at the same time they drew attention to the high security standard already reached⁹⁰. It was a double-sided discourse; on one side they tended to underline security matters as pivotal points on the agenda, reassuring voters. But on the other hand they stoked feelings of insecurity, guaranteeing voters' trust.

Another category of frequent statements was the Transport Security Agency, namely ENAC, the Italian authority for technical regulation, certification, and control of the air sector. They appeared in 20% of statements. ENAC

86 The fourth Berlusconi government remained in office from 2008 to 2011. All of the articles related to 3D body scanners are included in this period of time (2010-2011), so that it is possible to say that the whole debate is led by a right-leaning government, as inferable from the actors' political origin.

87 Milani 2013. Interestingly, when the economic crisis came to the fore, the critique against immigrants declined assuming economical nuances: immigrants were rivals in the stagnant job market and absorbed state resources.

88 Ministry of Interior 2012.

89 Legislative Decree 12/11/2010 No.187.

90 Redazione, 'Terrorismo: anche l'Italia dice sì ai body scanner', [Terrorism: Italy says yes to the body scanners], *Il Giornale*, January 2010.

Cadalanu, G., 'L'Italia dice sì al body scanner indispensabile per la sicurezza', [Italy says yes to the body scanner, indispensable for the security], *La Repubblica*, January 2010.

participated in the debate as a secondary actor and carried on a parallel function to politicians, supporting the 3D body scanners and managing the test phases. President Vito Riggio spoke in nine cases out of twenty-four, always advocating the use of the device. The most discussed topic in all his arguments was the cost of the devices, while politicians never addressed this issue.

Journalists were actors in sixteen statements, fourteen of which were in four opinion articles.⁹¹ Of these four articles, three of them were from *La Repubblica*, which seemed to be more willing to facilitate debate instead of only reporting facts. Body scanners' social implications, in contrast to the other two topics, were also well investigated by renowned writers, including Stefano Rodotà⁹² and Peter Schneider. They raised constitutional issues like legitimate control, security limits, and civil rights erosion. Moreover, journalists acted as opponents to politicians and ENAC. Their evaluations of the devices were mainly negative, and were strengthened by experts opinion. For the journalists, there were seven negative evaluative statements, and no positive statements. The remaining were definitive neutral statements. Experts gave a negative opinion in three of four statements.

In 6% of reports, we coded states, namely Italy, the United States, Germany, and the Netherlands, as actors. As mentioned before, Italian authorities asked for European regulation and requested common criteria. In this sense Italy acted as a pace-setter for the implementation of scanners and asked other countries to keep up with it. But the judgment of the reluctant countries was not positive. Italy complained of a lack of interest from the other countries, claiming that terrorism can be adequately tackled only through cooperation.⁹³ Quoting hesitant countries was an argument strategy which tried to reinforce the idea that the Italian government was much more careful and protective of its citizens' security and willing to adopt concrete security measures.

Besides states, other actors noted for their opposition to these measures were experts and advocacy groups. Experts, who spoke in 3% of statements, were mainly doctors and advocacy groups, who spoke in 4% of statements, were civil rights organizations. All of them shared a 100% negative opinion on health and legal reasons. Nevertheless, their opinion was only rarely mentioned, and the articles do not report on these opponents' actions, as has happened in the United Kingdom, where advocacy groups opposed governmental decisions about the use of the body scanners on minors.⁹⁴ Passengers, on the other hand, mentioned in 4% of statements, were unanimously for the body scanners. But passengers were aware that it required a trade-off. They often repeated the slogan frequently used by politicians, "better naked and alive than dead."⁹⁵ As explained later, this uncritical

91 The identification of this category is rather difficult to establish as every article is written by a journalist. But even if most of the time journalist's role is simply to report what someone else said and did, a journalist's opinion is always present. Because of this, this distinction is not as intuitive as it could seem to be, and it is a methodological bias to forget about it.

92 Italian jurist and philosopher, President of the Italian Authority for the Protection of Personal data 1997-2005 and member of the Commission of the EU Fundamental Human Rights Charter.

93 Franceschini, E., 'I primi dubbi dell'Europa', [First doubts in Europe], *La Repubblica*, January 2010.

94 *Ibidem*.

95 E.g.: Tagliaferri, P., 'Passeggeri a nudo anche nei nostri aeroporti', [Naked passengers also in our airports], *Il Giornale*, January 2010.

and superficial compliance shown by the public regarding this top-down decision raises some concerns. It seems the public perceives security as the most important goal, even if it requires some sacrifice. Interestingly, foreign passengers' opinion of the system was negative, as stated a Swiss woman transiting in Italy.⁹⁶

Only 2% of statements were given by religious organizations, but this data is highly representative of the Italian context. The Pope's opinion was covertly adverse to the body scanner, due to privacy reasons. He never referred directly to the device, but his allusion was clear; the dignity and integrity of human beings are their most valuable capital. As often happens in Italy, the Vatican's opinion about moral and ethical issues is publicly declared but in a veiled manner.

Topics. As for the other case studies, the main topic coded was the key word itself; 61% of the statements contained the term "3D body scanner," as it was obviously the most widely discussed term.

Among the topics, privacy, which appeared 12% of the time, was frequently coded. It is considered to be a trade-off which politicians and passengers are ready to make in exchange for more security. The ease with which they are willing to make this trade is probably a result of the pressure and the urgency conferred by public opinion. Privacy, which appeared 5% of the time, refers to security related rules and regulations since, as seen before, Italy had solicited the European Union for a legal framework to protect privacy rights, identified in terms of image storage, data protection and children's images.⁹⁷ Even though they referred to privacy rules, the articles never give a clear reference to specific laws. Privacy was also strongly related to health issues, another critical concern raised by the scanner detractors, which also appeared at a rate of 5%. The Health Minister Fazio addressed critiques by claiming that millimeter wave scanning devices, the type installed in airports, were used instead of X-ray devices exactly because they pose a smaller danger, as their emissions are fifty times lower than the allowed threshold.⁹⁸

Security in general appeared 7% of the time and was a highly coded topic, repeatedly use by politicians and ENAC to justify the body scanner implementation. Most of the time security was linked with terrorism, which appeared 6% of the time, against which 3D body scanners were claimed to be a very effective security measure. In any case, some scanner detractors claimed that these countermeasures will not solve the problem, since technology was not the definitive solution. Rather, they claimed that more cooperation among institutions is required to identify clear warning signs⁹⁹ (6 statements). In contrast to public opinion, Stefano Rodotà spoke against the perceived dangers of the system in La

This sentence is reported many times in the articles considered both by passengers and by politicians.

96 Vincenzi, M. E., 'Body scanner al Leonardo da Vinci I primi arriveranno a marzo', [First body scanners at Leonardo da Vinci airport in March], La Repubblica, March 2010.

97 Advocacy groups claim that this could violate anti-pedophilia rules and that minors should be exempted from scanning, but on the other side, not processing children in this procedure strongly reduces the effectiveness of the security measures which make sense only if they are applied to everyone.

98 Cillis, L., 'I primi body scanner a Fiumicino. Fazio: Non fanno male alla salute', [The first body scanner in Fiumicino. Fazio "They are not dangerous for the health"], La Repubblica, March 2010.

99 Rodotà, S., 'L'illusione tecnologica', [The Technological Illusion], La Repubblica, January 2010.

Repubblica.¹⁰⁰ According to the Italian jurist, delegating the solution to technology entails a continuous erosion of civil rights guaranteed by a democratic system. The struggle against terrorism requires first of all appropriate politics based on knowledge, rather than on last-minute security measures.

In reaction to this stimulating reflection, one journalist pointed out the lack of international common and coherent security strategy, stressing that most of the time security measures seemed to be superficial and ad hoc reactions to terrorists attacks, rather than considered and proactive measures. Before 9/11, he added, 8% of airports' budget was allocated for security purposes. Nowadays, it is 35%, and this cost is less and less manageable.¹⁰¹

Security measures and airports were strongly related to terrorism (the word is used on average 2,5 time per article), and an emblem of the threat itself. Politicians in particular used this largely known and exploited threat to motivate and to convince people of the usefulness and the necessity of the device. It is, of course, an easy and always valuable argument of persuasion. In spite of this, however, there were some negative evaluations about the effectiveness of the body scanner against terrorism, arguing that terrorists are continuously searching of new way to bypass controls, an argument supported by several cases reported by the media that show body scanner does not represent an infallible security measure.¹⁰²

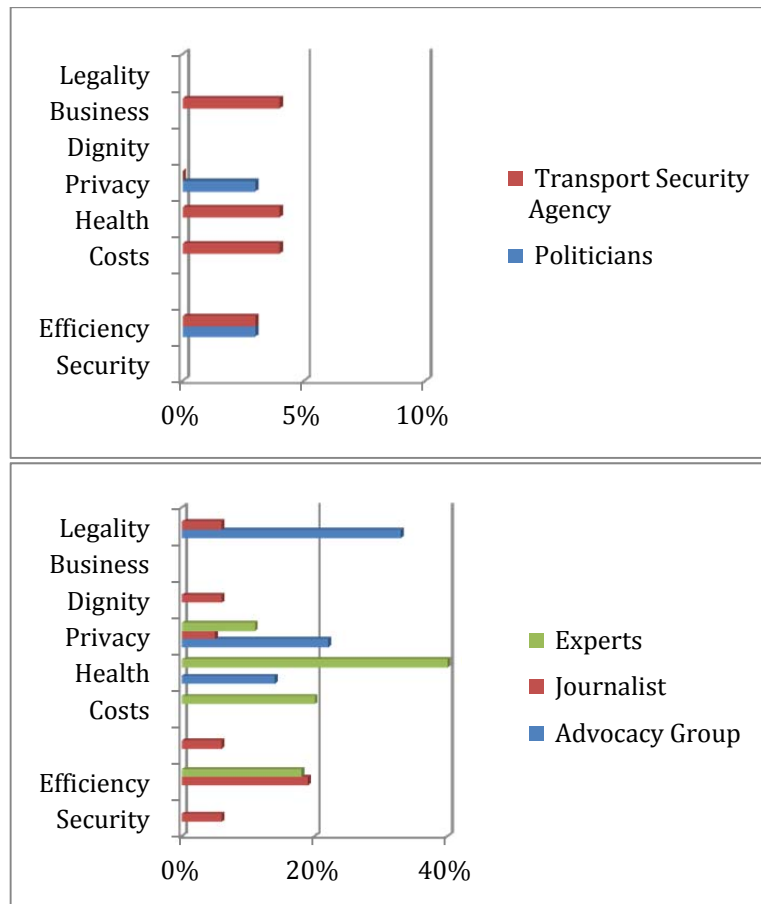
Justification. In terms of justification it is remarkable to note that politicians and ENAC did not give articulate reasons to justify their assumptions (only 6 statements contained a justification). Indeed, they limited their reasoning to general arguments and claim that the device was needed to improve efficiency (2 statements). Curiously, opponents tended to use the same topic to justify their negative positions (6 negative statements). Journalists and advocacy groups strengthened their critiques with different justifications, e.g. in terms of privacy and health issues, legality and dignity. They offered diverse proof of the device's irrelevance. For experts and journalists efficiency represented a black mark and advocacy groups insisted on the questionable legality of the device (Table 7).

Table 7: Justification

100 Ibidem.

101 Ferrara, D., 'Il rebus dei metal detector', [The mystery of the metal detector], Il Giornale, April 2011.

102 Farina, R., 'Macchè scanner, serve più lavoro di intelligence', [Not scanner, but more intelligence work*], Il Giornale, January 2010.



An interesting discussion point is related to business and costs, a two-sided topic. The purchase of body scanner was unreasonably expensive according to journalists and experts. But on the other side politicians presented it as an opportunity to help the economy recover and potentially trigger a renewal of the air transport sector.¹⁰³ Moratti, the former mayor of Milan from the right-wing party PdL, saw this initiative as a signal that Malpensa Airport in Milan still continued to invest in the future, even after the departure of Alitalia.¹⁰⁴ The body scanners' producer, the private Italian company Gilardoni, also benefited from this huge purchase, and saved 290 workers from layoffs.¹⁰⁵

Argumentative Strategies. Definitive statements prevailed and were found in 57% of argumentative strategies. But as for the other topics, the evaluative strategy was more common than in the other cases, occurring 31% of the time. Again, this is because the body scanners were under debate by the Italian public (Table 8). The advocative strategy was chosen in 12% of the statements.

Table 8: Argumentative Strategies

103 Redazione, 'Malpensa, arriva il body scanner. Maroni: "L'Europa lo adotti"', [Malpensa, the body scanner is here. Maroni: Europe should adopt it], Il Giornale, March 2010.

104 Sorbu, M., 'Malpensa, ecco il body scanner: per i controlli bastano 6 secondi', [Body scanner are here. Only 6 seconds are required for controls], Il Giornale, March 2010.

105 De Riccardis, S., 'Body scanner in Italia fra 3 mesi e 240 dipendenti salvano il posto', [Body scanner in Italy in 3 months, 240 employees will have their job saved], La Repubblica, January 2010.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	%	Total
Definitive	3	1	66	57%	70
Evaluative	19	19	-	31%	38
Advocative	15	-	-	12%	15
Total	37	20	66	100%	123

The debate seems to be quite lively, promising, and still at an initial stage. The global opinion of the body scanners was positive, with 65% having a favorable view, but there were some differences to which actors addressed their arguments. Close analysis revealed a strong opposition among the actors most involved, which form two polarized groups. On one hand, politicians and ENAC expressed quite positive judgments. On the other hand, journalists, advocacy groups, and experts strongly opposed to the installation of the device.

Table 9: Actors' opinion

	Positive		Negative	
Politicians	16	89%	2	11%
Trasport Security Agency	10	91%	1	9%
Journalists	-		7	100%
Advocacy Groups	-		4	100%
Experts	-		3	100%

Communication style. Italian communication style could seem very direct and rough when compared with other countries, and a comparison between two different politically oriented newspapers can uncover some peculiarities. Opinion articles are especially suitable for this kind of analysis, as journalists, reporting their opinions, are free to express themselves in a more congenial style. Indeed, reading through the articles, one finds more unseemly expressions in the opinion articles, which are preferred by the right-wing journalists. This confirms the tendency of the right-wing press to lapse into sensational and emotional appeals that attract a specific audience.

In particular, two semantic categories produced this aggressive and upsetting language. One is racial discrimination, which frequently identified all Muslims as radicals and terrorists.¹⁰⁶ The other is sexuality, used to describe the worst consequences of the body scanner images.¹⁰⁷ "Virtual striptease," "naked passengers," "sky's voyeurs," and other seedy allusions describing airport operators created a completely negative idea about the guarantees of the device.

Left-wing journalists tended to express their opinion with more moderate and subtle tones, avoiding strong words and exaggerated expressions. Il Giornale, moreover, frequently strengthened the message in the articles adding pictures

106 A journalist rhetorically asks "Have you ever seen a kamikaze not frequent a radical mosque?" (Farina, R., 'Macché scanner, serve più lavoro di intelligence', [Not scanner, but more intelligence work], Il Giornale, January 2010).

107 The description of a nun wearing only a crucifix was not necessary (Ibidem.).

showing Italian politicians and common citizens been scanned by the device, as a proof of the harmlessness of the machine (Il Giornale used pictures in seven articles out of eleven, while La Repubblica never did).

5.3. *CCTV cameras*

The debate about CCTV camera systems is surely less controversial than 3d body scanners as the widespread adoption of this security measure in Italy started 15 years ago and is now generally accepted by the public. For this research articles were selected which stimulated discussion, thus criminal events and incidents solved by video records analysis were not examined, as they have been judged of little importance for the purpose of this work. The articles considered reported mainly domestic news and focused on the local experience of CCTV camera systems implementation in strategic public places. The installation was mostly linked to municipalities and municipal police forces, but most of the time it was part of wider national security projects.

Only six articles were selected, four from La Repubblica and two from Il Giornale. Opinion and chronicle articles were equally represented. Forty statements were identified, as well as eleven actors, fourteen topics and four justifications.

Actors and their argumentative strategies. Given the small number of articles collected, the data was poorly representative. Political actors spoke in 24% of statements and were mostly local actors. With the exception of Maroni, the Interior Minister, the subjects strongly contextualized their intervention within the geographically limited area in which they were in charge. Unlike research on the 3D body scanners, which involved only four politicians, here the variation was higher with five actors in six articles. The politicians cited in order of relevance are; Maroni (three times), Giovanni De Nicola, Assessor of Infrastructure and Mobility in Lombardy, Milan's region (twice), Marco Minniti, Interior Minister in 2007 (once), Lucia Rea, Director of Security Politics in Naples (once), and Riccardo De Corato, Milan's Deputy Mayor (once). Moratti was cited often together with Maroni and De Corato, but does not behave as an actor. Other actors who took part in the discussion were citizens, who appeared in 9% of statements. They were namely parents that expressed their negative opinion about the initiative to install CCTV cameras in kindergartens.

Journalists speak in 9% of statements and mostly reported news and facts they witnessed and limited their intervention to definitive and neutral sentences that added no clear evaluation. Governments, namely the Province of Milan, which appeared in 9% of statements, and the Municipality of Milan, which appeared in 6% of statements, supported politicians and expressed their complete support, and also advocated for additional implementations.

The CCTV cameras debate occurred strictly within the context of urban security. As previously mentioned (see section 5.2), insecurity at a national level is particularly perceived in suburban areas. Moreover, attention is mostly paid to highly frequented areas such as transport stations, subways, and airports, and

generally at any major crossroads. All the articles considered confirmed this tendency. Cities were the place where security issues are debated daily and security measures are constantly tested. Milan, Rome, and Naples appeared most often in the articles and were mentioned in four, three, and one statement respectively. Milan had the highest number of operative devices¹⁰⁸ and mentioned as a successful example of the use of cameras. Its train station will be equipped with more cameras in an attempt to create a complete safe zone. This decision, supported by the then-mayor Moratti and the Interior Minister Maroni, was requested also because of the newly opened shopping area inside the station.¹⁰⁹ The new planned installations are expected to create a "security district"¹¹⁰ in the city. This includes other critical access points such as Malpensa and Linate airports. They justified these actions with the high number of tourists passing through the city, especially during very crowded events, such as annual exhibitions, demonstrations, and the forthcoming Expo 2015.¹¹¹ The decision to install CCTV cameras also in urban transportation was driven by mobility politics, i.e. improving the quality of the journey increases the number of passengers on buses and subways, reducing at the same moment traffic problems, a very concerning problem in Milan.¹¹²

The final and most ambitious objective was to create a complex security system where public and private resources are allocated and employed for the same tasks.¹¹³ This city plan is actually organized in many Italian cities as part of the national project called "Safe City" (Città Sicure) and supported by the Italian Forum for Urban Security.¹¹⁴

The articles cited other cities as bad examples of CCTV cameras employment. Naples, still perceived as the most dangerous city in Italy, lacked an appropriate and effective use of the installed devices due to scarce financial and management resources.¹¹⁵ Likewise, Rome is overcome by thefts and robberies, causing complaints by shop keepers that denounce the inefficiency of their municipality and so they install their own private CCTV cameras.¹¹⁶

108 In 2010 the proportion was 1 device for every 1000 citizens (Custodero, A., 'Grande Fratello, è boom e i milanesi ora sono spiati con i sistemi del Mossad', Big Brother; it is boom and now Milanese are spied with Mossad's systems], La Repubblica, April 2010).

109 This plan is actively fostered by Trenitalia, the primary passenger train operator in Italy, which in cooperation with municipalities encourages the implementation of appropriate security measures in other Italian train stations (Campo C., 'Centrale, passeggeri "scortati" Si accendono 175 telecamere', [Central Station: passengers will be escorted. 175 cameras will be turned on], Il Giornale, October 2010).

110 Ibidem.

111 Ibidem.

112 Redazione, 'Entro l'anno «l'occhio» vigilerà su 900 vetture. Si salirà sui mezzi solo dalla porta anteriore', [By the end of the year "The Eye" will monitor 700 wagons], Il Giornale, February 2012.

113 Ibidem.

114 FISU, Forum Italiano per la Sicurezza Urbana (<http://www.fisu.it>).

115 Custodero, A., 'Grande Fratello, è boom e i milanesi ora sono spiati con i sistemi del Mossad', Big Brother; it is boom and now Milanese are spied with Mossad's systems], La Repubblica, April 2010).

116 Redazione, 'Rapine e furti, incubo dei commercianti', [Robbery and thefts, the nightmare of the shop keepers], La Repubblica, November 2010.

As previously seen, in this case the prevailing argumentative strategies adopted were definitive ones, observed in 66% of cases. But compared to the other case studies, CCTV camera discussion was significantly driven by the advocative strategy, found in 22% of cases and used by politicians and institutions at a rate of 100% (Table 10). The higher occurrence of advocative sentences was justified by the fact that the installation of the devices has already gained a large acceptance among the public, so the debate does not focus so much on the evaluation but on the implementation.

Table 10: Argumentative Strategies

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	%	Total
Definitive	-	-	21	66%	21
Evaluative	2	2	-	13%	4
Advocative	7	-	-	22%	7
Total	9	2	21	100%	32

Topics and Justifications. As expected, the most used topic was CCTV cameras itself, appearing 33% of the time, followed by the purchase and/or the installation of new cameras and the monitoring of public spaces, both referenced 13% of the time. Monitoring public spaces was highly preferred to monitoring private spaces. This was probably because the allocation of resources for public interests was more convincing in the public discourse carried on by the municipality and politicians. The topic of cost was found in only one article that deals mainly with the economic aspects of the CCTV cameras, framed as a growing, even flourishing market, even during the crisis period. Numerical data about the amount of cameras in Italy was reported as well. The expenditure for the implementation of the camera system at the Milan train station was assessed at € 11.4 million for 175 devices.¹¹⁷ Privacy is mostly framed in relation to the use of the cameras in kindergartens and addressed critical aspects of the children's records storage.

Other topics were spoken of very rarely. Thus it was hard to find relationships among them, even if it was clear enough that they are related to security issues.

Ultimately, the articles left little space for justification. All that was offered was the statement that cameras improve security. In order to strengthen their argument for the implementation of the devices, politicians claimed that robberies and thefts have decreased in the last years due to the use of the cameras.¹¹⁸ Crime prevention and efficiency were also cited as positive benefits of the installation of more cameras.

117 Campo, C., 'Centrale, passeggeri "scortati" Si accendono 175 telecamere', [Central Station: passengers will be escorted. 175 cameras will be turned on], Il Giornale, October 2010.

118 Ibidem and Redazione, 'Rapine e furti, incubo dei commercianti', [Robbery and thefts, the nightmare of the shop keepers], La Repubblica, November 2010.

Regarding the CCTV cameras analysis, it is interesting to consider some reflections raised by Chiara Fonio, an Italian expert in surveillance and security. In her research¹¹⁹ she pointed out that most of the time CCTV cameras' implementation is incentivized (and often subsidized) by municipalities and institutions regardless of its effectiveness. Indeed, very often a previous feasibility study of the contextual situation in which the cameras will be applied is not carried out and therefore it is very hard to evaluate the efficiency of the cameras in crime prevention.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, the preference accorded to this security measure is still very high. This could be partially explained by the same reason used to justify the 3D body scanners, namely that it is preferable to commit security to technology measures and technical experts, ignoring the human aspects of the problem and totally relying on the supposed objectivity of the technology.

Communication style. If one limits the analysis to data, some observations could remain hidden. Indeed, memos revealed a frequent use of expressions referring only indirectly to privacy. As shown in Table 5, privacy was not a recurring concern. It accounted for only two statements. But if one reads between the lines, it is possible to realize that often the words and the expressions chosen lead the reader into a specific semantic field, namely espionage. "Big Brother"¹²¹ would be enough to give citizens the impression that they live in a society under complete surveillance, a society where freedom and intimacy are forever lost. To be spied on by "Mossad's System"¹²² does not reassure citizens at all, even if the efficacy of the system is completely assured. Moreover, the "Eye,"¹²³ cited many times, makes the passenger think he is observed all day by a giant entity that controls them from the above. Words like peruse, inspect, scan, peek, and follow were all used to place the reader in specific scenario. The interesting point is that these powerful and meaningful expressions were chosen in articles from La Repubblica. As a left-leaning journal, it stressed the loss of personal freedom and the risk of losing privacy for security. Il Giornale, on the other hand, seems to have been more focused on the initiatives (carried out by right-wing politicians) to install cameras in sensitive areas (it is likewise true that the La Repubblica articles sample is more representative).

5.4. *Stuxnet*

The analysis of Stuxnet considered eleven articles, four from Il Giornale and eleven from La Repubblica. Four articles were published only on the on-line version of La Repubblica. The on-line articles seemed to be more detailed and more technical as well. This was because the target readers were believed to have more

119 <http://ilsecolo21.it/?p=2499>

120 Some examples show that the implementation of the CCTV cameras is not always successful and the deterrence works only early on. Funziona per l'oppo più in maniera retroattiva, invece che attiva (C!VIVO 2008).

121 Pasolini, C., 'Il Grande Fratello dei bimbi boom di telecamere all' asilo', [Children's Big Brother: boom of cameras in kindergartens], April 2013.

122 Custodero, A., 'Grande Fratello, è boom e i milanesi ora sono spiati con i sistemi del Mossad', [Big Brother; it is boom and now Milanese are spied with Mossad's systems], La Repubblica, April 2010.

123 Editorial staff, 'Entro l'anno «l'occhio» vigilerà su 900 vetture', [By the end of the year "The Eye" will monitor 700 wagons], February 2012.

expertise in, and be well-informed about, informatics topics. This collection consisted of fifty-one quotations, eleven actors, nineteen topics, one justification, and four actor's origin.

In this case the differences between right-leaning and left-leaning newspapers were not so marked. Rather, a similarity in expressions and sentences was noticed. In two cases even the same words were used. This is probably because the international sources reporting on these events were very limited and quoted by many different papers, including by Italian editors who have no reporters of their own on the ground.

Looking at the content, the Stuxnet discussion functioned on through three interrelated levels. The first level treated Stuxnet as a news event and reports on the incident itself as a chronicled fact, detailing what happened, where, who were the subjects involved, and what the consequences were. The second level placed the event in a wider and international scenario, contextualizing the incident in a specific framework. From the very beginning it was clear that the real news was not the incident itself, but the sabotage attempting to damage and hinder the Iranian nuclear program. In the articles analyzed, Stuxnet was clearly defined as an military instrument and the deployment of the virus was meant as an attack, although given their ambiguous features, cyber-attacks were still not considered a traditional form of attack. Indeed, the very nature of cyber weapons makes them difficult to control and identify origin.¹²⁴

The third level revealed by the Stuxnet analysis was much more opaque to readers, as it dealt with the daily and often hidden reliance on services provided and supported by technology. Bank accounts, health information, internet communication, business, smart grids, and critical infrastructure services all depend to a great degree on an efficient and trustworthy technology system. These activities generate a significant amount of personal data¹²⁵ that need to be protected against every kind of attack. The presence of technology is more and more pervasive and has come to supply many common needs. According to the Clusit Report¹²⁶ only 2% of Italians were aware of cyber risks and have enough knowledge to protect their cyber data. Symantec estimates that Italians were robbed of more than € 6,7 billion a year (€ 600 million in direct costs).¹²⁷ Such a population is an easy mark for scams and fraud. The Stuxnet incident recalled the attention of public opinion to problems that originate in the cyber world and the risks that citizens take every day in their daily activities.

Actors and their argumentative strategies. Experts, namely experts from western countries as clarified before, appeared in 17% of statements and were the most frequently coded actors. This was because they were entitled to be the most suitable actor to report on the technical issues related to Stuxnet. The topic itself indeed required expertise and specific competencies not possessed by the average

124 Interesting considerations about this unclear status of cyber-war and cyber-combatant are addressed by IEEE Security&Privacy, Sept/Oct 2011, Vol.9, No.5, Los Alamitos, CA, USA.

125 "The average person has 36GB of data stored by institutions—equivalent to 80 hours of video or 1 million pages of text.*" (Booz & Co., 2008)

126 Clusit, 2012.

127 <http://it.norton.com/cybercrimereport/promo>

Italian reader, who could encounter some difficulties in understanding with her/his own knowledge of what happened. The technical notions about the development of the worm, its functioning, and damage it caused at the nuclear plant were hence explained in an easy and thorough language. Experts also played a relevant role because they revealed that huge amounts of resources and high-level competences had been allocated for the development of Stuxnet, hence the suspicion that a state was the real instigator.¹²⁸ Private companies, namely Microsoft and Symantec, which appeared in 7% of statements, were also named as experts interested in understanding more about the Stuxnet development. They confirmed the experts' opinion about the worm's origins.

Other relevant actors were Iranian national security officials, found in 15% of statements. These were mainly the Iranian national Informatics Department that, together with the nuclear plant's informatics staff, admit to being attacked by Stuxnet and stated that a recovery plan was operational. States, found in 12% of statements, were identified as Iran (3 statements), Israel and U.S. (in two statements out of 3 they are coded in cooperation). The U.S. National Security Agency intervened only once in cooperation with Israeli Intelligence in the development phase of the worm.

Interestingly, media was mentioned as actors as well, contributing to the diffusion of the news and revealing the U.S. role in the development of the virus. The American press, specifically the New York Times,¹²⁹ lifted the veil of secrecy after 18 months of investigation and interviews with American, European and Israeli sources involved in the program, confirming the existence of Operation Olympic Games, an operation secretly ordered by George Bush and later firmly supported by Barak Obama.¹³⁰ Dealing with conspiracy and sabotage, it is not amazing that the act of disclosure had a huge value, mostly in terms of the consequences that this can have on global events.

Statements that had a definitive and neutral value were seen 82% of the time, as they described the incident without providing judgments. Evaluative argumentative strategy was used in only six statements and it was always positive. This evaluation was expressed by Iranian security officials and other Iranian state institutions that sought to minimize the damage. According to them the incident did not slow the operational systems working at the nuclear plant thanks to the successful introduction of an anti-virus. In two statements they claimed that the attack had no consequences on the national nuclear program. Whether true or false, this declaration played a strategic role as a response to the attack. Experts expressed positive evaluations, confirming the results of their investigation about the virus's origins.

Every actor involved in the discussion expressed the same firm belief about the virus's origins.

128 Redazione, 'Iran: siamo sotto l'attacco del supervirus Stuxnet', [Iran: we are attacked by the supervirus Stuxnet], *La Repubblica*, September 2010; Redazione, 'Iran pronto alla guerra «cibernetica»: «Ci hanno attaccato con un supervirus»', [Iran is ready for cyberwar "we have been attacked by a cybervirus"], *Il Giornale*, September 2010.

129 http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/01/world/middleeast/obama-ordered-wave-of-cyberattacks-against-iran.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

130 Toniutti, T., 'Stuxnet, Israele e Usa dietro al virus', [Stuxnet: Israele and Usa behind the virus], *La Repubblica*, June 2012.

Table 11: Argumentative Strategies

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	%	Total
Definitive	-	-	28	82%	28
Evaluative	6	-	-	18%	6
Advocative	-	-	-		-
Total	6	-	28	100%	34

Topics and Justifications. In contrast to body scanners and CCTV cameras, in this case topics were specific and highly representative of the three communicative level previously identified. The phrases “Attack on Iran” and “Stuxnet” represented the main news event and occurred 16% and 15% of the time, respectively. The phrase “Deployment/attack using Stuxnet,” found 10% of the time, alluded to the conspiracy element. Finally, the term “Cyber war,” found 11% of the time, contextualized the incident within a broader conflict.

The incident itself began in 2009 but was only revealed in 2010. Furthermore, it was not an isolated event, but a part of a series of mysterious explosions aimed at damaging the Iranian nuclear facilities supposed to conceal uranium enrichment systems. These planned attacks were linked to the assault on the British embassy in Tehran and the closure of the United Kingdom and Norway's Tehran embassies in 2011.¹³¹ According to Micalessin,¹³² “War is on, but it is invisible” and it is composed of several, often seemingly unrelated, criminal actions (explosions, sabotage, and targeted murders), mostly performed by U.S. and Israeli intelligence aimed at interrupting Iranian nuclear development.¹³³ The silent war is carried on by spies deployed around the world from the CIA, Mossad, and Mois, all of which exchange information and contacts.¹³⁴ The plan for the destruction of the Iranian nuclear sites seems to be intertwined with the so called “decapitation program,” plotted by Mossad to get rid of Iranian scientists involved in the nuclear research.¹³⁵

In 2012 the disclosure of Flame, a new and even more powerful worm, recalled the attention of the media to the cyber war between Iran and the coalition of the U.S. and Israel. Flame was intended to steal information from

131 On this occasion the then-Italian Minister of Foreign Offices, Giulio Terzi, announced the closure of the Italian embassy as well.

132 Micalessin, G., ‘Iran, programma nucleare, Israele è già in guerra’, [Iran: nuclear program. Israel is already in war], *Il Giornale*, December 2011.

133 Vannuccini, V., ‘Teheran, ucciso uno scienziato atomico’, [Teheran: atomic scientist killed], *La Repubblica*, November 2010.

134 *Ibidem*.

135 Micalessin, G., ‘Iran, programma nucleare, Israele è già in guerra’, [Iran: nuclear program. Israel is already in war], *Il Giornale*, December 2011.

infected machines and therefore could be used for industrial espionage activities. According to Kaspersky, the Russian anti-virus company, Flame seemed to belong to a new phase of the cyber war in which the more developed countries are more vulnerable and more at risk.¹³⁶

The discourse around Stuxnet led to a wider reflection on the pervasive presence of technological devices in daily life and the articles focused on the scanty security measures employed for personal data protection. ICT was more and more exposed to cyber attacks. The danger posed by a large scale virus such as Stuxnet, or Flame reveals the need to identify the threats posed by cyber weapons and the resulting need for states to support protection measures with suitable policies.¹³⁷

Regarding justifications, no codes were identified, even if a recurring assumption was related to the preemptive strike. The U.S. Administration allowed and funded the development of the virus to prevent an Israeli military attack on Iranian nuclear facilities.

Communication style. Reading closely, one could identify many expressions used to place the reader in a familiar semantic field. These expressions included attack, launch, target hit, cyber war, soldiers, spies, and task force to refer to a military jargon that makes this war not so different from a traditional one in which there are attackers and victims, coalitions, strategies, and military programs. The articles then used terms such as industrial espionage, international conspiracy, and “the Stuxnet Affair” to frame this topic within a specific scenario.

5.5. *General tendencies*

The overall analysis revealed a similarity between the discourse about the 3D body scanners and CCTV cameras and not Stuxnet. For reasons explained above it was easier to find common tendencies between these two topics.

Firstly, actors involved in the first two debates were quite similar in their occupations (politicians, institutions, journalists and experts) and their importance in the debate. Relevant data showed a general conflict between politicians and journalists. On the one hand, politicians tended to frame security issues in terms of threat and criticality. They stressed the necessity of countermeasures and urged their prompt use. Journalists, on the other hand, were more inclined to muffle this power by providing readers with a deeper interpretation on the facts. This reflection had value mostly in the judicial domain, i.e. legality and civil rights, as well as in democratic and constitutional aspects, which are frequently investigated by journalists. Politicians, however, never addressed these issues in their arguments. Rather, the contribution politicians give to this topic was rather superficial and generic.

136 Redazione, “Flame”, allarme super-virus. una minaccia senza precedenti’, [“Flame”, super-virus alarm, an unheard-of threat], La Repubblica, May 2012.

137 Martani, S., ‘Smart grid, reti idriche e trasporti i prossimi obiettivi’, [Smart grid, hydro network and transportation are the next objectives], La Repubblica, July 2012.

In addition to politicians and journalists, the analysis revealed that experts played a relevant role as well. Especially in the case of Stuxnet, they were some of the most important voices due to the subject's technical nature. As will be illustrated later, this topic strongly affected the trade-off between security and freedom.

In terms of justifications, the analysis revealed a worrisome lack of explanations, mainly by politicians, while journalists and experts provided several reasons to support their positions. One could see this trend across all topics and could be a result of a precise concealing strategy intended to avoid, or at least to dampen, the public debate by providing only shallow and mostly repetitive information. The research also showed a frequent use of slogans in their communication. Politicians tended to express their stances using set phrases and simple mottos.

Argumentative strategies varied considerably between the three cases considered. Depending on the actual context, news was presented with different and suitable communication strategies. Statements related to body scanners were mostly evaluations, while the debate around CCTV cameras was carried on through politicians' advocacy of the installation of new devices. Stuxnet then, given its specific features previously identified, was introduced to readers through definitions.

A general overview on the three topics media involvement revealed scarce editorial coverage of the topics considered. The arguments were debated quite superficially, especially in relation to some events, but generally they tended to remain in the shadow. This poor attention stands in contrast to the more and more pervading attention to security related issues usually covered by the media.¹³⁸ Generally, it is possible to assert that the quality of the articles was rather low. Most of the time the communication style was not refined or specific but quite shallow and generic.

Moreover, the short period considered and the concentration of the articles within a few months' time did not permit an understanding of if and how perception and acceptance of these issues had changed over the time. One may also note that there were no updates regarding the topics. Readers were not informed about the test evaluation results on the body scanner, nor about the real implementation of the security system at the train station in Milan. One develops the sense that the news is used to fill one column in the newspaper, to say something sensational and gain readers, but the consequences that the events entail is not considered at all. In this way communication lost one of its functions, the extremely important capability of creating discussion and debate.¹³⁹

138 OES 2012.

A personal guess, still lacking of proof, is that security related matters are frequently recalled to public opinion eyes but they are faced in a totally inadequate and improper way. The attention is focused on the fact in itself (e.g.: wife horribly murdered) and no analysis is done on the deeper reasons that have caused such criminal event (e.g.: male culture). Rather media tend to stress irrelevant details (e.g.: unfaithful wife) that should not be considered as justification. In this way the fact is never interpreted or framed as a problem generated by socio-economic aspects (e.g.: lack of legal instruments to indict a violent husband) but it is considered as accidental (e.g.: "he lost his mind!").

139 NcNair 2011.

Moreover, the content analysis highlighted some wider considerations coming from the themes identified in the research.

The articles analysis revealed a clear opposition to technological security solutions. Supporters considered technology to be an efficient asset and a valuable instrument of control. Meanwhile, opponents criticized its omnipresence and advocated greater oversight. According to supporters, technology is an infallible and neutral solution. But in fact its use tended to mystify and obscure reality, as it provided only the final results and did not consider the ethical implications that the use of the technology entailed. In 1531 Niccolò Machiavelli, the well-known Florentine politician, philosopher and humanist, claimed that the ends justify the means,¹⁴⁰ and the Italian debate around security measures follows this principle. In many articles the dilemma of security versus freedom was solved with a calm resignation stating that privacy could smoothly be put aside for security reason. Technology, it seems, requires sacrifices and subordinates human needs to its own specific technical needs. This is particularly true of the scanner case, where fundamental civil rights were cast aside in the name of security. But this technological supremacy at the same time hides the relevance of the human factor in security strategies. As stated many times in the articles, cooperation among institutions, rather than a pervasive use of technology, would be required in order to comprehend and prevent dangerous social dynamics. Terrorism, for example, should be considered a social problem, requiring social solutions.

The research also showed how Italians conceive of security. Most of the time the discussion about security issues was led by the urgency of the moment and every measure was thought to be the optimal solution to make threats disappear in the most efficient way. Presented as a response to this urgency, security measures were accepted without a second thought. Costs to provide security underwent the same process. They were always considered a necessary and reasonable price to pay.

Finally, language expressions were also employed to strengthen the message. The selection and use of semantic fields in which the topics were situated were suitable containers that shaped and informed the reception of the core message, amplifying the meanings and the related implications. Symbolic communication then played a relevant role, constructing a network of associations in people's mind. The Northern League's language was particularly interesting in this consideration, as it adopted an aggressive style that was vulgar, male, and hostile. With regards to this, Milani¹⁴¹ writes that physical violence is usually generated as a consequence of verbal violence.

¹⁴⁰ “Il fine giustifica i mezzi” (Machiavelli N., 1513).

¹⁴¹ Milani 2013

6. Conclusions

The analysis conducted on the articles selected reveals that:

- The national debate around security issues in 2010-2013 was mainly driven by proponents of the Northern League party, a right-wing political faction in office during the period considered. The articles give no voice to representatives from the left side of the Italian Parliament. The extremely weak and almost non-existent reaction of the left to the violent narrative of the Northern League allowed for the creation and the strengthening of a narrative centered on the issues of security and immigration as it concerned crime.
- Given the supremacy of the Northern League in the debate, themes related to security have echoed through the media since. As highlighted in the Introduction, the political party in charge has great power over the broadcast media. This situation is particularly true in the Italian case where the two major TV networks are closely controlled by the right-wing parties.¹⁴² The articles' content reveals the tendency of Italian media to be politicians' watchdogs, supporting their ideas and spreading their world view. As shown in the debate over the 3D body scanners and CCTV cameras, even if opponents of the implementation of the devices are present in the debate, the voices of actors that support the measures come to dominate. Opponents come to play a sort of secondary role and counter-weight to politicians prevailing voices. This reflection is confirmed also by the partition of titles' evaluation. 60% of articles considered have a positive message in the title, while 40% have a negative statement. Nevertheless, the feeling is that in a global discourse their voice is weaker and less perceived by public opinion.
- The general opinion about the implementation of security measures considered is positive. These security measures are perceived as optimal solutions in terms of efficacy and costs, while health and privacy problems are easily solved. Opponents' stances are grounded on exactly on the same points, but they are supported to a greater depth, citing references, international experiences, and scientific data.
- Risk is mainly perceived in urban contexts and public places. Furthermore, it is attributed to terrorism and criminal actions. Citizens' risk assessments are largely affected by the political discourses and by the frequency with which these discourses are cited. Security related themes dominate in the debate and privacy is perceived as a price to pay to improve security.
- Technology is perceived as a suitable instrument for providing security, as it ensures complete protection and is presented to citizens as the most reliable option. The weaknesses shown in some circumstances by technology (e.g. the first test phase for body scanners failed due to low alarm detection) represent a motivation to improve the device in itself, rather than reflecting on the reliability of the technology itself. On the other side,

¹⁴² Rai is governmental network, so it meets political forces in charge and Mediaset is owned by Berlusconi's family.

critics focus on negative aspects of technology, advocating parallel implementation of the human-centered measures in the security protection strategies. In spite of this, media claim technology is the key element for the implementation of security.

- Security is a preeminent topic in the political discourse and it plays a very relevant role in the political agenda. In the cases considered, security related issues were critical in the establishment of the far right-wing Northern League as political actor. The Demos-Unipolis 2008 study¹⁴³ claims that the 2008 electoral campaign, after the fall of the left-leaning government, mainly focused on security themes that were important to voters. The political vision of security is that of an urgent and undeniable problem, and the Northern League is the emblem of this emergency-politics as it exploits citizens' emotions. Quick and visible decisions are more useful to politicians than social politics that are silent, slower and harder to present in political programs.

In conclusion, the report outlines a well-defined national scenario where media plays a relevant role in shaping perceptions of security, raising the level of risk according to a specific political framework based on a generic fear of the Other. A high perception of risk leads to a high acceptance of security measures, firmly thought to be technological solutions.

Nevertheless, a minor argument introduces the reader to some interesting and opposing reflections that we support.

Renouncing privacy and intimacy in favor of security is a clear contradiction that paves the way for further violations that may not yet be clear. The legality and ethical implications of security measures should be taken in consideration by decision makers and stated as *conditio sine qua non* security measures are applied. These instruments are not only technical instruments, but socio-technical tools as well, as they have social consequences which we should always consider. More complex solutions should be researched in order to both defend privacy *and* pursue security.

Rodotà perceives these technical solutions a threat to democracy, since they disregard limits imposed by the democratic system itself. He claims that it is quite senseless to attempt to defend democratic values through totalitarian measures (Rodotà 2005). The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights refers to Dignity in the first title, and the Centre for Sciences, Society and Citizenship recalls that, "The aim of security is to safeguard the human person in his or her physical, mental and social integrity. Respect for human dignity, body integrity and privacy (both physical and informational) are thus essential components of any security policy."¹⁴⁴ Security should never forget about safety.

143 <http://www.demos.it/a00186.php>

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8. Appendix

Table 1: Italian Media Owners. Source: <http://www.quattrogatti.info/>

	Fininvest	RAI	New s Corporation	Gruppo Espresso	RCS	Gruppo 24 Ore	Caltagirone	Monrif	Telecom Italia Media
TV	Reti Mediaset	Reti RAI	Sky Italia	Repubblica TV, DeeJay TV	La7, Mtv
Newspapers	.	.	.	La Repubblica, local newspapers	Corriere della Sera, Gazzetta dello Sport, local newspapers	Il Sole 24 Ore	Il Messaggero, Il Mattino, Leggo	Il Resto del Carlino, La Nazione, Il Giorno	.
Radio	Radio R101	Rai Radio 1,2,3	.	Radio deeJay, M20, Radio Capital	Radio 105, RCM, Virgin Radio	Radio 24	.	.	.
Print House	Mondadori, Einaudi	.	.	.	Rizzoli, Bompiani

Table 2: Articles selected

	Topic	Title in Italian	Title in English	Source	Date of Publication
1.	3DBS	Ma il body scanner non ci salverà	Body scanner won't save us	La Repubblica	Jan 2010
2.	3DBS	Ma i nuovi strumenti costano troppo li avranno solo Fiumicino e Malpensa	New body scanners are too expensive: only Fiumicino and Malpensa will adopt it	La Repubblica	Jan 2010

3.	3DBS	L' Italia dice sì al body scanner Indispensabile per la sicurezza	Italy says yes to body scanner, indispensable for security	La Repubblica	Jan 2010
4.	3DBS	I primi dubbi dell' Europa Violano le norme antipedofilia	First doubts in Europe: body scanners violate pedophilia regulation	La Repubblica	Jan 2010
5.	3DBS	Body scanner in Italia fra 3 mesi e 240 dipendenti salvano il posto	Body Scanner in Italy in 3 months, 240 employees will have their job saved	La Repubblica	Jan 2010
6.	3DBS	Body scanner al Leonardo da Vinci I primi arriveranno a marzo	First body scanners at Leonardo da Vinci airport in March	La Repubblica	Jan 2010
7.	3DBS	Terrorismo, anche l'Italia dice sì ai body scanner	Terrorism, Italy says yes to Body Scanners	Il Giornale	Jan 2010
8.	3DBS	Macché scanner, serve più lavoro di intelligence	Not scanner, but more intelligence work	Il Giornale	Jan 2010
9.	3DBS	Passeggeri a nudo anche nei nostri aeroporti	Naked passengers also in our airports	Il Giornale	Jan 2010
10.	3DBS	"Body scanner in tre aeroporti entro aprile"	Body scanner in airport by April	Il Giornale	Jan 2010
11.	3DBS	Fiumicino, arriva il body scanner: privacy tutelata	Fiumicino, body scanner: privacy is protected	La Repubblica	Feb 2010
12.	3DBS	IL Papa contro i Body Scanner	Pope against body scanner	La Repubblica	Feb 2010
13.	3DBS	«Arrivano i body scanner Ma non saranno ai raggi X»	Body scanners are here. But they won't use X-ray	Il Giornale	Feb 2010
14.	3DBS	Il Papa sulla sicurezza negli aeroporti: "Si rispetti la dignità della persona"	The Pope about security in airport "Respect person's dignity"	Il Giornale	Feb 2010
15.	3DBS	Malpensa, arriva il body scanner. Maroni: "L'Europa lo adotti"	Malpensa, body scanner is here. Maroni: "Europe should adopt it"	Il Giornale	March 2010
16.	3DBS	I primi body scanner a Fiumicino. Fazio: Non fanno male alla salute	The first body scanner in Fiumicino. Fazio "Not dangerous for the health"	La Repubblica	March 2010
17.	3DBS	Body scanner, il primo a Fiumicino	Body scanner, the first one in Fiumicino	Il Giornale	March 2010
18.	3DBS	Malpensa, ecco il body scanner: per i controlli bastano 6 secondi	Body scanner are here. Only 6 seconds are required for controls	Il Giornale	March 2010
19.	3DBS	Maroni sul terrorismo: "Metteremo body scanner	Maroni about terrorism: "we will put body	Il Giornale	June 2010

		anche in scali ferroviari"	scanners also in railroad stations"		
20.	3DBS	Attenti ai guardoni dei cieli	Be careful to sky's voyeurs	La Repubblica	July 2010
21.	3DBS	Debutta a Punta Raisi il body scanner sicuro	Body scanner debuts in Punta Raisi	La Repubblica	July 2010
22.	3DBS	Da venerdì a Malpensa tornano i body scanner	From Friday on in Malpensa body scanners will be introduced again	La Repubblica	July 2010
23.	3DBS	Il rebus dei metal detector	The mystery of the metal detector	Il Giornale	April 2011
24.	3DBS	L'illusione tecnologica	The technological illusion	La Repubblica	Jan 2010
25.	CCTV	Le videocamere intelligenti per la sicurezza nelle città italiane	Smart cameras for security in the Italian cities	La Repubblica	March 2010
26.	CCTV	Grande Fratello, è boom e i milanesi ora sono spiati con i sistemi del Mossad	Big Brother; it is boom and now Milanese are spied with Mossad's systems	La Repubblica	April 2010
27.	CCTV	Rapine e furti, incubo dei commercianti	Robbery and thefts, the nightmare of the shop keepers	La Repubblica	Nov 2010
28.	CCTV	Centrale, passeggeri "scortati" Si accendono 175 telecamere	Central Station: passengers will be escorted. 175 cameras will be turned on	Il Giornale	Oct 2010
29.	CCTV	Entro l'anno «l'occhio» vigilerà su 900 vetture Si salirà sui mezzi solo dalla porta anteriore	By the end of the year "The Eye" will monitor 700 wagons	Il Giornale	Feb 2012
30.	CCTV	Il Grande Fratello dei bimbi boom di telecamere all'asilo	Children's Big Brother: boom of cameras in kindergartens	La Repubblica	April 2013
31.	STUXNET	Iran: siamo sotto l'attacco del supervirus Stuxnet	Iran: we are attacked by the supervirus Stuxnet	La Repubblica	Sep 2010
32.	STUXNET	Teheran, ucciso uno scienziato atomico	Teheran: atomic scientist killed	La Repubblica	Nov 2010
33.	STUXNET	La blogosfera e la sicurezza della Rete	The blogosphere and the network security	La Repubblica	Dec 2010
34.	STUXNET	Iran pronto alla guerra «cibernetica»: «Ci hanno attaccato con un supervirus»	Iran is ready for cyber war "we have been attacked by a cyber-virus"	Il Giornale	Sept 2010

35.	STUXNET	Il virus anti atomica iraniana testato in una centrale d' Israele	Anti iranian-atomic virus tested in an Israeli central	La Repubblica	Jan 2011
36.	STUXNET	Iran, programma nucleare Israele è già in guerra	Iran: nuclear program. Israel is already in war	Il Giornale	Dec 2011
37.	STUXNET	"Flame", allarme super-virus. una minaccia senza precedenti	"Flame", super-virus alarm, an unheard-of threat	La Repubblica	May 2012
38.	STUXNET	Stuxnet, Israele e Usa dietro al virus. "Creato da noi, ci è sfuggito di mano"	Stuxnet: Israele and Usa behind the virus	La Repubblica	June 2012
39.	STUXNET	Smart grid, reti idriche e trasporti i prossimi obiettivi	Smart grid, hydro network and transportation are the next objectives	La Repubblica	July 2012
40.	STUXNET	Obama alla guerra dei virus: attacchi hacker contro Teheran	Obama and the virus war: hacker attacks against Teheran	Il Giornale	June 2012
41.	STUXNET	Trentamila spie iraniane ai quattro angoli del mondo	30.000 Iranian spies in the world	Il Giornale	Jan 2013

Table 3: codes scheme

3D Body Scanner

- Actors | 1.1. Institutions | 1.1.1. State institutions | 1.1.1.1. President | 1.1.1.2. national security agency| 1.1.1.3. Politicians | 1.1.1.4. Municipality | 1.1.1.5. Transport Company | 1.1.1.6. City council | 1.1.1.7. Police | 1.1.1.8. Transport Security Agency | 1.1.2. Non-state institutions | 1.1.2.1. Private company | 1.1.2.1.1 Transportation Company | 1.1.2.2. Religious Organization| 1.1.2.3. Advocacy Group/civil society | 1.2. Individuals | 1.2.1. Journalist | 1.2.2. Terrorists | 1.2.3. Passengers | 1.2.4. Experts| 1.2.5. Activists| 1.2.6. Others | 1.2.3.1. Scanners | 1.2.3.2. Counterterrorism System | 1.3. States
- Topic | 2.1. Security General | 2.2. Security related rules and regulations | 2.3. Freedom | 2.4. Privacy | 2.5. Terrorism | 2.6. Government-led antiterrorism campaign | 2.6.1. Olympic games | 2.6.2. Stuxnet | 2.6.3. Flame | 2.7. Health issues | 2.8. Body Scanner | 2.8.1. Increase number of body scanners
- Argumentative strategies | 3.1. definitive| 3.2. evaluative| 3.3. advocative |
- Direction of argument | 4. 1. Positive| 4.2. negative | 4.3. neutral |

- Justification | 5.1. Security | 5.2. Efficiency | 5.2.1. Quality of service | 5.3. Freedom/Liberty | 5.4. Costs | 5.5. Health | 5.6. Privacy | 5.7. Dignity | 5.8. Business | 5.9. Legality
- Interaction | 6.1. Cooperation | 6.2. Confrontation |
- Actors' origin | 7.1. national | 7.1.1. USA | 7.1.2. UK | 7.1.3. Germany | 7.1.4. Italy | 7.1.5. Turkey | 7.1.6. Spain | 7.1.7. Poland | 7.1.8. Czech Republic | 7.1.9. Slovakia | 7.1.10. Mexico | 7.1.11. other | 7.2. international | 7.2.1. EU | 7.3. supranational | 7.4. actor is mentioned generally |
- Political orientation of a paper | 8.1. Left-leaning | 8.2. Right-leaning |
- Country code | 9.1. USA | 9.2. UK | 9.3. Germany | 9.4. Italy | 9.5. Turkey | 9.6. Spain | 9.7. Poland | 9.8. Czech Republic | 9.9. Slovakia | 9.10. Mexico | 9.11. blogs |

CCTV Cameras

- Actors | 1.1. Institutions | 1.1.1. State institutions | 1.1.1.1. President | 1.1.1.2. government security agency | 1.1.1.3. Politicians | 1.1.1.4. Municipality | 1.1.1.5. Transport Company | 1.1.1.6. City council | 1.1.1.7. Police | 1.1.2. Non-state institutions | 1.1.2.1. Private company | 1.1.2.1.1. Transportation Company | 1.1.2.2. Religious Organization | 1.1.2.3. Advocacy Group/Civil society | 1.2. Individuals | 1.2.1. Journalist | 1.2.2. Terrorists | 1.2.3. Citizen/Passenger | 1.2.4. Experts | 1.2.5. Activists | 1.2.6. Others | 1.2.3.1. CCTV Cameras | 1.2.3.2. Counterterrorism System |
- Topic | 2.1. Security General | 2.1.1. National security | 2.1.2. Crime Prevention | 2.1.3. Crime detection | 2.1.4. Crime solution | 2.1.5. Public domain monitoring | 2.1.6. Private domain monitoring | 2.2. Security related rules and regulations | 2.3. Freedom | 2.3.1. Personal freedom | 2.3.2. Freedom of movement | 2.3.3. Surveillance Increase | 2.3.4. Surveillance Decrease | 2.3.5. Surveillance | 2.4. Privacy | 2.4.1. Personal data protection | 2.5. Terrorism | 2.6. Government-led antiterrorism campaign | 2.7. Indect Project | 2.8. Costs | 2.8.1. Funding | 2.9. Power | 2.9.1. centralization of power | 2.10. Cameras CCTV | 2.10.1. Purchase/Installation of CCTV cameras | 2.11. Counter terrorist system | 2.12. Counter terrorism exercise | 2.13. Protest
- Argumentative strategies | 3.1. definitive | 3.2. evaluative | 3.3. advocative |
- Direction of argument | 4. 1. Positive | 4.2. negative | 4.3. neutral |
- Justification | 5.1. Security | 5.1.1. National Security | 5.1.2. Crime Prevention | 5.1.3. Crime detection | 5.1.4. Crime solution | 5.1.4. Personal domain monitoring | 5.2. Efficiency | 5.2.1. Quality of service | 5.3. Freedom/Liberty | 5.4. Costs | 5.5. Transparency | 5.6. Right to Privacy | 5.7. Trust | 5.8. Safety

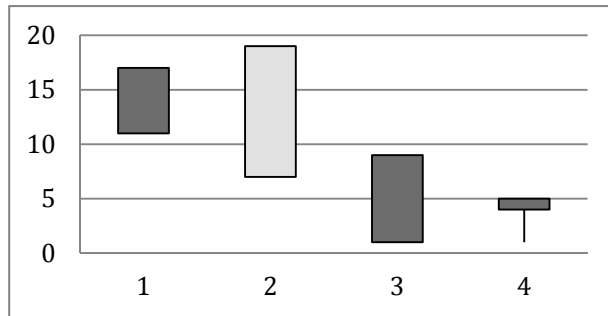
- Interaction | 6.1. Cooperation | 6.2. Confrontation |
- Actors' origin | 7.1. national | 7.1.1. USA | 7.1.2. UK | 7.1.3. Germany | 7.1.4. Italy | 7.1.5. Turkey | 7.1.6. Spain | 7.1.7. Poland | 7.1.8. Czech Republic | 7.1.9. Slovakia | 7.1.10. Mexico | 7.1.11. other | 7.2. international | 7.2.1. EU | 7.3. supranational | 7.4. actor is mentioned generally |
- Political orientation of a paper | 8.1. Left-leaning | 8.2. Right-leaning |
- Country code | 9.1. USA | 9.2. UK | 9.3. Germany | 9.4. Italy | 9.5. Turkey | 9.6. Spain | 9.7. Poland | 9.8. Czech Republic | 9.9. Slovakia | 9.10. Mexico | 9.11. blogs |

Stuxnet

- Actors | 1.1. Institutions | 1.1.1. State institutions | 1.1.1.1. President | 1.1.1.2. National Security Agency | 1.1.1.3. Israel secret service | 1.1.2. Non-state institutions | 1.1.2.1. Private company | 1.2. Individuals | 1.2.1. Journalist | 1.2.2. Terrorists | 1.2.3. Experts | 1.2.4. Activists | 1.2.5. Others | 1.3. Virus/Malware/Worm | 1.3.1. Stuxnet | 1.3.2. Flame | 1.4. Other | 1.4.1. State(s) | 1.4.2. media | 1.4.3. other groups |
- Topic | 2.1. Security General | 2.2. Security related rules and regulations | 2.3. Freedom | 2.4. Privacy | 2.5. Terrorism | 2.6. Government-led antiterrorism campaign | 2.6.1. Olympic games | 2.6.2. Stuxnet | 2.6.3. Flame | 2.7. Cyber war | 2.8. Communication | 2.9. Attack | 2.9.1. Attack on Iran | 2.9.2. Attack on China | 2.9.3. Attack on other state | 2.9.4. Attack on a company | 2.10. Development of Stuxnet | 2.10.1. Development of Stuxnet by a state | 2.10.2. Deployment/attack using Stuxnet | 2.11. State accused of attack | 2.11.1. USA | 2.11.2. Israel | 2.12. Iranian uranium enrichment programme | 2.13. Counter-Attack | 2.14. Legality
- Argumentative strategies | 3.1. definitive | 3.2. evaluative | 3.3. advocative |
- Direction of argument | 4. 1. Positive | 4.2. negative | 4.3. neutral |
- Justification | 5.1. Security | 5.1.1. Defense | 5.1.2. Preemptive strike | 5.2. Efficiency | 5.3. Freedom/Liberty | 5.4. Costs | 5.5. Privacy | 5.6. Experimentation | 5.7. Expert opinion | 5.8. Legality |
- Interaction | 6.1. Cooperation | 6.2. Confrontation |
- Actors' origin | 7.1. national | 7.1.1. Iran | 7.1.2. Israel | 7.1.3. USA | 7.1.4. China | 7.1.5. North Korea | 7.1.6. South Korea | 7.1.7. Russia | 7.1.8. Palestina | 7.1.9. Syria | 7.1. 10. Indonesia | 7.1.11. United Kingdom | 7.1.12. other | 7.2. international | 7.3. supranational | 7.4. actor is mentioned generally |
- Political orientation of a paper | 8.1. Left-leaning | 8.2. Right-leaning |

- Country code | 9.1. USA | 9.2. UK | 9.3. Germany | 9.4. Italy | 9.5. Turkey | 9.6. Spain | 9.7. Poland | 9.8. Czech Republic | 9.9. Slovakia | 9.10. Mexico | 9.11. blogs |

Table 4: Codes variance among topics



	3dbs	Cctv	Stuxnet	Average
1. Actors	17	11	11	13
2. Topics	7	14	19	13,3
3. Justifications	9	4	1	4,6
4. Actor's origin	5	1	4	3,3