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"I'll Be Watching You"

COMMUNICATING SECURITY AND PRIVACY ISSUES IN THE MEXICAN PRESS

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In this discussion paper series, the Prague *SECONIMICS* 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

"It is not acceptable to treat passengers as terrorists until they prove themselves innocent."
Giovanni Bisignani, president of International Air Transport Association (IATA, 2010).

Today's world is full of security measures. After 9/11 and the advent of the "war on terror," security measures in public areas have increased sharply. These measures do of course make future attacks less likely, but is the price we pay in lost privacy too high? German sociologist Ulrich Beck speaks of modern society as a "risk society" (Beck, 1992). We live in a world where the nature of risk is very different from the past. We now face the threats that are products of our own achievements - technology and globalization. These achievements may now turn against us as nuclear threats, environmental crisis, or terrorist attacks that can happen in any place and any time. And it is again technology that gives us a hand and offers to give us the feeling of security by installing security measures wherever we are. But is this the right way to go?

We assume that much of the public opinion about the security issues is influenced by media. How media grasp these topics and communicate it to the public is very important for establishing the topics at the national level. We can then compare different countries and see if there are any national differences or common points in terms of communicating the selected topics to the public.

This report provides an analysis of security and privacy issues in Mexico as one of the countries selected for the comparative analysis under the SECONOMICS project. It offers insights into the tension between privacy and security issues in Mexico through media. The case study draws samples from two Mexican newspapers with a large circulation. One, *La Jornada,* leans left while *Reforma* leans right. We will explain how the two newspapers were chosen later in the text.

This national report is a contribution to a larger project which compares several selected countries. A "Graduate School in Comparative Qualitative Analysis" was organized in Prague in May 2013 to set up the standards of the national reports and help to improve intercoder reliability between the authors of the national reports.

To focus the scope of the research, the project focuses on three particular topics: CCTV cameras, the Stuxnet virus, and 3D body scanners. These have been selected as representative issues that demonstrate the tension between security and privacy. In other words, they demonstrate how much privacy people will trade for a sense of security.

These topics were also chosen because of the on-going debates about security and privacy in the media. CCTV cameras in public transport or on the streets are now a reality of our everyday life. They are supposed to protect us against crime, but they come at the cost of some privacy. The same could also be said of 3D body scanners at airports. They see everything, but do we want them to? There are voices calling for respecting people's dignity in airport controls. The Stuxnet case, on the other hand, can be seen as a tension between security and privacy on the level of countries or companies. It is an attack that violates one state's sovereignty for other state's security and does it not by declaring war, but by leaving a flash memory stick with a virus on a table. How do the media inform us about these issues? Are they balanced? Are they giving us as many different points of view as possible? Or do they follow only one line of

argument?

This report analyses the case of Mexico. It is a country half of the size of the European Union by land area, divided into 31 districts plus the capital. Mexico is a very heterogeneous country. The divisions between urban and rural, rich and poor, or north and south, are very stark (Garza 2000). As a result, it is not easy to make any simple claims about the country as a whole. The two media outlets that we selected for analysis, though, do have a national scope and perspective, and they are two of the biggest newspapers in the country. So, while remaining mindful of the divided national context, they can be seen as the newspapers with a significant impact at the national level. By following the project's criteria and choosing one paper each from the right (*Reforma*) and left (*La Jornada*), we can also shed light on the differences between differing political perspectives as well.

The structure of the report is as follows: first is an overview of the media landscape (Section 2). It outlines the approach to what the role of media in Mexico is, as well as the characteristics of the two selected newspapers. We then take a look at methodology (Section 3), where we discuss the samples selected from the complete articles found in the two newspapers, the coding scheme used in the analysis, and the key words we chose for finding the articles in the newspapers. After that is a brief introduction to the context of the country, specifically in regards to our topic (Section 4). The next chapter is the analytical part itself (Section 5), consisting of the descriptive analysis, which provides the results of coding in the program, Atlas.ti, an analysis of general tendencies, and a summary where we conclude the previous findings. The report ends with a conclusion (Section 6). It is supplemented with a table of articles selected for the analysis and tables of occurrence of the articles in the different years and in the sample.

The aim of this report is to show how our three topics are understood by the Mexican press and presented to their readers. We hope to identify the main actors, topics, and arguments of the statements in the articles and how the arguments have been justified. This will help us clarify the position of Mexico in regards to these issues and the tension between security and privacy.

2 Media landscape

Because of its large number of radio stations, printed newspapers and television networks, Mexico is considered to be the media centre of Spanish-speaking Latin America. However, most printed media does not have a national scope. Each of the 31 states and the federal district has its own printed newspapers and modified versions of the national newspapers. The newspapers of greatest circulation are sensational tabloids. In Mexico they are called *la prensa roja* (the red press). *La prensa roja* generally focuses on assassinations, kidnappings, and drug crimes. The sport papers are also very popular. The sensational *La Prensa* is considered the most popular newspaper in Mexico City. But of the more respectable papers we can name the right-wing *El Financiero* and *Reforma*, the left-wing *La Jornada*, or critical weekly *El Proceso*. The general tendency of the Mexican press is to settle in the middle of the political spectrum or to the right. From left-oriented media of national coverage, the best example is *La Jornada*.

The 1917 Constitution of the United States of Mexico formally guarantees freedom of the press. Despite that, the media was under strong political pressure of the governing Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)[1] for most of the 20th century (Orme, 1997). However, since the 1980s, after a societal shift led to strong public protests against cases of electoral fraud, there has been greater tolerance of criticism in the media towards government policies. But the majority of the mainstream media is still far from objective. After the 2012 elections, when the PRI presidential candidate, Enrique Peña Nieto, won against the opposition candidate, huge protests took place in the streets of Mexico City. The protesters accused the PRI of repressing dissident voices in the media (Crumpacker, 2013). The main target of the protesters was the biggest and the most influential television company in Mexico, *Televisa*, which protesters accused of tricking people into voting for the PRI candidate (Hernández Navarro, 2012). According to the protesters, *Televisa* supported the status quo by denying air time to opposition voices (Dzodan, 2012).

Another issue Mexican media has to face is the security situation in the country. According to Reporters without Borders, Mexico is one of the world's most dangerous countries for journalists. One report states, "They are threatened and murdered by organized crime or corrupt officials with impunity. The resulting climate of fear leads to self-censorship and undermines freedom of information" (Reporters without borders, 2013).

These examples show us that mainstream Mexican media cannot be seen as independent and objective. After the protests in the 1980´s and the PRI's loss of the presidency in 2000, the situation seemed moving towards a better future. But the incidents over the past few years have showed the true nature of the mainstream media in Mexico once more. We can see today that a large part of the mainstream media, with *Televisa* at the forefront, is aligned with the PRI, supporting its policies and limiting the voice of opposing perspectives. However, it must be said that critical voices are being heard and the media landscape is much more diversified than it was before the 1980s, when the PRI was at the height of its power. As of yet, only *Televisa* has been openly

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[1]Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI). It is a centrist party, founded in 1929. It was dominating party for most of the 20th century.

accused in protests of supporting the PRI. But when we take a look at the printed media, we can see a whole spectrum from the official government newspaper *El National* to the left-wing independent and critical *La Jornada* and *El Proceso*.

The majority of Mexican printed media is owned by domestic businessmen. The most important owner is *Organizacion editorial Mexicana* (Mexican Editorial Organization, OEM), whose director is Mario Vázquez Raña, a Mexican businessman and sports administrator. OEM is one of the biggest media companies in Latin America. In Mexico it owns more than sixty newspapers, mostly of regional distribution. Of the national newspapers owned by OEM we can name *La Prensa*, *El Sol de México* and the sports daily *Ovaciones (OEM, 2013)*. The daily *Reforma* and *Metro* are parts of a large newspaper consortium *Grupo Reforma,* which is owned by the Junco de la Vega family (Reforma, 2013). But this family is dominated by Alejandro Junco de la Vega, a professional journalist and publisher. *La Jornada* was founded by Carlos Payán Velver who was also its director at the beginning (La Jornada en línea, 2013). Later he passed the directorship to Carmen Lira Saade, but he has stayed in the newspaper's leadership with various associates. Carlos Payán Velver is an example of a politician-journalist. He led a newspaper while he was a senator for the "Party of the Democratic Revolution" (Partido de la Revolución Democrática, PRD).[2] Juan Francisco Ealy Ortiz is the owner of one of the oldest newspapers, *El Universal,* and has been since its founding more than forty years ago (Directorio El Universal, 2013). He is called one of the last media barons in Mexico. Apart from *El Universal,* he operates various news outlets in Texas. In addition he made an alliance with Mexican multimillionaire Carlos Slim, one of the richest men in the world, creating more news outlets in three Mexican states (Peralta and Martínez, 2013). The daily *Unomásuno* was bought in 2002 by Naim Lieben Kaui, a businessman who also owns *Diario Amanecer de México*, *Diario Atardecer de México* and *El Demócrata de México* (Unomásuno, 2013). The daily *El financiero* was recently bought by Comtelsat, a Mexican telecommunications company owned by Manuel Arroyo Rodríguez (El Financiero, 2013).

Of the television companies, *Televisa Group* (Grupo Televisa) is one of the most influential as mentioned above. *Televisa Group* is the largest mass-media company in Spanish-speaking world. The biggest share belongs to Mexican businessman Emilio Azcárraga Jean, who took it over after his father died (Televisa, 2013).

2.1 Analysed media

In this analysis, the National Register of Printed Media (El Padrón Nacional de Medios Impresos, 2013) was used to obtain the circulation data of the biggest printed newspapers. It is an institution established by the Interior Ministry of the Mexican government. The National Register of Printed Media, though, does not guarantee the accuracy of these numbers. Each company that signs into The National Register certifies the circulation of its newspapers independently and so the reliability of the data can be questioned. However, The National Register of Printed Media appears to be the only complete source of circulation data of daily newspapers in Mexico, so we decided to

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[2]Party of the Democratic Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Democrática, PRD) is left-oriented party, founded in 1989.

stick with the numbers they provide, even if they do so only for a current year.

The latest data published by The National Register is from the year 2012 and the summary of the circulation of the ten biggest printed Mexican newspapers is to be found in the following table (Table 1).

Table 1: Daily circulation of the ten biggest newspapers in Mexico in 2012.

No.	Name in English	Name in domestic language	Daily circulation rate
1	The Press	La Prensa	250,023
2	Metro	Metro	195,102
3	Ovations	Ovaciones	156,173
4	Reform	Reforma	146,309
5	The Universal Graphic	El Universal Gráfico	138,291
6	Publimetro	Publimetro	129,349
7	The Daily	La Jornada	107,666
8	One plus one	Unomásuno	106,182
9	Record	Récord	105,339
10	The Financial	El Financiero	91,923

Source: El Padrón nacional de medios impresos (http://pnmi.segob.gob.mx/).

For the analysis it was necessary to choose one daily newspaper from each side of the political spectrum, while being of the highest relevance at the same time. According to these criteria we chose *Reforma* as a representation of right-wing media and *La Jornada* to represent left-wing media.

2.2 Reforma

Reforma, officially called *Reforma, Corazón de México* (Reforma, Heart of Mexico) is published by Grupo Reforma, the largest printed media company in Latin America. Alejandro Junco de la Vega and Rodolfo Junco Jr. created this news group in 1922, but Grupo Reforma didn't establish the newspaper *Reforma* until 1993. *Reforma* is a national daily newspaper based in Mexico City. The average daily circulation is 150,000 copies.

The newspaper was named after the Mexico City avenue which is named La Reforma after the 19th century series of liberal reforms. It is a paper which leans right. It contains weekly translations of stories of local interest from the U.S. newspapers *The*

New York Times and *The Wall Street Journal,* because *Reforma* has a strategic alliance with them (Reforma, 2013).

2.3 La Jornada

La Jornada is one of Mexico's leading daily newspapers of national circulation. It was founded in 1984 by Carlos Payán Velver, who remains the principal shareholder today. The director of *La Jornada* is Carmen Lira Saade. The daily circulation rate is approximately 110,000 copies. The online version of the newspaper was opened in 1998 and, according to *La Jornada,* receives 180,000 views daily (La Jornada en línea, 2013). The website is hosted by the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and it has a free access to all its contents including the archive.

La Jornada is oriented to the left. It was formed by a group of critical journalists with the intent to support civil society, build a national historical consensus, and publish criticism of the neoliberal technocracy (Saade, 2013). The American political critic Noam Chomsky describes *La Jornada* as "maybe the only real independent newspaper in the hemisphere" (FORA TV, 2009). It is often characterized by its critique of the federal government. In international affairs it is critical of the US government and its allies, and of transnational enterprises and oligarchy. It pays special attention to environmental, indigenous, and gender issues, as well as to civil society, redistribution of wealth, and states' obligations to ensure the public health (Saade, 2013).

3 Methodology

After a brief methodological introduction this chapter will explain how the data for the analysis was selected. A frequency table with the numbers of articles found in total for the three topics is included, as is with another showing the numbers of articles selected for the analysis. There is also a brief discussion about selection of relevant articles for the topics based on country specifications. Finally, it gives an explanation of key words used in this media search.

3.1 Qualitative analysis

The method used in this paper is qualitative textual analysis. After creating the national reports for all of the selected countries, the research will go further by applying a comparative qualitative analysis (see Rihoux, 2009). The essential unit for the analysis is a "statement." A statement is a part of a text (an article in this case). It can be a sentence or a whole paragraph. The criterion for designation of a statement is that it holds an "idea." The statement must make sense for those who read it without the rest of the article. For the purpose of this study we selected only the statements that included the subjects of our study. Therefore, they had to include a reference to CCTV cameras, 3D body scanners, or Stuxnet. After identifying our statements, the coding can begin (see Section 3.3.). When we get a battery of codes connected to the statements we can start with the descriptive analysis and then continue with the analysis of general tendencies which will explain the results of the descriptive analysis through the optic of the national context.

3.2 The sample

The search was performed within the archives of the two selected media for the period from January 1, 2010 to April 30, 2013. In searching for the articles of left leaning newspaper *La Jornada*, the online archive with complete free access was used. For the right-leaning newspaper *Reforma,* it was necessary to pay a monthly fee for the online archive. The next step was to go through all of the articles by key words and select those whose subject was one of our three topics, rather than just referencing one of the topics as an aside.

This task proved difficult, though, when finding CCTV articles. There was not a clear line between the articles suited for the analysis and others. Our aim was to obtain the articles that dealt with the safety versus privacy dilemma. But the majority of CCTV articles were not value-loaded, merely informative. Specifically, they provided information about a specific crime recorded by a camera system or mentioned cameras only tangentially. Also, Mexican newspapers wrote about the possibilities of having a camera system at home or in the neighbourhood. These cases were excluded from the analysis, because private monitoring was not the subject of the study. The reason is that someone who decides to have private monitoring on his or her property, regardless of whether it is connected to the city monitoring system or not, is the one who decides to be and accepts being monitored. Public monitoring, on the other hand, occurs without permission of the individual and usually without people even noticing it.

The second case that surfaced and was included in the analysis was the increasing monitoring in schools. The main justification for the increase of monitoring in school

areas was an incident that happened in 2010 on a university campus in Monterrey. There two students were killed in a gunfight. Since then schools have called for more security, leading to the greater use of CCTV, as well as other measures (Zapata, 2010). Because schools are public and the students may not agree with the security measures or be fully aware of them, we decided to include this case in our analysis.

The third topic that appeared in the articles was the monitoring of Mexican citizens near the US border by drones. This case could be considered appropriate for analysis in this study because of the extended public debate developing around it concerning Mexican citizens' right to privacy. However, the issue was excluded due to its exceptional character in the Mexican case. Since the topic was meant to be most of all about CCTV cameras in public transport, we dubbed this case to be too different.

Regarding the two other topics (3D body scanners and Stuxnet) there was no significant confusion in choosing which articles suit the criteria and which does not. The presence of the key words meant that the article concerned the issue.

The project gave us the key words for the three topics. For CCTV cameras the key words were, "CCTV cameras" and "CCTV camera system." For Stuxnet the key word was, "Stuxnet." The third topic's key words were, "3D body scanner" and "body scanner."

The key words were then translated into Spanish. An extended number of key words were used for the search, to make sure no important articles were missed. The key words for CCTV cameras were, "cámaras CCTV," "cámaras de circuito cerrado," "cámaras de vigilancia," and "cámaras de seguridad." For Stuxnet the Spanish key word was "Stuxnet" as well. For 3D body scanners I used the key words, "3D escáner," "escáner corporal," and "escáner AND aeropuerto."

Table 2 shows the total numbers of articles found using the key words in the period from January 1, 2010 to April 30, 2013. The articles are divided by topic, year and by newspaper. The total number of articles was 170.

Table 2: All articles on the three topics, divided by year and newspaper.

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
LA JORNADA (left-wing newspaper)	3D body scanner	6	0	0	0	6
	Stuxnet	4	3	9	0	16
	cctv	9	12	15	7	43
REFORMA (right-wing newspaper)	3D body scanner	7	0	1	0	8
	Stuxnet	16	12	14	1	43
	Cctv	8	17	20	9	54
Total		50	44	59	17	170

Table 3 shows the numbers of articles selected for the analysis by a matrix that filtered the final number of coded articles to 41. Articles are also divided by topic, year and newspaper.

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
LA JORNADA (left-wing newspaper)	3D body scanner	2	0	0	0	2
	stuxnet	1	1	2	0	4
	cctv	2	3	4	1	10
REFORMA (right-wing newspaper)	3D body scanner	3	0	0	0	3
	stuxnet	4	3	3	1	11
	cctv	2	2	5	2	11
Total		14	9	14	4	41

3.3 Coding

After getting the final number of articles on each topic, year and newspaper, the identifying of the statements and coding of each article could begin. Coding is the essential part of the qualitative analysis. It is a very good tool for organizing the data and for identifying the general tendencies in the texts.

We employed the program Atlas.ti. It is a piece of software for qualitative data analysis which simplifies the researcher´s work and makes it suitable for the further analysis. However it doesn't do the analysis itself. The most work remains in the coder´s hands, choosing which statement to include and how to code it (see Konopásek, 2008). To get as good and comparable results as possible, conference was organized in Prague in May 2013 which devoted much time to explaining the purpose of this research, it´s character, and the strategy of selecting the statements and coding. There were several articles coded by all participants during the conference to increase the intercoder reliability which will be essential for the further comparative study.

Each of the three topics was coded according to a distinctive coding scheme. The coding schemes were designed in advance and were modified several times during the Graduate School in Comparative qualitative Analysis in Prague until they met its purposes as much as possible. The coding schemes are the same for each analysed country. They will be a basic tool for the comparative qualitative analysis following the country reports.

The main categories among others used in the coding schemes are:

1. Actors
   - The "Actor" is the answer to the question "Who?" This category tells us who is speaking about the topic.
2. Topic
   - The "Topic" is the answer to the question, "What?" It tells us what the actor is speaking about in the article.
3. Argumentative strategies
   - "Argumentative strategies" are the answer to the question, "How?" It codes the way in which the actor communicates the topic. Argumentative strategies are the same for all the three topics and can

be either "definitive," i.e. defining something, "evaluative," i.e. evaluating something, or "advocative," i.e. advocating for one thing or another.

4. Direction of argument
   - The "Direction of argument" tells us whether the actor speaks about the topic in a "positive," "neutral," or "negative" way. This code is also equal for all the three topics.

5. Justifications
   - "Justifications" is a category that answers the question, "Why?" It explains the reasoning behind an actor's statement.

4 Context

This chapter will provide some contextual information about Mexico, which can be useful for the reader to make a clearer picture of the situation in the country before the analysis begins. The chapter consists of two sections: 4.1 Drug war and 4.2 Politics.

4.1 Drug war

Mexico is often mentioned in global media because of the drug war. The drug war is also one of the strongest forces contributing to the sense of insecurity in the country, both among Mexican citizens and visiting foreigners (see Manaut, 2012). The drug war and resulting violence in the country can have a significant impact on how the media present two of our topics, CCTV cameras and 3D body scanners, and also on how they are perceived by people.

The drug war is the name given to the multifaceted conflict amongst drug cartels and Mexican government forces. It started officially in 2006 when the former president Felipe Calderón announced a new push against organized crime. The principal goal was to end drug related violence. The US took part in the conflict by sending advanced surveillance equipment and drones, and by providing training for Mexican police (Matsangou, 2013). Yet the war goes on without much progress and the violence has not abated but increased. Since 2006 it has claimed an estimated 40,000 and 70,000 victims (ibid.)

To understand the situation we have to consider the context. Mexico is mainly a transit country. While drugs are also produced there, but the main reason why the conflict has escalated in Mexican territory is that it is important for the cartels to have a control over the land on which drugs are being trafficked from South America to the US.

This conflict is between the state forces and the cartels, as well as among the cartels themselves. They fight for power and for control of territory. But the situation is further complicated by omnipresent corruption. Many municipal, state, and federal officials and the police protect the cartels and even work with them, creating a so-called "Narcoeconomy." In this economy it is not just the cartels that profit from the drug trafficking, but many others as well (Watt and Zepeda, 2012).

The security situation in the country has influenced all aspects of life. Human rights are affected by the increasing power of military over the citizens as a result of the drug control policies in Mexico. The impact on journalism is also an important issue as mentioned in the Section 2. Several dozen journalists have been murdered and the cartels often use brutal methods to threaten them.

This state of security in the country must have some significant effect on the perception of risk by the citizens and media and their acceptance of security measures. We will have a chance to see that in the case of CCTV cameras media use the security situation as a justification for installing cameras in most cases (see Section 5.1.2.).

4.2 Political situation

Mexico has a presidential democratic system whose legislature is based on a congressional system. The president is the head of the state and of the government. The constitution of the United Mexican States came into force in 1917. The dominant parties are the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the Party of the Democratic Revolution

(PRD) and the National Action Party (PAN).[3] For almost all of the 20th century the PRI (at first named National Mexican Party – PNM) maintained a hegemony in Mexico. It ruled without interruption for 72 years, ending in 2000 when the elections were won by the PAN. The PRI was accused many times of fraud during elections, but it managed to maintain its power until the year 2000 when Vicente Fox, a representative of the PAN, won the election. But even after a president with a different ideology won the elections, the PRI still had an extensive influence in political realm of Mexico (Crumpacker, 2013).

In 2006 Felipe Calderón from the PAN won the presidency. But the results of the election were very close and the second-place candidate, Manuel Lopez Obrador (PRD), contested the results. Felipe Calderón supported the controversial drug war supported by the US. It has been the central theme of his presidential agenda since he came to power in 2006. At the time he decided to fight against drug trafficking with the army (Palma, 2010). The change in the governmental strategy towards the drug trafficking shook up the distribution of power among the cartels and they started to compete against each other even harder than before. As a result the violence increased as the cartels fought for control over territory that were weakened by the government. During this period Mexico was focusing on arresting heads of the cartels in order to topple its structure. Unfortunately, the well-established cartels always replaced the old bosses with new ones and persisted.

Calderón´s new strategy of army intervention soon opened a public debate. Academic circles spoke about the ungovernability of the country and about a "failed state." They also argued that the country was being taken over by organized crime and that the state´s monopoly of violence had been compromised as it was incapable of providing security for its citizens. But others argued that the state was not failed and that it did not operate on true "narcopolitics" because the cartels did not stand directly behind various politicians and parties, as in some other countries (ibid.). Ultimately, Calderón´s policies failed to reduce violence in the country. On the contrary, violence increased during this period.

In 2009 the PRI regained control of the Mexican Congress. After the 2012 elections the PRI completed its return to power. With another narrow result, Enrique Peña Nieto (PRI) won the presidential elections. The second-place candidate, Manuel Lopez Obrador, protested the results once more. He demanded a full recount because, he claimed, there were widespread irregularities (BBC, 5.7.2012). There were huge post-electoral protests. The protests were started by students and were called *el movimiento Yo Soy 132* (the "I am 132 movement"). The protests were oriented mainly at the supposedly biased coverage of the electoral campaign by the media. The protesters accused the PRI of repressing dissenting viewpoints in the media and in protests (Crumpacker, 2013). The name *Yo soy 132* comes from the events that happened in the debate with students at Ibero-American University during the presidential campaign. Many of the students expressed their opposition to PRI's Enrique Peña Nieto. The main question revolved around the incident that took place in Atenco in 2006, when Peña Nieto was a governor of the State of Mexico. Back then he sent the state police to a peaceful demonstration and two protesters were killed. When asked about this incident by the IBERO students, Peña Nieto defended his decision to use force. Students then started to scream "Murderer!" and the motto: "Atenco is not forgotten" (Zapata, 4.6.2012.). After the student debates, the prominent media and PRI politicians said that the students were not real students, but people inserted into the debate by other political parties. In response 131 students who were present at the debate made a

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[3]National Action Party (Partido Acción Nacional, PAN) is right oriented party, founded in 1939.

YouTube video where they showed their student IDs. People then started to express solidarity with the students by proclaiming "I'm the 132nd student."

President Enrique Peña Nieto came to office with a new strategy to combat organized crime. It is based on reversing the policy of his predecessor. Peña Nieto wants to focus on protecting civilians and suppressing violence, instead of targeting on high ranking criminals. The ultimate goal is to address the economic and social issues which encourage drug trafficking in the first place (Matsangou, 2013). The new strategy seems promising, but it is still too soon to make judgments. After all, the post electoral protests warn us to temper any exaggerated expectations.

5 Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the coding. It is divided into 4 sections: 5.1. Descriptive analysis, 5.2. Analysis of general tendencies, 5.3. Influence of domestic and international context and 5.4. Summary and Synthesis.

5.1 Descriptive Analysis

In the descriptive analysis, the goal is to show the results of the coding of the selected articles. Coding and analysis was done with the program Atlas.ti. The chapter is divided into three sections according to the topics we have selected to analyze. The three topics are Stuxnet, CCTV cameras, and 3D body scanners. Each section includes a descriptive analysis of actors, topics, and argumentative strategies, noting the direction of argument as positive or negative. It also notes the justifications found in the coded articles.

5.1.1 Stuxnet

In the case of Stuxnet there is a total of 59 articles in the selected period for both newspapers. For the analysis a sample of 15 articles is applied. There was a large difference in the total number of articles found in each newspaper. *Reforma* published 43 articles about Stuxnet between 2010 and 2013. Meanwhile, *La Jornada* published only 16 articles in this same period. Despite this fact, we can recognize some general tendencies in both newspapers. The reader can identify the main actors, topics, argumentative strategies, and justifications coded in the articles about Stuxnet in this section.

5.1.1.1 Actors

The section "Actors" shows us who the actors were in the statements selected from the articles. In other words, it means who made the statements or who was substantive in the statements. For the articles about Stuxnet, there are 95 codes for the topic "actors" in total. The actors are divided by newspapers as seen in Figure 1. We can take a look at the differences between the two newspapers here as well as on the most important actors.

Figure 1: All actors coded in the articles about Stuxnet in the right-wing media (a) and left-wing media (b), based on Table 4.
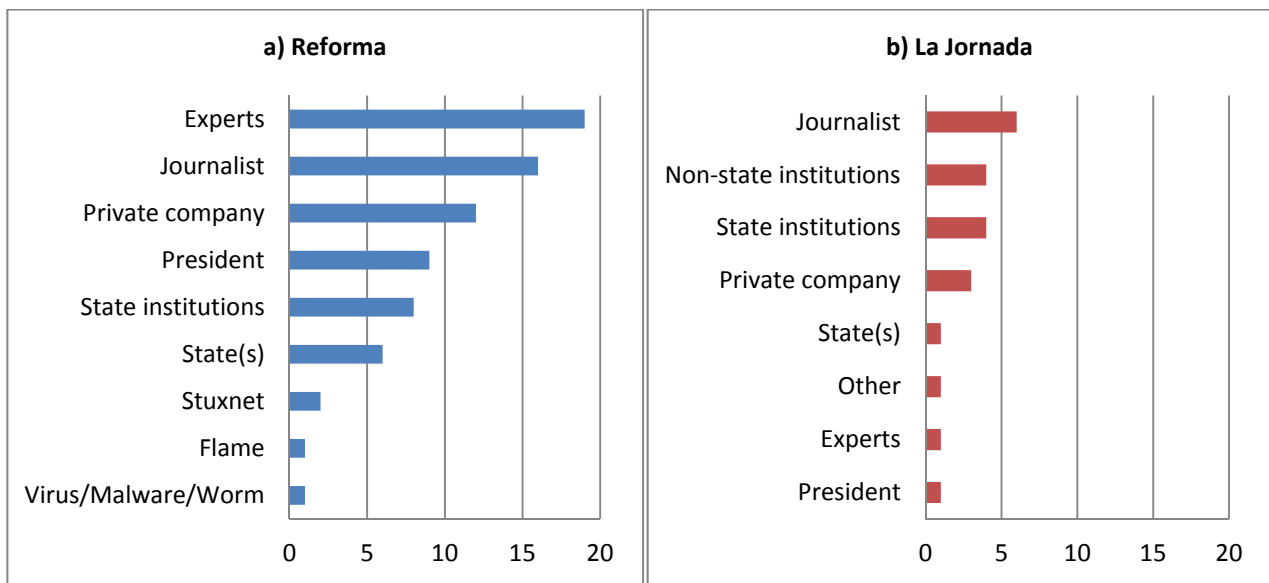

a) Reforma

Actor	Value
Experts	19
Journalist	16
Private company	12
President	9
State institutions	8
State(s)	6
Stuxnet	2
Flame	1
Virus/Malware/Worm	1

b) La Jornada

Actor	Value
Journalist	6
Non-state institutions	4
State institutions	4
Private company	3
State(s)	1
Other	1
Experts	1
President	1

Table 4: All actors coded in the articles about Stuxnet separated by newspaper.

	Reforma	La Jornada	Total
State institutions	8	4	12
President	9	1	10
Non-state institutions	0	4	4
Private company	12	3	15
Journalist	16	6	22
Experts	19	1	20
Virus/Malware/Worm	1	0	1
Stuxnet	2	0	2
Flame	1	0	1
Other	0	1	1
State(s)	6	1	7
Total	74	21	95

Table 4 in the last column illustrates the main actors coded in both newspapers together. These are: "Journalist," "Experts," and "Private company." If we take a look at the newspapers separately, we can see a big difference in the "Experts" code between the right-wing newspaper *Reforma* (case a in Figure 1) and the left-wing *La Jornada* (case b). *Reforma* has "Experts" in the first place; it means that experts were given the most space in the debates about Stuxnet as actors in the statements. On the other hand, in the left-wing newspaper experts were not important actors at all.

Reforma's most important actors are "Experts," followed by "Journalist" and "Private company." Another important actor here is also "President."

La Jornada places similar importance on "Journalist" as an actor in the

statements. It is the most important actor for the left-wing newspaper. Compared with *Reforma*, there is a significant importance for "Non-state institutions" as an actor in *La Jornada*. *Reforma* doesn't have any non-state institution as an actor. The third most important actor in *La Jornada* is "State institutions."

We can see that *Reforma* gives more space in the debate over Stuxnet to individuals (experts) and private companies. Meanwhile *La Jornada* gives more space to institutions (both state and non-state).

But one can also find important insights by looking for absence of certain actors in the articles. For example the codes "Terrorist" or "Israel secret service" were not found in any of the selected articles.

Figure 2: The most frequent actors in the articles about Stuxnet, divided by years (based on Table 5).
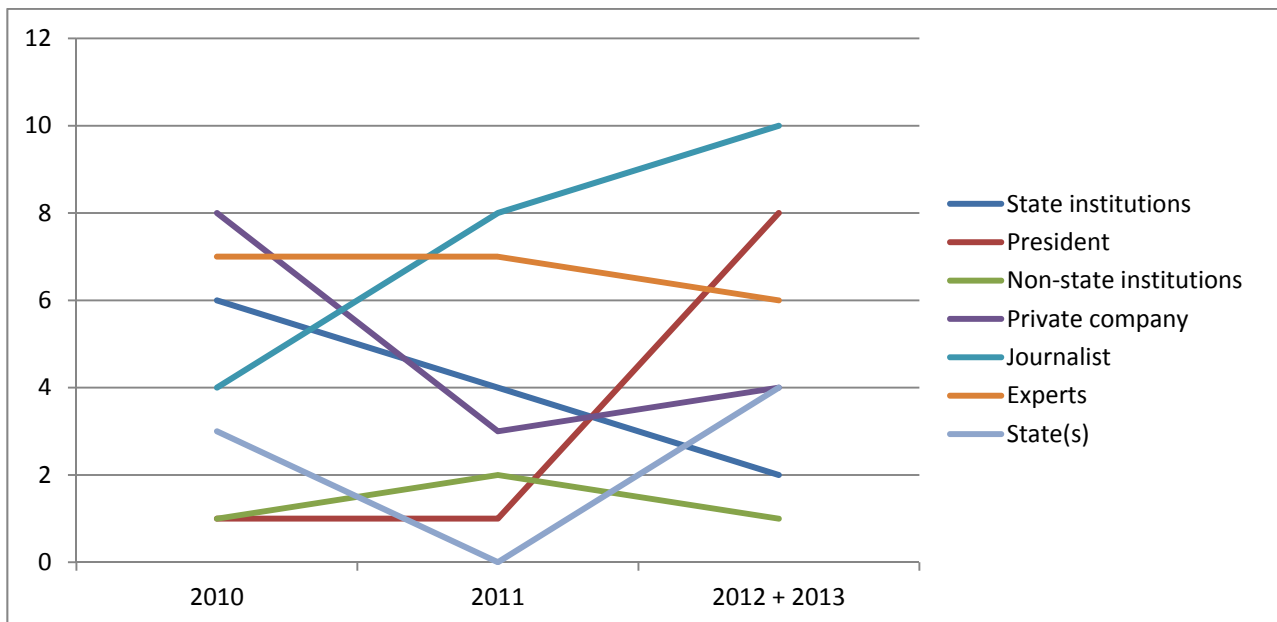
Table 5: Actors coded in the articles about Stuxnet, separated by years.

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
State institutions	6	4	1	1	12
President	1	1	5	3	10
Non-state institutions	1	2	1	0	4
Private company	8	3	4	0	15
Journalist	4	8	9	1	22
Terrorists	0	0	0	0	0
Experts	7	7	6	0	20
Virus/Malware/Worm	1	0	0	0	1
Stuxnet	2	0	0	0	2
Flame	0	0	1	0	1
Other	0	1	0	0	1
State(s)	3	0	3	1	7

In Figure 2 we can take a look at the most important actor distribution over time. The data is based on Table 5 and only the most important 7 actors are included. Years 2012 and 2013 are joined together for easier orientation and because in the year 2013 we have only the first 4 months to analyze.

We can recognize the increasing role of "Journalist" as an actor over the time as well as the code "President." I would say that the "Journalist" code increases over time because the debate moves from the informative level at the beginning to a more analytical level in 2012. The code "President" represents in the articles from 2012 and 2013 mainly the president of the United States, who was acting in the statements because of the released information of his personal involvement in the cyber operation against Iran called "Olympic Games." When we take a look at the code "State institutions," we can see that it has an important role at the beginning of the reporting period and then declines. This could be explained by the change in the character of the debate as well as the "journalist" code. State institutions in the beginning provided factual information about what had happened in Iran and then lost their role as the debate progressed.

5.1.1.2 Topic

In this section we will see the topics coded in the selected articles. "Topic" means what was the selected statement is about, what it is telling us. The code "topic" was used 125 times in the articles about Stuxnet (94 times in Reforma and 31 times in La Jornada). Again we can see the differences between the two newspapers and which topics were discussed the most in the articles about Stuxnet.

Figure 3: Top ten topics coded in the articles about Stuxnet in the right-wing media (a) and left-wing media (b), based on Table 6.
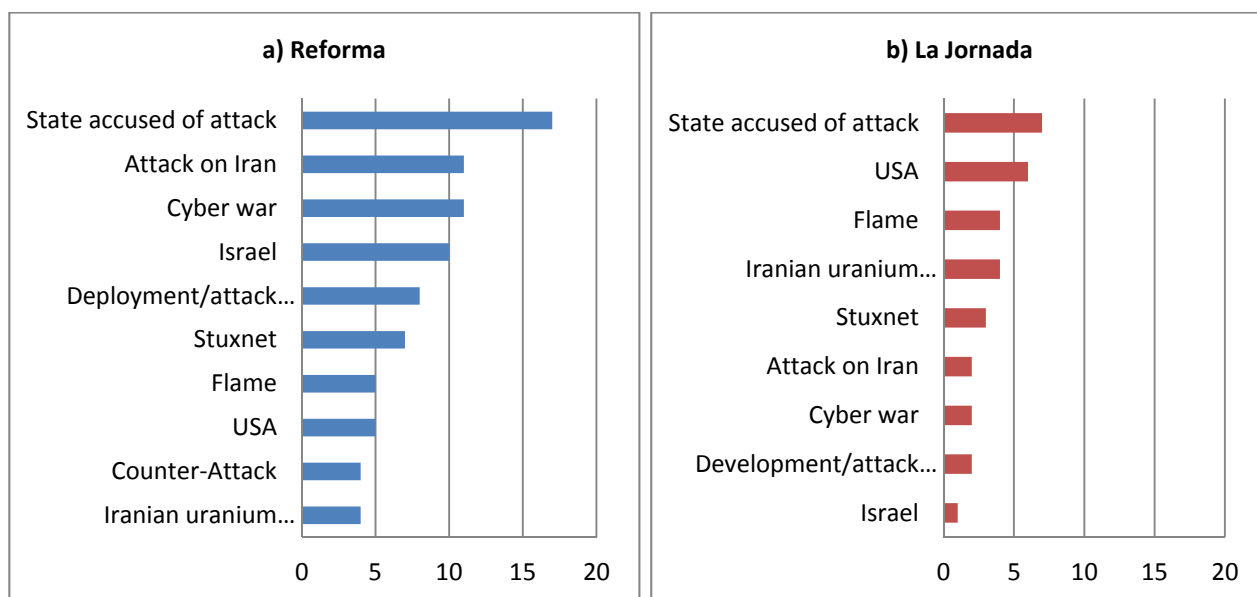

Table 6: All topics coded in the articles about Stuxnet, separated by newspaper.

	Reforma	La Jornada	Total
Security General	1	0	1
Development of Stuxnet	3	0	3
Development of Stuxnet by a state	1	0	1
Deployment/attack using Stuxnet	8	2	10
State accused of attack[4]	17	7	24
USA	5	6	11
Israel	10	1	11
Iranian uranium enrichment programme	4	4	8
Counter-Attack	4	0	4
Legality	1	0	1
Olympic games	3	0	3
Stuxnet	7	3	10
Flame	5	4	9
Cyber war	11	2	13
Attack	1	0	1
Attack on Iran	11	2	13
Attack on China	1	0	1
Attack on a company	1	0	1
Total	94	31	125

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[4] The code "State accused of attack" is a supra-code for the codes "USA" and "Israel". It means that we coded "State accused of attack" and "USA" or "Israel" at the same time when the state was specified.

If we take a look at Figure 3, we can see which topics were the most important in the articles about Stuxnet. The dominant topic in both media is "State accused of attack." This code is joined with a second one to be complete. It comes together with the specific country which was accused of the attack in the article. We have Israel and the USA as the two countries possibly accused of the attack. In *La Jornada*, there are more accusations of the USA (6 cases) and only 1 accusation of Israel. In *Reforma* on the other hand, there are 10 accusations of Israel and only 5 accusations of the USA.

Other important topics for *La Jornada* are "Flame" and "Iran uranium enrichment programme." For *Reforma* these are, "Attack on Iran," "Cyber war," and "Deployment/attack using Stuxnet."

Figure 4: The most frequent topics in the articles about Stuxnet, divided by years (based on Table 7).
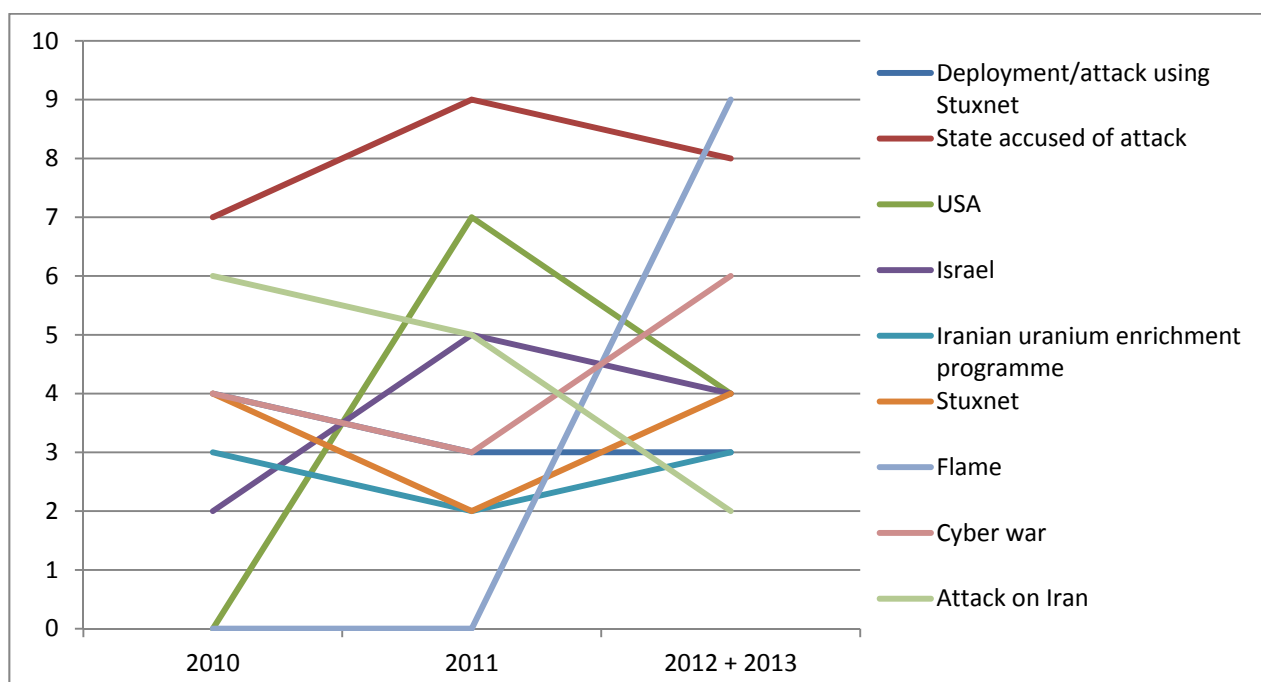

25

Table 7: Topics coded in the articles about Stuxnet, separated by years.

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Security General	1	0	0	0	1
Development of Stuxnet	1	1	1	0	3
Development of Stuxnet by a state	0	1	0	0	1
Deployment/attack using Stuxnet	4	3	2	1	10
State accused of attack	7	9	8	0	24
USA	0	7	4	0	11
Israel	2	5	4	0	11
Iranian uranium enrichment programme	3	2	3	0	8
Counter-Attack	0	0	3	1	4
Legality	0	0	1	0	1
Olympic games	0	0	2	1	3
Stuxnet	4	2	4	0	10
Flame	0	0	8	1	9
Cyber war	4	3	5	1	13
Attack	0	0	1	0	1
Attack on Iran	6	5	1	1	13
Attack on China	1	0	0	0	1
Attack on a company	1	0	0	0	1

In this section it is interesting to see the development of the topics over time. We can see this development of the most important topics in Figure 4. The figure is based on Table 7. Here the less important topics are omitted for easier orientation and the year 2012 is again combined with 2013 because there is not enough data for the last year because only the first four months were included in the analysis.

We can see in Figure 3 the appearance of "Flame" in 2011. Also we can notice that the topic "Attack on Iran" declined throughout the time span in favor of the more general topic "Cyber war," which increased in 2012 and 2013.

5.1.1.3 Argumentative strategies and direction of arguments

This section shows how the actors in the selected statements communicated. Here we note two categories: Argumentative strategies and Direction of argument. In total we have 85 codes of argumentative strategies together with the direction of argument. Figure 5 illustrates the results of coding separated by argumentative strategy.
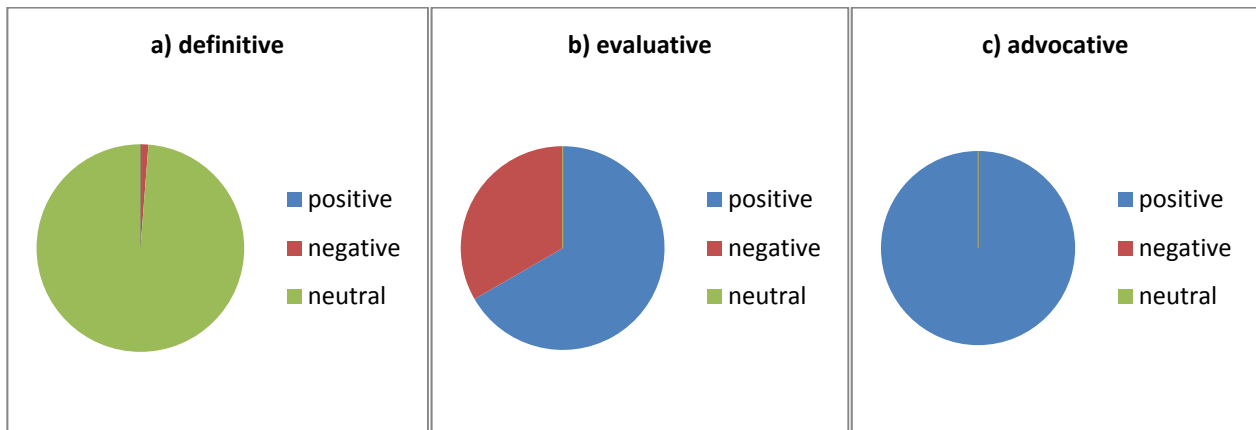
	definitive	evaluative	advocative	Total
positive	0	2	1	3
negative	1	1	0	2
neutral	80	0	0	80

Table 8 shows that the vast majority of argumentative strategies are definitive and the direction of argument is neutral. When we look at the diagrams (Figure 5) we can see in case b that when the argumentative strategies are evaluative, they are mostly positive. Of course we would need to analyse the statements' argumentative strategies together with the actors and topics to see what it really means for us. There is only one advocative strategy (c) in the coded statements and it has a positive direction.

Table 9: Argumentative strategies and direction of arguments in the articles about Stuxnet, divided by newspaper.

	Reforma			La Jornada		
	definitive	evaluative	advocative	definitive	evaluative	advocative
positive	0	2	1	0	0	0
negative	1	1	0	0	0	0
neutral	63	0	0	17	0	0

To see the division between the left-wing and the right-wing newspapers, see Table 9. There we can see that *La Jornada* only argued in a neutral and definitive way, while *Reforma* used more varieties of argumentative strategies.

The section "Justification" shows us whether the statements included a justification of its argument. The justification had to be explicitly presented in the text to be given a code. That is why there are not many justifications in total. In the Stuxnet case there are only 7 (as seen in Table 10).

Figure 6: Justifications coded in the articles about Stuxnet (based on Table 10).
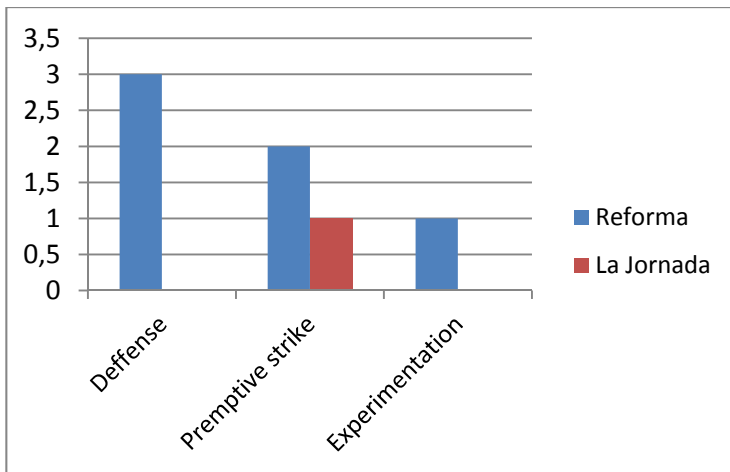

Table 10: Justifications coded in the articles about Stuxnet, separated by newspaper.

	Reforma	La Jornada	Total
Defense	3	0	3
Preemptive strike	2	1	3
Experimentation	1	0	1

The justifications used in *Reforma* are: "Defense," "Preemptive strike," and "Experimentation" (Figure 6). *La Jornada* has only one justification and it is "Preemptive strike."

This analysis raises a question, though. Why are there so few justifications included in the statements about Stuxnet? The reason may be that the justifications are already included in the topic itself and so they do not need to be mentioned explicitly in the text to be understood.

5.1.2 CCTV Cameras

The topic "CCTV cameras" was covered more than the two other topics in both newspapers, but the articles were mostly informative and lacked any mention of the privacy versus security tension, which is our main topic. Mostly the articles are informative stories about a crime which the cameras helped to reveal or only a note about buying the cameras. So these articles were filtered out and only those suitable for this research remained. In the end, 97 articles were left in the total. From 94 a sample

of 21 articles was made. The right-wing newspaper *Reforma* provided 11 articles and the left-wing *La Jornada* provided 10. The numbers of the articles for each newspaper are even higher than in the case of Stuxnet, so the results of the analysis will be more comparable between the two media.

5.1.2.1 Actors

As explained in the section 5.1.1.1, the code "Actor" means who was the actor in the statement. Here we have 88 codes for actors in total (60 codes for *Reforma* and 28 for *La Jornada*). We can take a look at Figure 7 where the actors are separated by newspaper, the right-wing *Reforma* (a) and the left-wing *La Jornada* (b).

Figure 7: Actors coded in the articles about CCTV cameras in the right-wing media (a) and left-wing media (b) (based on Table 11).
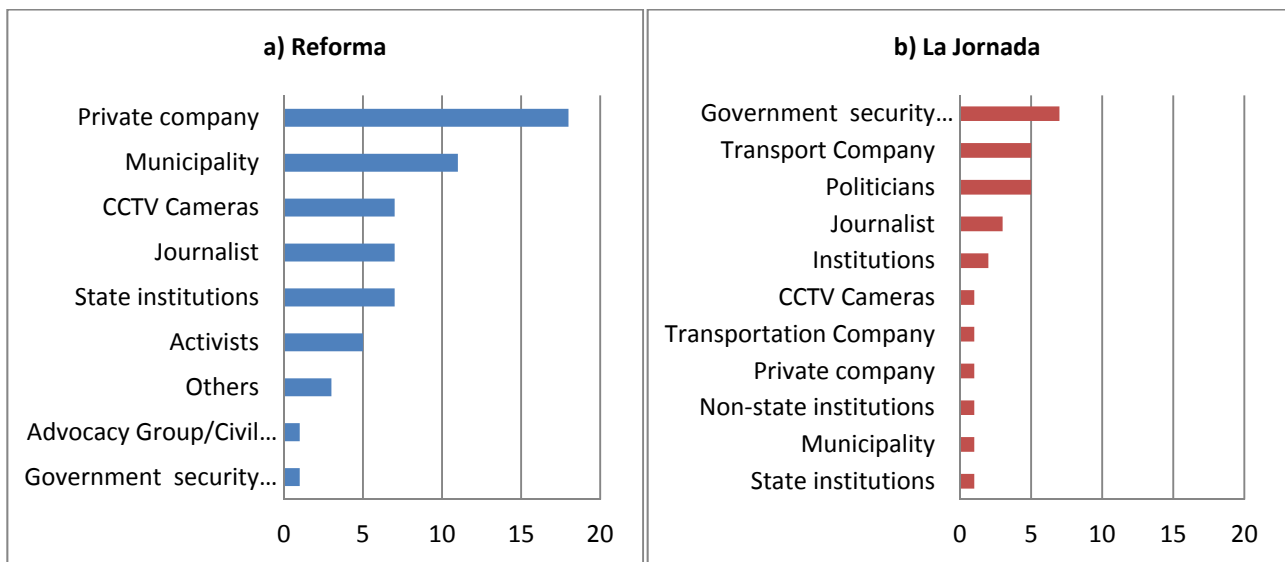
Table 11: All actors coded in the articles about CCTV cameras separated by newspaper.

	Reforma	La Jornada	Total
Institutions	0	2	2
State institutions	7	1	8
Government security agency	1	7	8
Politicians	0	5	5
Municipality	11	1	12
Transport Company	0	5	5
Non-state institutions	0	1	1
Private company	18	1	19
Transportation Company	0	1	1
Advocacy Group/Civil society	1	0	1
Journalist	7	3	10
CCTV Cameras	7	1	8
Activists	5	0	5
Others	3	0	3
Total	60	28	88

For our second topic, CCTV cameras, the top three actors in *Reforma* are, "Private company," "Municipality," and, in the third position with the same number of codes, are, "CCTV cameras," "Journalist," and "State institutions." In *La Jornada* the top three actors are, "Government security agency," "Transport company," and "Politicians."

It is interesting to see how much space the code "Private company" had in the two newspapers. In right-wing *Reforma,* "Private Company" is the most frequent actor with 18 codes. But in *La Jornada* one finds the code only once. Once could say that *Reforma* gives much more voice to private companies, and in fact "Private company" in the articles usually refers to a company that produces CCTV cameras. But *La Jornada* frequently gives space to "Transport company." It has 6 codes in total, though by mistake there are two separate codes, one for "Transport company" and second one for "Transportation company" which should in fact be the same code). *Reforma* doesn't have any code for "Transport company" at all. Rather, the public transportation system in Federal District, "El sistema de transporte colectivo del DF," represents the code "Transport company" in most cases.

We can also compare the codes "Municipality" and "Politicians," though there is not much difference between the two codes. Both of them represent state authorities. "Municipality" receives a lot of space in *Reforma* (11 codes) and only one code in *La Jornada*. But *La Jornada* has 5 codes for "Politicians" and *Reforma* doesn't have any. We could say that there is no difference between the space given to the state authorities when we compare the two newspapers.
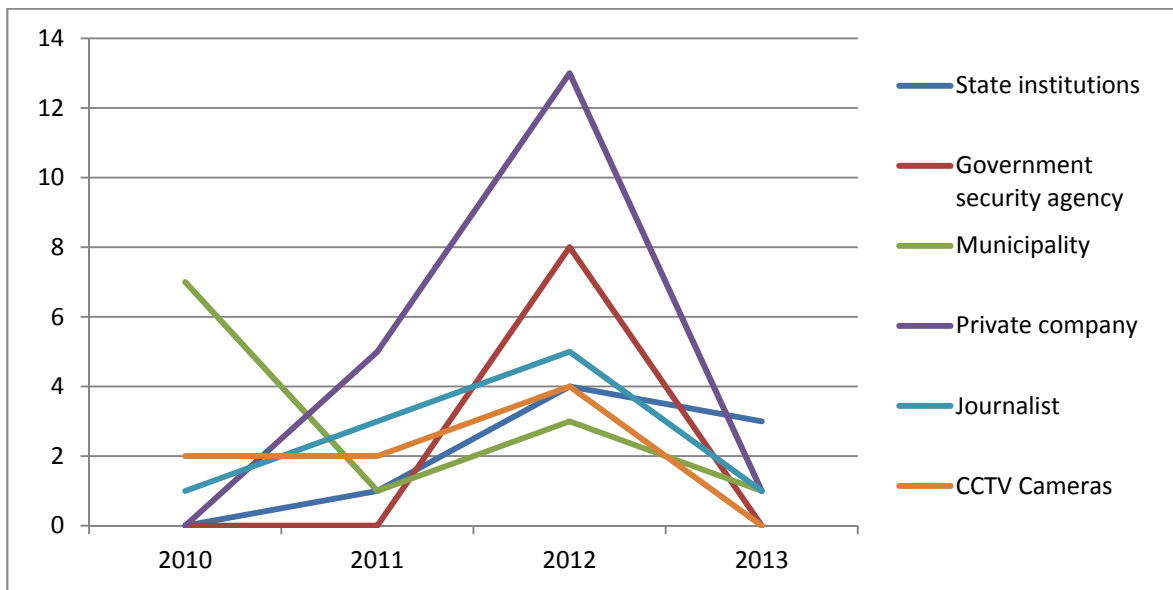
Table 12: Actors coded in the articles about CCTV cameras, separated by years.

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Institutions	2	0	0	0	2
State institutions	0	1	4	3	8
Government security agency	0	0	8	0	8
Politicians	2	3	0	0	5
Municipality	7	1	3	1	12
Transport Company	0	4	1	0	5
Non-state institutions	0	0	1	0	1
Private company	0	5	13	1	19
Transportation Company	0	1	0	0	1
Advocacy Group/Civil society	0	0	1	0	1
Journalist	1	3	5	1	10
CCTV Cameras	2	2	4	0	8
Activists	0	0	3	2	5
Others	0	2	1	0	3

Figure 8 shows the development of the actors in the debate through time. We can see that the "Municipality" had more space in the beginning of the selected time period and the "Private company" and "Government security agency" were mostly active in 2012.

5.1.2.2 Topic

This section explains the "topic" codes used in the articles about CCTV cameras. As mentioned in section 5.1.1.2., this category tells us what the selected segment is about. In the case of CCTV cameras there were 87 codes for topic in total from which *Reforma* had 57 codes and *La Jornada* 30 codes. You can see the results of the coding in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Topics coded in the articles about CCTV Cameras in the right-wing media (a) and left-wing media (b) (based on Table 13).
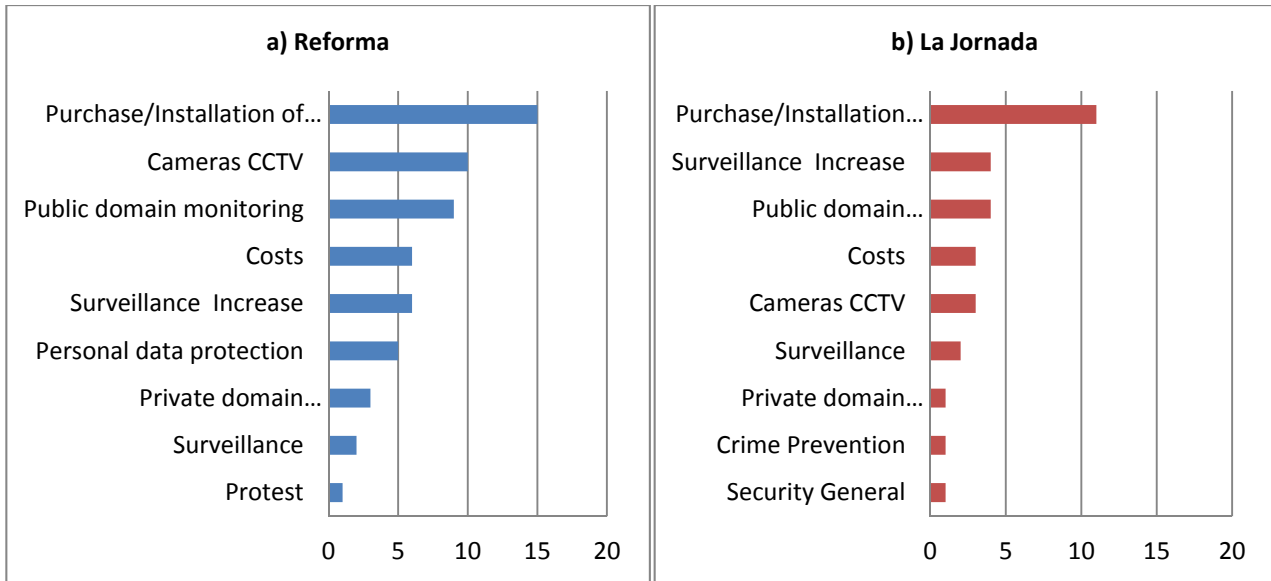

Table 13: All topics coded in the articles about CCTV cameras, separated by newspaper.

	Reforma	La Jornada	Total
Security General	0	1	1
Crime Prevention	0	1	1
Public domain monitoring	9	4	13
Private domain monitoring	3	1	4
Cameras CCTV	10	3	13
Purchase/Installation of CCTV cameras	15	11	26
Protest	1	0	1
Surveillance Increase	6	4	10
Surveillance	2	2	4
Personal data protection	5	0	5
Costs	6	3	9
Total	57	30	87

As we can see in Figure 9 the articles about CCTV cameras in both newspapers were mostly about the "Purchase/Installation of CCTV cameras." Other dominant topics in

Reforma were, "CCTV Cameras" and "Public spaces monitoring." For *La Jornada* the important topics were, "Surveillance increase" and "Public spaces monitoring," but there is a big gap between the first, most important topic and the rest. The fourth most important topic for both newspapers was "Costs." Let's have a look at the development of the topics over time in Figure 10.

Figure 10: The most frequent topics in the articles about CCTV cameras, divided by years (based on Table 14).
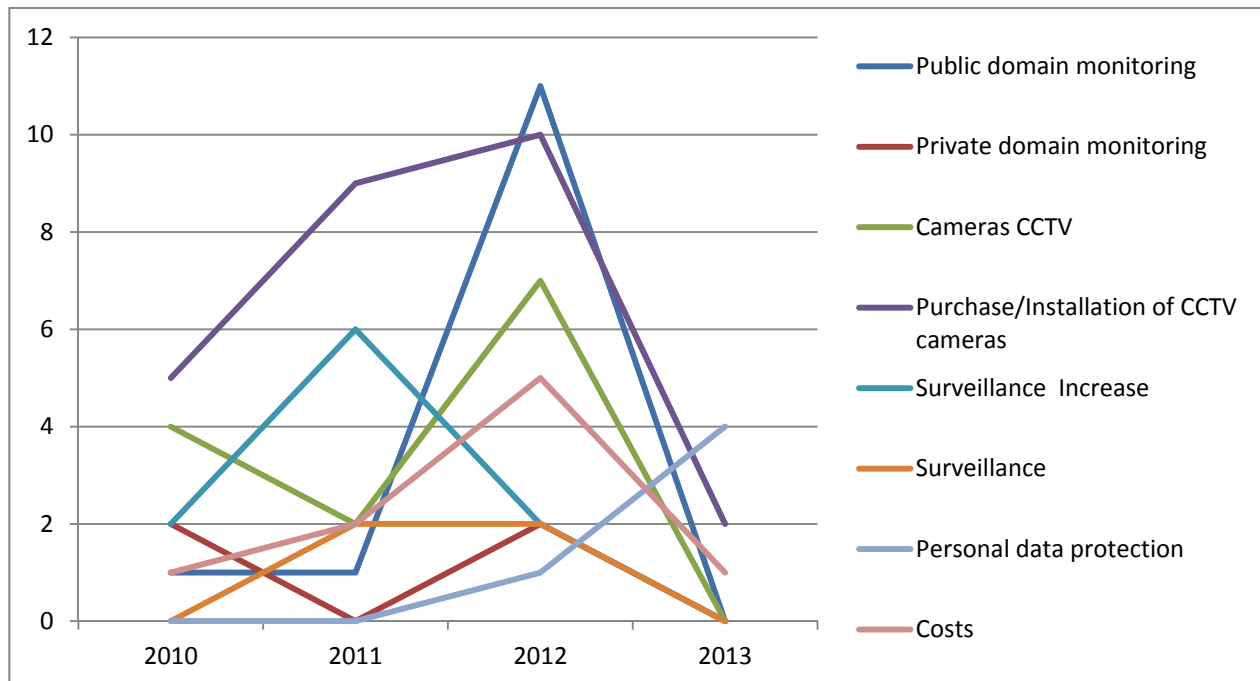

Table 14: Topics coded in the articles about CCTV cameras, separated by years.

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Security General	0	0	1	0	1
Crime Prevention	0	0	1	0	1
Public domain monitoring	1	1	11	0	13
Private domain monitoring	2	0	2	0	4
Cameras CCTV	4	2	7	0	13
Purchase/Installation of CCTV cameras	5	9	10	2	26
Protest	0	0	0	1	1
Surveillance Increase	2	6	2	0	10
Surveillance	0	2	2	0	4
Personal data protection	0	0	1	4	5
Costs	1	2	5	1	9

In Figure 10 we can see that the code "Public domain monitoring" was mostly present in 2012, but if we take a closer look at the analyzed statements we can see that most of the codes for "Public domain monitoring" are found in only a few articles. So

after analysis we see that the debate over public domain monitoring did not increase in 2012 as much as it seems at first glance.

5.1.2.3 Argumentative strategies and direction of arguments

This section illustrates the results of the coding of two categories: Argumentative strategies and direction of argument. For CCTV cameras there is in total 84 codes for Argumentative strategies with the direction of argument. We can have a look at the diagrams in Figure 11 to see more.

Figure 11: Argumentative strategies coded in the articles about CCTV cameras, with the direction of argument (based on Table 15).
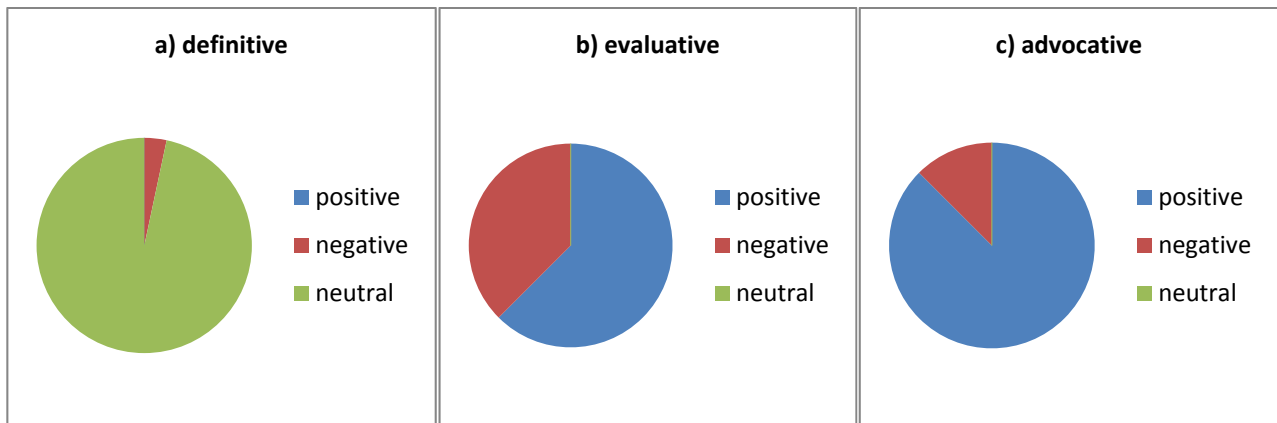

Table 15: Argumentative strategies coded in the articles about CCTV cameras, with the direction of argument in both newspapers.

	definitive	evaluative	advocative	Total
positive	0	10	7	17
negative	2	6	1	9
neutral	58	0	0	58

As was true in the previous topic, most of the statements here are also presented in a definitive and neutral way (case a in Table 15). Still, there are more evaluative and advocative statements than in the case of Stuxnet. Both evaluative (b) and advocative (c) statements have a mostly positive direction of argument, but in the evaluative section almost 40% of statements have a negative argumentative direction, which is somewhat surprising in the Mexican context, where the public security is a very important issue. As in the previous section, this proves to have a similar cause upon closer review of the articles. We can see that most of the negative statements are coded in one article called, "Cuando la tecnología se entromete," or "When the technology meddles" (*Reforma*, 27.11.2011). It is about public monitoring in China where CCTV cameras are used to monitor the political opposition. This article was included despite the fact that it is not about Mexico, because it can also have an influence on the public debate about CCTV cameras in Mexico. The other articles with a negative direction of argument are mostly about the right to privacy, a topic that holds interest for our project.
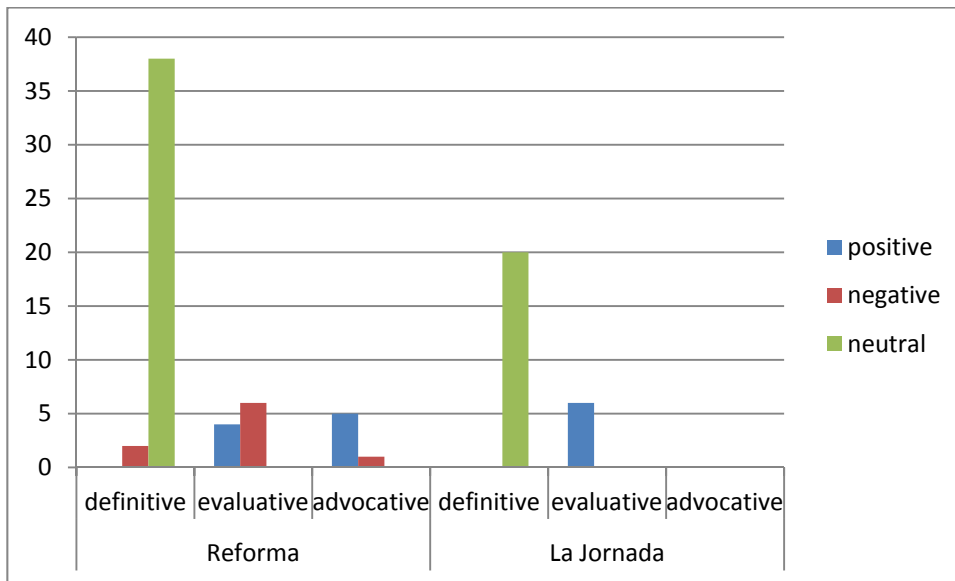
Table 16: Argumentative strategies coded in the articles about CCTV cameras, with the direction of argument separated by newspapers.

	Reforma			La Jornada		
	definitive	evaluative	advocative	definitive	evaluative	advocative
positive	0	4	5	0	6	0
negative	2	6	1	0	0	0
neutral	38	0	0	20	0	0

Figure 12 shows the distribution of argumentative strategies with the direction of argument for the two newspapers separately. It is surprising that all the negative directions of argument are in the right-wing *Reforma. La Jornada* only has positive and neutral statements. We might have expected the left-wing media to be more critical.

5.1.2.4 Justifications

In the case of CCTV cameras, the variety of justifications used in the statements is much larger than in the case of Stuxnet. Here we have in total ten types of justifications used to clarify the statements (Figure 13). In numbers it is 33 justifications in total (Table 17). Figure 13 shows the justifications divided by newspaper.

Table 17: Justifications coded in the articles about CCTV cameras, separated by newspapers.
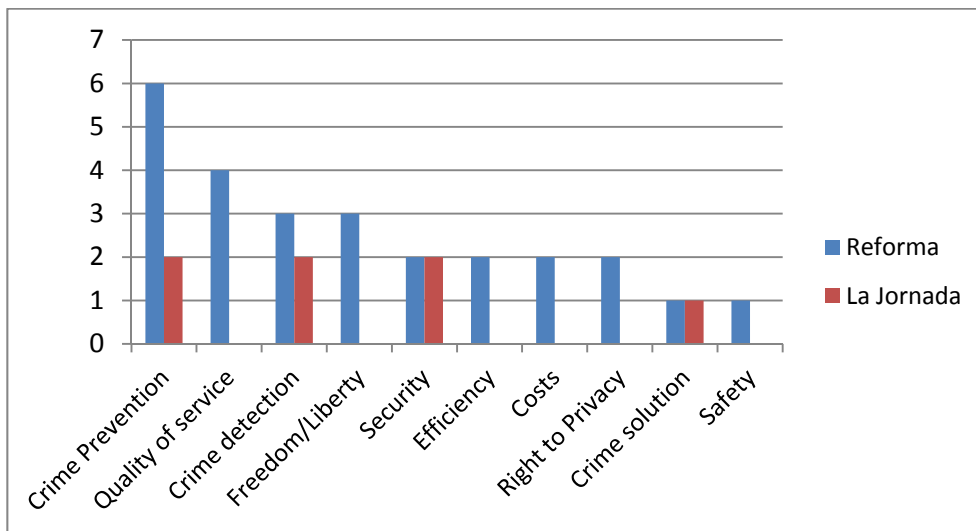
	Reforma	La Jornada	Total
Security	2	2	4
Crime Prevention	6	2	8
Crime detection	3	2	5
Crime solution	1	1	2
Efficiency	2	0	2
Quality of service	4	0	4
Freedom/Liberty	3	0	3
Costs	2	0	2
Right to Privacy	2	0	2
Safety	1	0	1
Total	26	7	33

As we see in Figure 13, the most frequently used justification in *Reforma* was "Crime prevention," followed by "Quality of service," "Crime detection," and "Freedom/Liberty." *La Jornada*, on the other hand, had four justifications in total. These were "Crime prevention," "Crime detection," "Security," and "Crime solution." We can see that the justifications used in each newspaper match the direction of arguments pointed out in the previous section. *La Jornada* didn't have any negative statements and its justifications reflect that, mentioning only "security" and "crime."

5.1.3 3D Body Scanners

The third topic, "3D body scanners," was the topic least covered by both the selected media outlets. In the selected time period there were 14 articles in total about 3D body scanners. The sample then consisted of only three articles from *Reforma* and two from La Jornada. This is why our focus on this topic was not applied so much in the descriptive part and only a basic analysis is provided here.

5.1.3.1 Actors

There are many different actors in the articles about 3D body scanners. We have a total of 13 different actors coded in the few articles we had for the analysis. We can take a look at Figure 14 to see all the actors and the differences between the two newspapers.

Figure 14: Actors coded in the articles about 3D body scanners in the right-wing media (a) and left-wing media (b) (based on Table 18).
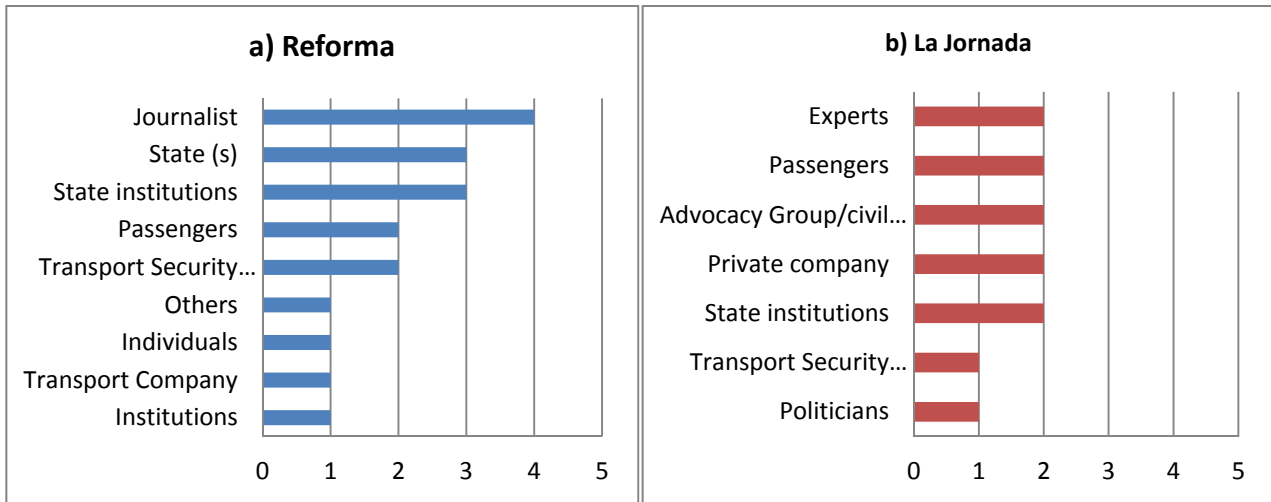

Table 18: All actors coded in the articles about 3D body scanner, separated by newspaper.

	Reforma	La Jornada	Total
Institutions	1	0	1
State institutions	3	2	5
Politicians	0	1	1
Transport Company	1	0	1
Transport Security Agency	2	1	3
Private company	0	2	2
Advocacy Group/civil society	0	2	2
Individuals	1	0	1
Journalist	4	0	4
Passengers	2	2	4
Experts	0	2	2
Others	1	0	1
State (s)	3	0	3

Figure 14 shows that there is a wide variety of actors coded in the articles about 3D body scanners. The most frequently used codes for actors in total were, "State institutions," "Journalist," and "Passengers" (Table 18). The top three actors for *Reforma* were, "Journalist," "State(s)," and "State institutions." For *La Jornada* there are five actors with the same number of codes. These are, "Experts," "Passengers,"

"Advocacy group/Civil society," "Private company," and "State institutions." But the differences between the use of all the codes are not large. None of the actors was coded more than four times.

It looks like the debate about the 3D body scanners has not developed much in Mexico yet. I would say that it is at an early stage, and journalists try to gather opinions from as many actors as possible.

5.1.3.2 Topic

For the topic we have in total 27 codes, but the topics do not differ as much as the actors. There are just 3 topics coded in each newspaper, as we can see in Figure 15.

Figure 15: Topics coded in the articles about 3D body scanners in the right-wing media (a) and left-wing media (b) (based on Table 19).
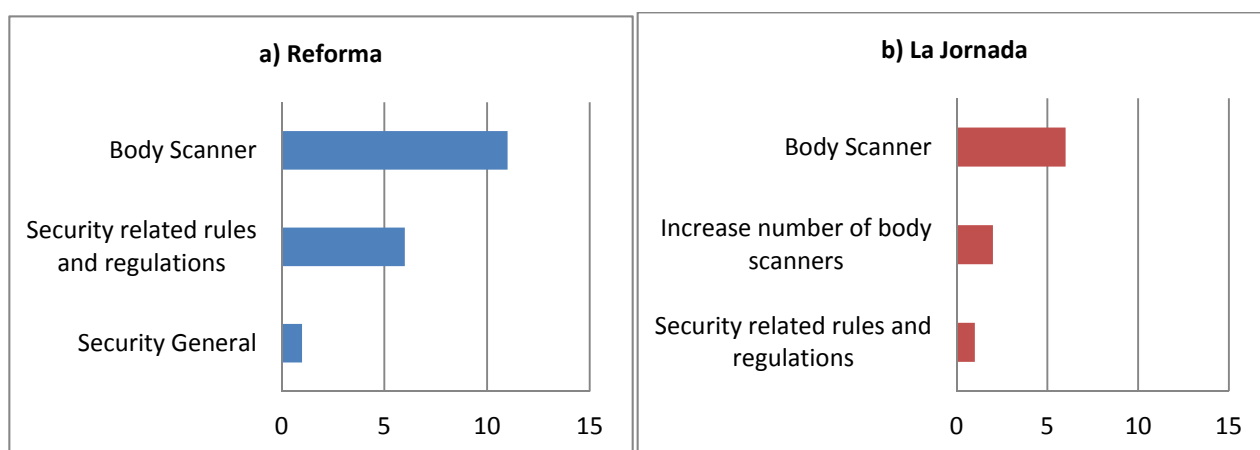

Table 19: All topics coded in the articles about 3D body scanner, separated by newspaper.

	Reforma	La Jornada	Total
Security General	1	0	1
Security related rules and regulations	6	1	7
Body Scanner	11	6	17
Increase number of body scanners	0	2	2

Figure 15 shows the main topics coded in the articles about 3D body scanners. For *Reforma* the three topics are, "Body scanner," "Security related rules and regulations," and "Security in general." *La Jornada* has similar topics coded, namely, "Body scanner," "Increased number of body scanners," and "Security related rules and regulations."

5.1.3.3 Argumentative strategies and direction of arguments

You can see the argumentative strategies and directions of argument of the articles about 3D body scanners in the three diagrams in Figure 16.

Figure 16: Argumentative strategies coded in the articles about 3D body scanners, with the direction of argument (based on Table 20).
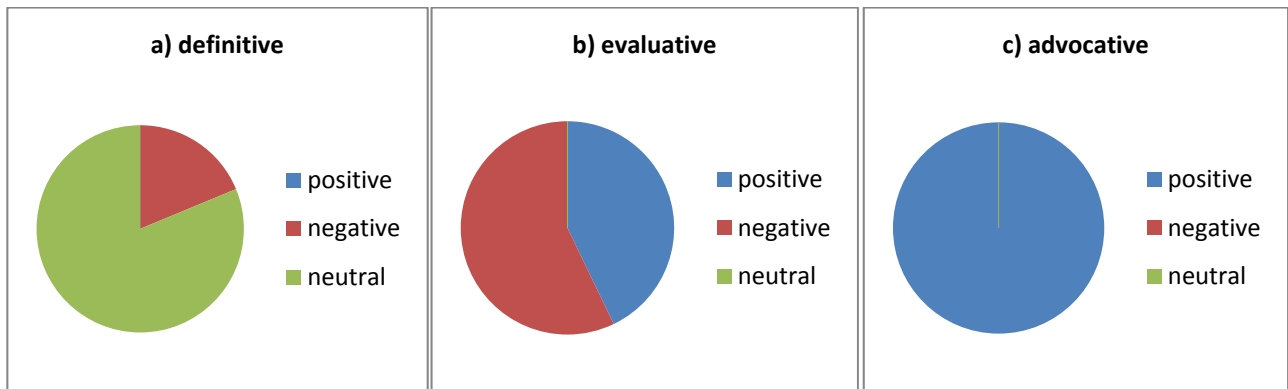
Table 20: Argumentative strategies coded in the articles about 3D body scanner, with the direction of argument in both newspapers.

	definitive	evaluative	advocative	Total
positive	0	3	4	7
negative	3	4	0	7
neutral	13	0	0	13

Table 20 (and Figure 16) show us that the argumentative strategies in the articles about 3D body scanners were mostly definitive and the direction was neutral (case a). However, there are some evaluative and advocative statements as well (case b and c). The evaluative statements were in 57% of cases negative and in 43% of cases positive. All of the advocative statements were positive.

Figure 17: Argumentative strategies coded in the articles about 3D body scanners, with the direction of argument and divided by the newspaper (based on Table 21).
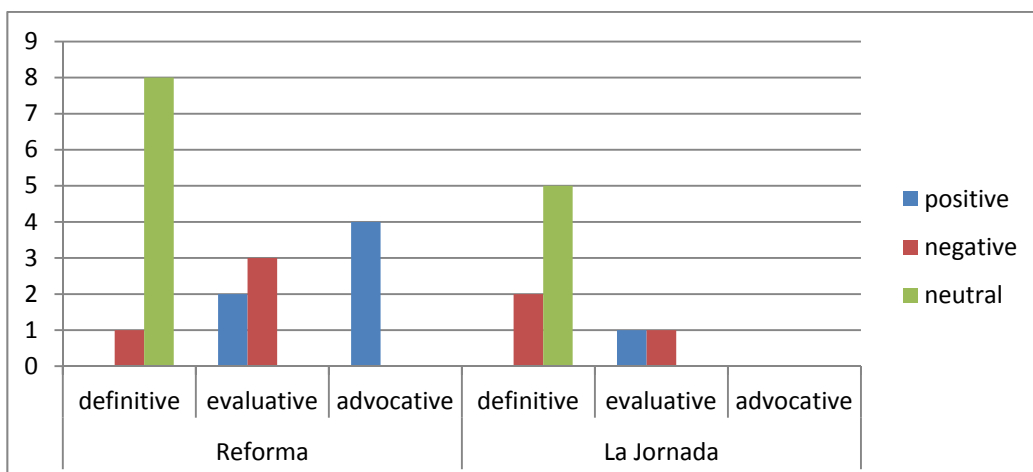
	Reforma			La Jornada		
	definitive	evaluative	advocative	definitive	evaluative	advocative
positive	0	2	4	0	1	0
negative	1	3	0	2	1	0
neutral	8	0	0	5	0	0

If we look at Figure 17 we can see a difference between the positive connotations in *Reforma* and *La Jornada*. *Reforma* had four positive advocative statements and two positive evaluative statements. *La Jornada* has only one evaluative and no advocative statements with positive direction. If we look at the analyzed articles, we can see that the positive connotations in *Reforma* were mostly connected to the justification "Security."

5.1.3.4 Justifications

Figure 18 shows us the justifications used in the articles about 3D body scanners. There are 22 codes for justification in total, 15 for *Reforma* and 7 for *La Jornada*.

Figure 18: Justifications coded in the articles about 3D body scanner (based on Table 22).
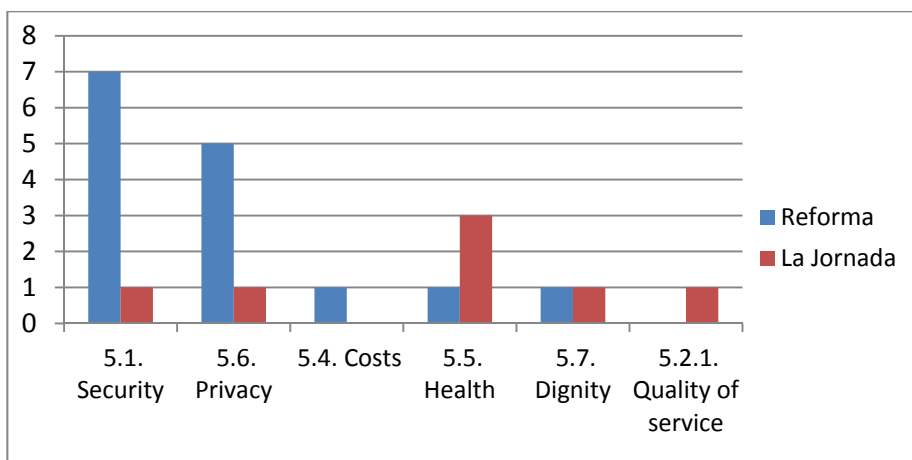
	Reforma	La Jornada	Total
Security	7	1	8
Quality of service	0	1	1
Costs	1	0	1
Health	1	3	4
Privacy	5	1	6
Dignity	1	1	2

The most commonly used justification in *Reforma* is "Security" (Figure 18). We already mentioned this code in the previous section and its connection to positive advocative statements. The second most important code is "Privacy," which is connected to negative or neutral statements. We can say that it reveals the tension between these two justifications in the articles and frames all the debate about 3D body scanners. *La Jornada*, on the other hand, uses the argument of "Health" the most.

5.2 Analysis of General Tendencies

In this section we will discuss the general tendencies of each topic. We will illustrate the dominant themes and patterns of interaction, comparing the three topics. The chapter is divided by the topics of research, 5.2.1 is CCTV cameras, 5.2.2. is 3D body scanners, and 5.2.3. is Stuxnet.

5.2.1 CCTV cameras

In the case of CCTV cameras the main arguments in the discussion focus on security and crime prevention. The fear of crime and the need to have towns, hospitals, public transport or schools covered with cameras to increase security leads the discourse. It is no wonder that in Mexico, which is struggling with long-term crime problems, the call for security would be high. The Mexican security situation has worsened in the past decade after president Felipe Calderón came to power and escalated the conflict between state forces and drug cartels with the intervention of the army. The number of victims of the open war between the army and the cartels rose to 70,000 since 2006 when the governmental politics changed. There are many civilians among the victims, leading citizens to call for increased security. Politicians then take this opportunity to enhance their popularity by enacting popular measures, like installing cameras in the urban public zones. Most of the articles about CCTV cameras, even after we removed the merely informative ones, played on this note.

It is surprising in the light of these facts that the debate over the right to privacy in the case of CCTV cameras also has a place in Mexican media (*Reforma*, 27.11.2011). After a massive rollout of CCTV cameras in 2010 and 2011 to increase security (La Jornada, 31.10.2010, *Reforma*, 2.1.2010), the discussion about privacy started in 2012 (*Reforma*, 24.3.2012, *Reforma*, 3.4.2013) in response to it. "'*Queremos saber cómo funcionan estas cámaras, qué protocolo siguen, quién las está monitoreando y a dónde van a dar estas imágenes, si es legal*', *cuestionó una de las inconformes a la directora del plantel, Alma Angélica Martínez.*" ("We want to know how these cameras work, which protocol they follow, who is monitoring them, and where these images go, if it's legal," one of the nonconformist students asked the school principal Alma Angélica Martínez) (*Reforma*, 3.4.2013).

The economic side of CCTV camera instalation is also discussed. "*Adrián Charansonnet, presidente de la Asociación Mexicana de Empresas de Seguridad Privada e Industria Satelital, refirió que en ciudades como Monterrey ha crecido la demanda por cámaras. 'En número, fue el negocio que se disparó más, pues las contrataciones se fueron hasta 60 por ciento', dijo.*" (Adrián Charansonnet, the president of the Mexican Association of Private Security Companies and Satellite Industry, said that in cities like Monterrey, the demand for cameras increased. "It was the business that grew the most. Purchases increased by 60 percent) (Reforma, 27.8.2012).

There are other large topics related to cameras in Mexico which weren't included in the analysis. They are private monitoring with the option of connection to the city's network, and the monitoring of Mexican citizens on the borders with the US (where the right to privacy of Mexicans is discussed).

5.2.2 3D body scanners

All of the articles which we included in the analysis were published in 2010. The topic was opened as a reaction to the US strategy of implementing the 3D body scanners at their airports. It started after the attempt of a Nigerian citizen to blow up a plane in 2009 (Krolicki, 2009). Mexico is somewhere in the middle of the security – privacy spectrum in this case (*Reforma*, 28.11.2010). There are many arguments for the 3D body scanners, but just as many arguments against. The articles about 3D body scanners (despite the fact that there were only a few of them in total) were very much filled with arguments for and against. The discussion, though, is not very developed in Mexico. The discussion in the two selected media outlets ended after publishing 13 articles in total in the year 2010 (Table 2). There was one article in 2012, but it mentioned 3D body scanners only tangentially.

Almost all of the negative arguments in the coded articles were based on invading the privacy and dignity of a person. "*La indignación y la polémica han crecido esta semana cuando circuló en Internet un video que muestra la discusión entre un usuario y un policía que en el intercambio de palabras llega a advertir al pasajero que 'si tocas el aparato, te voy a arrestar'.*" (The indignation and controversy increased this week when a video showing a discussion between a passenger and a police officer circulated on the internet. The officer warns the passenger that "if you touch the device I will arrest you") (La Jornada, 18.11.2010). There were also costs mentioned, because the 3D body scanners are very expensive equipment, but it was mentioned just once in the articles. Health was also an issue that contributed to the negative evaluations.

The general tendency is that passengers evaluate the use of 3D body scanners negatively while experts, transportation companies, and state institutions evaluate it positively. Since there was nothing like the case of Nigerian trying to blow up a plane in Mexican territory, the passengers probably tend to be more skeptical about the 3D body scanners and value their privacy and dignity more than potential security. However the transportation companies and state institutions hold different opinions and espouse the use of 3D body scanners as a new technology to fight terrorism that has to be implemented. "*Hay un mito de que se desnuda y de que se invade la privacidad y no hay invasión más grave que poner en peligro la vida de las personas y en ese sentido creo que es justificado la aplicación de la tecnología*" (There is a myth of undressing and invading the privacy and there is not a bigger invasion to privacy than to endanger people´s lives, and I think in this sense the application of the technology is justified), Gilberto López Meyer, director of ASA, Aeropuertos y Servicios Auxiliares (*Reforma*, 22.3.2010).

5.2.3 Stuxnet

The discussion of Stuxnet in Mexico starts with the accusation of a state of attacking Iran with cyber weapons. At first, a lot of space is given to Iranian experts, institutions, and politicians, explaining the situation in which they have been put

(*Reforma*, 27.9.2010). Then the discussion moves to accusing the USA and Israel of the cyber-attack, followed by revealing the US program, "Olympic games" and the Flame virus as created by Israel and USA (*Reforma*, 2.6.2012, *La Jornada*, 18.9.2012).

We can say that Mexico stands on the side of Iran sovereignty and against the US cyber-attack. It sees itself as a potential target of these weapons. *"Los ataques contra Irán demostraron que la infraestructura de un país puede ser destruida sin necesidad de bombardearla o infiltrar a saboteadores."* (The attacks against Iran demonstrate that the infrastructure of a country can be destroyed without the need of bombing it or infiltrating saboteurs) (*Reforma*, 5.2.2013). On the other hand Mexico takes a lot of media information from US sources. *Reforma,* for example, publishes translations of some articles from US newspapers, namely *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. But this is not only true of *Reforma,* but of all Mexican media. There is always a strong influence from their northern neighbor.

The discussion ends with a generalization of the topic and speaking more about the threats of cyber-war to any country in the world and the necessity of struggling against it (*Reforma*, 25.4.2011, *Reforma*, 25.6.2012). In general, Mexico does not hold any strong opinion about Stuxnet. The newspaper articles are mostly based on the US or international sources, and Mexican journalists only occasionally ad some specific comments.

The distribution of the articles about Stuxnet (Table 23) is more or less balanced between the years and seemingly ends in the year 2012 (though the analyzed period in 2013 was only from January 1 to March 31).

Table 23: Distribution of the articles about Stuxnet in the selected time period.

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
La Jornada	4	3	9	0	16
Reforma	16	12	14	1	43
Total	20	15	23	1	

5.3 Summary and Synthesis

In this section we will try to summarize the chapter analysis. We will review the three topics once more and highlight the main findings. We will also evaluate the coverage of the topics by the selected newspapers.

The most covered topic was CCTV cameras in both newspapers. Most of the articles, though, had just an informative character and lacked any opinions or debate. They mostly informed readers of specific crimes that CCTV cameras recorded. But even after eliminating these articles, there still remained many articles which actually suited our criteria. And the debate over CCTV cameras is still the most developed in comparison to the other two topics. Mexicans generally agree on having cameras in the public places. There is a strong fear of crime and having cameras (as well as other security measures, such as panic buttons) gives them a sense of safety. Considering the security situation which Mexico faces, I would say that the fear is fed a lot by media as well, as they inform the public of every crime that happens in the country. Despite this fact, there is a place for negative evaluations in the debate, as you can see in Section 5.1.2.3. So in

summary we can say that people are fearful and require security measures, but they are also aware of the negative consequences that come with increased security measures. Evidence of this is the fact that, among the justifications for not installing these measures we find codes such as "Freedom/Liberty" and "Right to privacy" (5.1.2.4).

The topic "3D body scanners" has similar results as CCTV cameras. However there were only a few articles in total about this topic and all of them are from 2010, when the topic became an issue after the Christmas 2009 terrorist attempt. The debate is mainly about the 3D body scanners at US airports. Here we can say that Mexico is somewhere in the middle between a positive and negative view of 3D body scanners. While positive arguments stress the need for security, negative opinions argue that scanners negatively affect health, dignity and the right to privacy. Despite that I would not say that there is a strong opinion on either of the two sides. The debate is open and I think there would be no protests or boycotts of the 3D body scanners if they were implemented in the country.

The third topic, "Stuxnet," was covered much more by the right-wing newspaper *Reforma* than by the left-wing *La Jornada*. The reason could be *Reforma´s* alliance with US newspapers *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times* and the influence of the two American newspapers in selecting topics that *Reforma* then posts itself. Some of the articles about Stuxnet were in *Reforma´s* case covered by translations of the articles from *The New York Times*. *La Jornada* doesn´t have any direct connection to US newspapers, which might influence how much it covers Stuxnet, a US issue. Generally the debate followed unfolding events. At the beginning the debate was more descriptive and in the end (2012 and 2013) more analytical and more generalized. In the beginning there was a lot of space given to various actors (experts, politicians, state and non-state institutions, and private companies) on both sides, namely the Iranian side and the US – Israel side. I would say that the Iranian side had more space in the debate and the debate was more balanced than I would have expected. While the debate began with the discovery of Stuxnet, Flame, and other viruses, the debate eventually turned to the more generalized topic of "Cyber war" and its contemporary and future threat to any country or company. Mexico sees itself as a potential target as well, and in the debate stands rather on the side of Iran and its right to sovereignty against the unprecedented attack of another state.

6 Conclusion

This report was a case study of Mexico made as a contribution to the larger project where results of several countries will be compared. We conducted a cross-national comparative qualitative study, whereby the agreed methodology increased the intercoder reliability for the comparative analysis. The Mexican case was a bit unique as it was one of only two non-European countries studied, the other being the United States. As a result, it provides an interesting comparison to the other cases.

Mexico is a large country with 31 states, each with its own issues. As a result it is not easy to make generalizations when we refer to it. However, these three topics all have a national impact and can be interpreted at the national level. The two newspapers that were used for the analysis also have a national impact and are among the biggest in the country in terms of daily circulation. We selected one newspaper with a right-wing political orientation, *Reforma,* and one with a left-wing orientation, *La Jornada,* which is in fact one of the few left-wing national media outlets at the national level in Mexico. As said before, most of the newspapers are oriented to the right, or they stand somewhere in the middle of the political spectrum. *La Jornada,* on the other hand, likes to claim that it is the only really independent newspaper in Mexico.

In Mexico there is official freedom of the press, but reality is not as bright as it might initially seem. Many interests, from business to politics to organized crime, put pressure on media outlets in an effort to influence their coverage. According to Reporters Without Borders, Mexico is in fact one of the most dangerous countries in the world for journalists.

Mexico often receives attention in the global media because of its organized crime, and there has been an ongoing war between the drug cartels and the government since 2006, when the former president Felipe Calderón declared it. But following the 2012 presidential elections and the return of the PRI, which ruled the country for 72 years until 2000, we now have a chance to see if something will change and if the situation will finally calm down. There are not many signs of that change, though.

The media in Mexico confronts its consumers daily with pictures and stories of the escalating violence of organized crime in the country. These narratives build public perceptions of the state of security in the country, and the need to improve it. Yet the portrayal of the security measures studied in this report are not entirely positive. Rather, CCTV cameras and 3D body scanners receive some critical evaluation, which one might not expect from a society in such a position.

For instance, the articles highlighted many shortcomings of CCTV cameras. The main arguments against the cameras were that they violated people's privacy. But despite this perhaps surprising critical eye, the majority of the arguments were positive and were strongly connected with fear and insecurity. It seems that crime prevention is ultimately a bulletproof argument for CCTV cameras in Mexico.

While CCTV was seen within the context of security within Mexico, 3D body scanners were seen more independently of the country's security situation. The articles mostly dealt with the presence of 3D body scanners in US airports. The discussion then focused more on Mexicans as people forced to pass through stricter controls in the airports, rather than on the systems' security benefits. The opinions about 3D body scanners can be easily divided by actors. Transport companies, transport security agencies, and state institutions used the need for security as an argument for 3D body scanners. Passengers and civil society representatives, on the other hand, used dignity and the right to privacy as an argument against the 3D body scanners. In total there were not many

articles in any of the two newspapers and so this topic can be considered as not of a high importance in Mexico.

The third topic, Stuxnet, on the other hand, did receive extensive coverage. On this topic Mexico stands more on the side of Iran and its right to sovereignty, and opposes this act of a hidden war from another state. It sees the USA as guilty of foul play. Also, Mexico considers itself a possible target of similar attacks in the future. The only strategy mentioned to counter these attacks was having as good antivirus protection as possible.

When we compare the two newspapers together we can see that all the topics were covered slightly more by the right-wing *Reforma*. In the case of CCTV cameras the debate went much deeper in *Reforma* as well. They considered more topics and different actors had a chance to speak. In the case of Stuxnet and CCTV, *Reforma* gave significantly more space to private companies, which is something we could expect. On the other hand, *La Jornada* was much less critical of the CCTV cameras. I would have expected it to consider the negative aspects of CCTV cameras more thoroughly.

Generally, we can say that there was a debate about all three topics in the selected years and that CCTV cameras in public spaces was the most pertinent topic for Mexicans. Consequently, public opinion on this topic would be a worthy subject of further research.

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CCTV cameras

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Stuxnet

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"Presionó Obama por 'ciberguerra'" (Obama pressed for "cyberwar"). 2012. *Reforma*, 2.6.2012.

"Prueban que EU desarrolló tres virus informáticos" (They prove that USA developed three cyber viruses). 2012. *La Jornada*, 18.9.2012.

"Reconoce Irán sufrir ciberataque" (Iran admits suffering from a cyberattack). 2010. *Reforma*, 27.9.2010.

"Toma EU delantera en guerra cibernética" (United States lead the cyber warfare). 2013. *Reforma*, 5.2.2013.

3D body scanners

"Aumenta polémica por escáneres corporales" (Increases polemic about full body scanners). 2010. *Reforma*, 28.11.2010.

"Rayos X en aeropuertos de EU" (X Rays in the airports of the US). 2010. *La Jornada*, 18.11.2010.

"'Desnudarán' a mexicanos" (They will undress Mexicans). 2010. *Reforma*, 22.3.2010.

8 Appendix

Table 24: Overview of the analysed articles.

Name of article (in English)	Name of article (in original language)	newspaper	year	publication date	topic
They will "undress" Mexicans	"Desnudarán" a Mexicanos	El Reforma	2010	22.3.	3D body scanner
Polemic increases about full body scanners	Aumenta polémica por escáneres corporales	El Reforma	2010	28.11.	3D body scanner
The other Big Brother	El otro Big Brother	El Reforma	2010	11.12.	3D body scanner
The government of Mexico City plans to create a "safe city"	Planea GDF crear una 'Ciudad Segura'	El Reforma	2010	2.1.	cctv
They offer video surveillance	Ofrecen conexión de videovigilancia	El Reforma	2010	5.8.	cctv
The surveillance increases in settlements because of insecurity	Crece en urbes videovigilancia por inseguridad	El Reforma	2011	26.7.	cctv
TV's sinister Big Brother	El 'Big Brother' siniestro de la TV	El Reforma	2011	2.11.	cctv
They point out the risks of IP cameras for surveillance	Alertan sobre riesgos en cámaras IP para vigilancia	El Reforma	2012	20.2.	cctv
When the technology meddles	Cuando la tecnología se entromete	El Reforma	2012	24.3.	cctv
They renew surveillance	Actualizan vigilancia	El Reforma	2012	6.6.	cctv
Some win with insecurity	Ganan algunos con inseguridad	El Reforma	2012	27.8.	cctv
They watch over with technology	Vigilan con tecnología	El Reforma	2012	1.12.	cctv
The federal district (Mexico) is putting an eye on CCTV cameras	Pone InfoDF ojo a videocámaras	El Reforma	2013	29.1.	cctv
They block a middle school, they refuse surveillance	Bloquean la Prepa 6; repudian videovigilancia	El Reforma	2013	3.4.	cctv
A virus destroys PCs of Iran	Destruye virus PCs de Irán	El Reforma	2010	25.9.	Stuxnet
Iran admits to suffer from ciberattack	Reconoce Irán sufrir ciberataque	El Reforma	2010	27.9.	Stuxnet
They suspect Israel	Sospechan de Israel	El Reforma	2010	1.10.	Stuxnet
Virus escalates cyberwar	Escala virus guerra cibernética	El Reforma	2010	14.11.	Stuxnet
They want to stop Iranian nuclear plans with cyberattack	Buscan con ciberataque frenar los planes nucleares iraníes	El Reforma	2011	22.1.	Stuxnet
Nobody is safe: not even Google, Sony or RSA	Nadie se salva: ni Google, Sony o RSA	El Reforma	2011	25.4.	Stuxnet

The Stuxnet challenge	El desafío de Stuxnet	El Reforma	2011	1.6.	Stuxnet
Israel created the Flame'	Israel creó el Flame'	El Reforma	2012	30.5.	Stuxnet
Obama pressed for "cyberwar"	Presionó Obama por 'ciberguerra'	El Reforma	2012	2.6.	Stuxnet
Antivirus is a neccessary evil	Es antivirus mal necesario	El Reforma	2012	25.6.	Stuxnet
United States lead the cyber warfare	Toma EU delantera en guerra cibernética	El Reforma	2012	5.2.	Stuxnet
X-rays in the US airports	Rayos X en Aeropuertos de EU	La Jornada	2012	18.11.	3D body scanner
Protection against the scanners at the airports	Protección contra el escáner en los aeropuertos	La Jornada	2010	23.11.	3D body scanner
Wave of insecurity in schools	"Ola de inseguridad" en las escuelas	La Jornada	2010	31.10.	cctv
Social programmes, priority of the budget for 2011: Ebrard (Marcelo Ebrard - head of the government)	Programas sociales, prioridad del presupuesto para 2011: Ebrard	La Jornada	2010	27.11.	cctv
There will be electronic surveillance in wagons of metro	Habrá vigilancia electrónica en vagones del Metro	La Jornada	2011	14.3.	cctv
There will be more monitoring in the stadiums. We already have an advanced operation: Ebrard (Marcelo Ebrard - head of Mexico City government)	Habrá más vigilancia en estadios, ya se tiene un operativo muy avanzado: Ebrard	La Jornada	2011	24.8.	cctv
They strenghten surveillance in STC (public transport system) , they will install cameras in trains	Refuerzan videovigilancia en el STC; instalan cámaras en trenes	La Jornada	2011	26.8.	cctv
There will be a surveillance increase in 12 metro stations because of the riots.	Por disturbios, mayor vigilancia en 12 estaciones del Metro	La Jornada	2012	27.2.	cctv
Mondragon believes that the programme of surveillance with cameras will continue (Manuel Mondragón - secretary for the public security of the federal district, Mexico)	Confía Mondragón en que continuará el programa de videovigilancia con cámaras	La Jornada	2012	1.5.	cctv
Mayor security measures allow 44% reduce of delicts in metro: Bojórquez (Community	Mayores medidas de seguridad permiten reducir 44% delitos en el Metro: Bojórquez	La Jornada	2012	18.7.	cctv

of Metros (Comet))						
The international airport in Mexico City (AICM) reinforces security of passengers	Refuerza seguridad de los pasajeros el AICM	La Jornada	2012	20.11.	cctv	
Polemic in Guanajuato about a contract for Seguritech company	Polémica en Guanajuato por contrato a empresa Seguritech	La Jornada	2013	19.2.	cctv	
Iran denounces "cyberterrorism" against its industrial computer system	Denuncia Irán "ciberterrorismo" contra su sistema de computadoras industriales	La Jornada	2010	26.9.	Stuxnet	
United States encouraged sabotage in Iranian nuclear plants	EU alentó sabotajes contra las centrales nucleares de Irán	La Jornada	2011	20.1.	Stuxnet	
Obama denonunces having filtered information about the cyberwar against Iranian nuclear plans	Niega Obama haber filtrado información de guerra cibernética contra plan atómico iraní	La Jornada	2012	9.6.	Stuxnet	
They prove that USA developed three cyber viruses	Prueban que EU desarrolló tres virus informáticos	La Jornada	2012	18.9.	Stuxnet	

Table 25: All articles from the year 2010

		January 2010	February 2010	March 2010	April 2010	May 2010	June 2010
LA JORNADA left-leaning paper	3D body scanner	2	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	0	0	0
	cctv	0	1	0	0	0	1
EL REFORMA right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	5	0	1	0	0	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	0	0	0
	cctv	1	0	1	1	1	0
		July 2010	August 2010	September 2010	October 2010	November 2010	December 2010
LA JORNADA left-leaning paper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	3	0	1
	stuxnet	0	0	2	0	2	0
	cctv	0	2	1	1	2	1
EL REFORMA right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	1	0	0
	stuxnet	0	0	2	5	6	3
	cctv	0	1	0	1	0	2

		January 2011	February 2011	March 2011	April 2011	May 2011	June 2011
LA JORNADA left-leaning paper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	2	0	0	1	0	0
	cctv	0	0	3	0	2	0
EL REFORMA right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	2	1	1	3	1	1
	cctv	1	1	1	2	2	2
		July 2011	August 2011	September 2011	October 2011	November 2011	December 2011
LA JORNADA left-leaning paper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	0	0	0
	cctv	1	4	1	0	0	1
EL REFORMA right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	1	1	0	1	0	0
	cctv	1	1	2	0	2	2

		January 2012	February 2012	March 2012	April 2012	May 2010	June 2012
LA JORNADA left-leaning paper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	0	1	0	0	1	2
	cctv	1	1	0	0	1	3
EL REFORMA right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	1	0	0	0	2	9
	cctv	1	1	1	0	1	3
		July 2012	August 2012	September 2012	October 2012	November 2012	December 2012
LA JORNADA left-leaning paper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	0	2	2	1	0	0
	cctv	4	1	0	1	1	2
EL REFORMA right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	0	1	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	0	1	0	0	0	1
	cctv	1	6	2	0	2	2

Table 28: All articles from the year 2013.

		January 2013	February 2013	March 2013	April 2013
LA JORNADA left-leaning paper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	0
	cctv	2	1	1	3
EL REFORMA right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	0	1	0	0
	cctv	2	1	2	4

Table 29: Total number of articles found for each topic and newspapers by year.

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
LA JORNADA (left-leaning newspaper)	3D body scanner	6	0	0	0	6
	stuxnet	4	3	9	0	16
	cctv	9	12	15	7	43
REFORMA (right-leaning newspaper)	3D body scanner	7	0	1	0	8
	stuxnet	16	12	14	1	43
	cctv	8	17	20	9	54
Total		50	44	59	17	170

Table 30: The sample gained from the found articles.

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
LA JORNADA (left-leaning newspaper)	3D body scanner	2	0	0	0	2
	stuxnet	1	1	2	0	4
	cctv	2	3	4	1	10
REFORMA (right-leaning newspaper)	3D body scanner	3	0	0	0	3
	stuxnet	4	3	3	1	11
	cctv	2	2	5	2	11
Total		14	9	14	4	41

8.1 List of figures: