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Risks and Security in Spanish Newspapers: The
Cases of 3D Body Scanners, CCTV and Stuxnet

Contribution to the SECONOMICS project and
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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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Executive summary

This report focuses on the media coverage carried out by two leading Spanish newspapers on three different topics: 3D body scanners, CCTV systems and Stuxnet. The chosen daily newspapers are the Madrid-based *El País* (left-leaning) and Barcelona-based *La Vanguardia* (right-leaning). The period of time analyzed ranges from the 1st January 2010 until the 30th April 2013. The first part of the report focuses on the media landscape in Spain, and also on the methodology used in order to choose the media and select the articles to be analyzed. The second part looks at the Spanish social and political context for the period 2010-2013, and the third part features the analysis of the selected articles. It focuses on who the actors providing information are, what topics are discussed, and what kind of narrative strategies they use. An analysis of the general tendencies regarding the changing of topics and arguments over the time within the three issues is also provided. Finally, the fourth part of the report outlines the main conclusions from the analysis.

1. Introduction

Plagued by a long history of violence and terrorism, Spanish governments have always placed security on top of their political agendas. The history of Spain in the 20th century was filled with violence and a dictatorship, whose legacies still shape the political and economic landscape of the country. The Spanish Civil War of 1936 - 1939 was followed by a period of repression by General Franco's so-called "National movement," which effectively established an authoritarian regime for 36 years. The dictatorship of Francisco Franco, also called *Caudillo* ("Leader"), lasted from 1939 to 1975 and, among many other things, was characterized by limited freedom of expression, the existence of only pro-government media outlets, and the violent silencing of any opposing ideas. This also applied to the various national secessionist movements, which were strongly repressed during these years and only re-emerged after the political liberalization in the 1970s with a much stronger vigour and violence. The slogan *España es diferente* ("Spain is different"), originally used by Franco to promote Spain as a tourist destination, could thus also be applied today for different reasons: describing Spanish special position in terms of its exposure to terrorist attacks and secessionist movements in the Basque Country and Catalonia.

As a result, Spain's recent history includes many acts of political violence. After the *Caudillo* died and the transition to democracy started, a large number of terrorist organizations have carried out violent acts to achieve their political goals. This includes nationalist groups, such as *Ejército Popular Catalán* (Popular Regular Army) in Catalonia and *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (Basque Homeland and Freedom), or the ETA, from the Basque Country, though it declared a cessation of attacks in 2010. There are also a number of extreme leftist groups, such as the communist *Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre*, (The First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups) or GRAPO, and *Resistencia Galega* (Resistance of Galicia). Opposing them are extreme right-leaning bands, such as the *Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey* ("Warriors of Christ the King") (Sánchez-Cuenca 2007: 290). Most recently, in March 2004 Spain suffered the biggest jihadist attack in Europe when several

bombs exploded on the suburban trains of Madrid, resulting in almost 200 deaths. The attack was organized by a terrorist group inspired by al-Qaeda, just two days before the Spanish national elections.

Apart from the legacy of a violent past and political violence related to nationalist or secessionist claims, the Spanish government places a special emphasis on security in another field as well. Spain is the fourth major tourism destination worldwide in terms of millions of international tourist arrivals. In 2010, 52.7 million foreign tourists visited that country (UNWTO 2011: 6). This situation has made Spain's critical infrastructure, including airports, railways, and undergrounds, a constant concern for the government, politicians, political parties, and the security forces. Authorities are expected to deal not just with terrorism, but also with daily petty crime, such as robberies, muggings, burglars, drug use, and common delinquents in order to keep its citizens and foreign visitors safe. The international image of Spain as an appealing and safe tourist destination cannot be ruined.

Both the historic presence of terrorism in Spain as well as the importance of keeping critical infrastructures secured makes security a key issue in Spain that involves political, social and economic actors' interests. Regional governments as well as transnational institutions, such as the European Union, have major interests in this field as they are expected to succeed in their mission of maintaining social well-being. Security forces need to diffuse or reduce the threat of any kind of a catastrophic situation. The interests of international technology companies, which hope to gain huge economic benefits by selling their devices to states and private organisms, are also quite clear. Lastly, political parties and advocacy groups may try to take advantage of citizens' fears and uncertainties to achieve their political goals as security remains as one of the basic human needs (Maslow 1943). The two dominant political parties in Spain - the People's Party (PP) and the Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) - have clearly followed this trend, especially in the aftermath of the 2004 bombing. Just two days prior to the elections, the PP's leader Mariano Rajoy had to face not only the repercussions of the terrorist attacks, but also a vigorous campaign led by the main media owner PRISA,

which favoured the PSOE, led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. The People's Party later lost the elections.

It can thus be expected that society's perception of risks and acceptance of security technologies have a strong influence on both political and economic institutions. In this respect, mass media plays a key role in democratic countries by influencing citizens' perceptions and opinions (Jáuregi Bereciartu 1989: 93). That is why analyzing how Spanish newspapers cover security issues is highly important when trying to understand Spaniards' opinions and attitudes towards risks and acceptance of security technologies.

In 2004, it took the Spanish authorities nearly three weeks to track down the terrorists behind the 191 deaths and hundreds of injured people at the Madrid train station Atocha. A lack of footage from the day and time-consuming and limited identification resources substantially slowed down the Spanish investigation.¹ It took the American FBI less than four days to capture the two main suspects of the Boston Marathon killings of April 2013. With the use of surveillance cameras, the FBI was able to release the footage and photographs of the two suspects from that day and they were quickly identified. As technology has progressed, the options available to criminal investigators have also grown, especially in terms of monitoring systems. While we all live in societies under some form of surveillance, Spain a good example of how surveillance can be used to secure safety in public spaces.

It is thus important to investigate the importance of security and safety in people's lives in Spain, and how they perceive the growing number of technological security innovations. This report presents the results of an analysis of the coverage of two major Spanish newspapers on three highly relevant topics concerning security: the implementation of 3D body scanners, the use of CCTV systems, and the release and consequences of the computer virus called Stuxnet between January 2010 and April 2013. The first part of the report provides a background overview of the press landscape in Spain and its relationship with politics. It outlines the major dailies in the country as well as their ownership and their political orientation. The report further focuses on political and economic developments in Spain from 1 January 2010 to 31 April 2013, paying special attention to the economic crisis, which has dominated the media, pushing all other issues aside. I then discuss the sample

¹For a discussion see "Spain invests in technology to fight terrorism", PRI – Public Radio International, 30 May 2013, online: <http://www.pri.org/stories/politics-society/government/spain-invests-in-technology-to-fight-terrorism-13952.html>

selection process and the choice of the two media outlets, *El País* (centre-left) and *La Vanguardia* (centre-right). A description of the coverage of both media on the three topics follows, including the number of articles found on them within their databases. Building on these introductory and background sections, I then present the overall analysis of the coded sample and conclude by summarizing the research findings.

2. Media landscape in Spain

According to Ulrich Beck, one of the main features of so-called “global risks” is that they are invisible. Citizens cannot often predict the possibility of being a victim of a terrorist attack or an environmental catastrophe (Beck 2006: 34). In this respect, Beck explains that in a risk society the production of wealth comes systematically accompanied by a production of global risks, which are difficult to control (Beck 2006: 29). Unlike pre-modern risks, nowadays risks are not caused by nature but by industrial progress (Ibid: 33). They are caused by the desires of humanity to control and dominate nature. They do not affect individuals but societies as a whole since they are global. According to this theory, these risks can be framed into three basic categories, ecological crisis, global economy crisis and, since the 9/11 attacks in the United States, international terrorist networks (Beck 2003: 19). Particularly, current societies try to develop and implement a wide range of technologies in order to increase levels of production and raising standards of well-being. However, those actions may generate undesirable consequences whose results cannot be estimated.

This shift to “modern” risk is why messages from politicians, experts, advocacy groups, and journalists provided by social and mass media play a major role in people’s perceptions of risks and acceptance of security technologies. Following McLuhan’s approach (1964), mass media is not only important because they publish or broadcast news. Rather, they are especially important because they are characterized by their capability to spread information among the largest possible audience quickly. Naturally, those messages are not neutral but influenced by the ideology of media outlets themselves and their ownership structures. Because of that, analyzing the penetration of the major Spanish papers and also their political leaning is illuminating in understanding what kind of information is transmitted to the Spanish public about risks and security issues.

Spain is currently a democratic constitutional monarchy, guaranteeing all civil and political rights to its citizens, including the freedom of expression.² It is also a country of nineteen largely autonomous regions, which fosters great legal and administrative diversity. Since the transfer of power in 1975, Spain was quickly integrated into the European Community, becoming a member in 1981. Spain's quite recent liberalization also affected its media, which had been under state censorship for the entire authoritarian period of Francisco Franco. According to Tilson and Perez (2003), "only news favourable to the government could appear in the press" during the 36-year period (p. 127). Media was effectively used as Franco's propaganda means until a more lenient press law was adopted in 1966 (*Ley Fraga*). *Ley Fraga* ensured a certain quality of informative reporting style and led to a significant growth in the public trust of media (see Gunther et al., 2000: 34). Gunther, Montero, and Wert (2000) even claim that it was the *Ley Fraga*, which significantly undermined the foundations of Franco's system. Other authors also see this legal change as crucial since ideas differing from state opinions quickly found a new communication platform in new papers and magazines that started publish (Papatheodorou and Machin 2003: 36).

Despite these compromises, free media was literally non-existent until Franco's death in 1975. But within two years of his death, the print press became the vanguard of democratic changes as it lent support to the political ideas of the trade unions and informed the public of the on-going democratic political transformation. By 1978 the new constitution guaranteed the right to free and independent information. These changes were rapidly followed by the establishment of new media outlets and the overall flourishing of journalism as a profession (Gunther, Montero, and Wert 2000: 45). Among many others, the now leading daily *El País* was founded as a social democratic paper in May 1976, but also as the first pro-democratic daily in the country. By 1979 it had become the daily with the highest circulation in Spain (Ibid: 48).

²Freedom of expression is guaranteed in Section 20 of the Spanish Constitution.

According to Freedom House reports, since its inception as a democratic country Spain has had a robust and free media environment (Freedom House 2012). Nonetheless, while media freedom and independence has been respected in practice since the first democratic opening,³ the majority of media are economically dependent on the state and close ties with some political parties indirectly influences reporting (Papatheodorou and Machin 2003: 37). The ruling *Partido Popular* (Popular Party)⁴ in particular has recently been accused of influencing reporting and of appointing journalists and managers in media outlets (Reporters without Borders 2012b). In many respects, the major national media outlets, such as *El País* and *Diario 16*, have become the primary battlegrounds for rival political parties (Papatheodorou and Machin 2003: 37). This stems from the fact that originally the relatively new dailies became the main proponents of democratization and had their own political favourites. For example, since its founding *El País* has leaned towards the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party.

In addition, since the deregulation of the media in the early 1990s, there has been a gradual concentration of media ownership in the hands of only a few daily press groups such as *Unidad Editorial* (Editorial Union), media groups such as *Promotora de informaciones - PRISA* (owning *El País*)⁵ and *Grupo Zeta* (Tilson and Pérez 2003: 130). This also led to Jesús de Polanco, the former owner of *PRISA*, becoming the first Spanish media mogul in the 1990s. In fact, he was often called "The Rupert Murdoch of Spain."⁶ Similar to the political orientation of the media outlets, these press groups each carry a political agenda, which is well known to the public. For example, all media outlets owned by *PRISA* are clearly anti-governmental, favouring the social democrats. This trend has further deepened since the start of the financial crisis in 2008. Faced with serious financial problems, some newspapers had to downsize. The government also relaxed media ownership rules, "allowing a single entity to own a stake in more than one major broadcaster" (Freedom

³There is no freedom of information legislation in Spain as a bill from 2010 had not been passed by the Cortes.

⁴Partido Popular won elections in November 2011, taking over after a long PSOE government.

⁵It also owns the radio channel Cadena SER, the TV channel Cuatro and the digital TV Digital+.

⁶Polanco died in 2007.

House 2012). Some safeguards against media monopolies still exist, though, as, by law, at least three distinct broadcasting companies must exist in the country.

The crisis has also struck journalists as many have been laid off or their salaries cut. According to Freedom House, nearly 57 media outlets have closed down since 2008 and around one-sixth of Spanish journalists have lost their jobs (Freedom House 2013). The position of journalists has also deteriorated as the number of libel cases specifically and overall lawsuits generally have increased over the past two years, another consequence of the economic crisis and of growing corruption. Unlike in the previous decade, when the main threat to journalists came from terrorist organizations, who threatened or killed them for their unfavourable reporting about their activities (especially the ETA), today's threats come especially from private and state companies, and even the government. As many dailies are subsidized in large part by the state, self-censorship has also been growing in the past three years (Freedom House 2013). *Reporters without Borders* has even raised their concerns about the growing support in the media for the leading Popular Party and the removal of several journalists from state television who were critical of the governing party (Reporters without Borders 2012b).

According to data from AIMC's⁷ *Estudio General de Medios*, the most prestigious survey on media trends in Spain, (see Table 2.1), there are six major nation-wide dailies. *El País* is currently the largest with nearly three million daily readers. This puts them far ahead of their main competitors, *El Mundo*, "The World" (1,170,000), *La Vanguardia*, "The Vanguard" (790,000), *El Periódico*, "The Daily" (625,000), *ABC* (620,000), and *La Voz de Galicia*, "The Voice of Galicia" (601,000). Overall, four of the ten major Spanish newspapers in terms of daily readership specialize in sports, which points to

⁷ Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación, or AIMC (Association for the Investigation of Media and Communication). It states its goal is to "research of the audience of different media, the distribution of reports among its members done with non profit [sic] intent and in consonance with the democratic principles being practiced in the organization."

the importance of sports in Spain. All nation-wide papers are published in Madrid and make use of the national news agency, the EFE, which is now an independent organization (Tilson and Perez, 2003: 131). The data for 2012 suggest a clear decline in traditional media and a shift towards the usage of digital media, as 72% of the country now has internet access (Freedom House 2013).

Moving beyond mere circulation numbers, these newspapers show two basic differences. The first is the territory they are focused on. Three out of six are considered national papers (*El País*, *El Mundo*, and *ABC*), while the other three focus on their home regions, though they are distributed all over Spain (*La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico* are from Catalonia, and *La Voz de Galicia* is from Galicia). The second difference is the deep political divisions that can be found between them. *El País*, which belongs to *PRISA* (the leading media conglomerate in Spain), is a left-leaning newspaper, as is *El Periódico* (owned by the *Zeta Group*). On the other hand, *El Mundo* (owned by *Unidad Editorial*), and *La Voz de Galicia* (owned by a private company) are both considered center-right papers. *ABC* (owned by the *Vocento Group*) is considered a very conservative publication, while *La Vanguardia* represents a Catalanian-nationalist conservative option.

Table 2.1 Spain's Top 10 newspapers in terms of daily readership 2008-2013

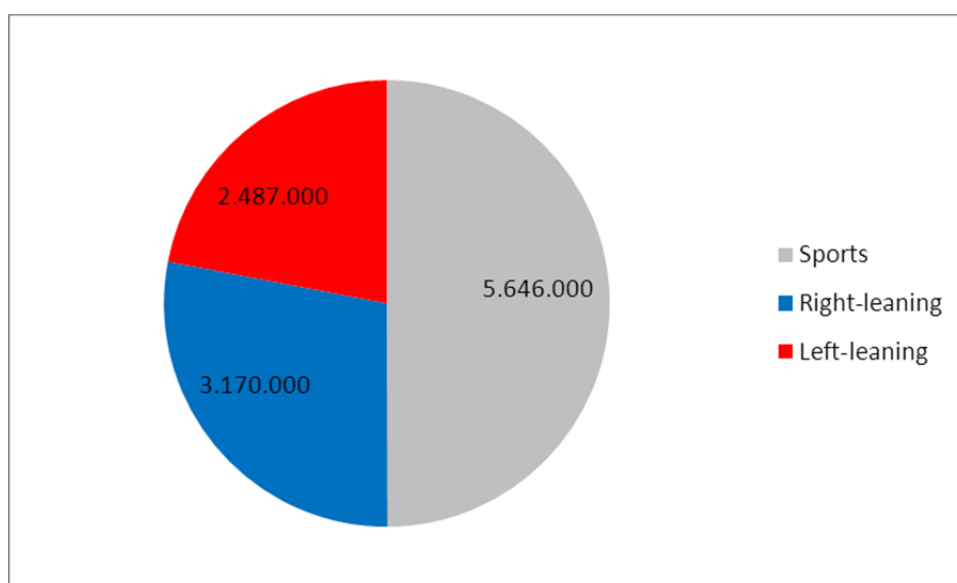
Name	Political Orientation	Daily readers					
		2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013**
Marca	*	2 597 000	2 800 000	2 888 000	2 960 000	3 011 000	2 870 000
El País	Left-leaning	2 218 000	2 081 000	1 924 000	1 915 000	1 929 000	1 862 000
As	*	1 266 000	1 306 000	1 395 000	1 470 000	1 480 000	1 426 000
El Mundo	Right-leaning	1 348 000	1 309 000	1 282 000	1 234 000	1 181 000	1 170 000
La Vanguardia	Right-leaning, Catalan Nationalist	695 000	731 000	757 000	849 000	811 000	790 000
Sport	*	564 000	690 000	737 000	710 000	720 000	678 000
El mundo deportivo	*	588 000	646 000	658 000	719 000	711 000	672 000
El Periódico	Left-leaning, Autonomous Region of Catalonia	808 000	749 000	778 000	731 000	613 000	625 000
ABC	Right-leaning	701 000	728 000	756 000	660 000	648 000	609 000
La Voz de Galicia	Right-leaning, Autonomous Region of Galicia	602 000	597 000	585 000	623 000	623 000	601 000

* Sports

** 31/03/2013

Source: *Estudio General de Medios (EGM)* by AIMC

Graph 2.1 Spanish newspapers' daily readers by paper's orientation, 2013



Source: *Estudio General de Medios (EGM)* by AIMC

After aggregating the major papers' readership numbers and dividing the total by political leaning (see **Graph 2.1**), one sees that conservative media leads the circulation rates of the daily newspapers in Spain. Right-leaning newspapers have a readership amounting to 3,170,000 people on a daily basis, while left-leaning ones have only 2,487,000 readers. However, it must be noted that 790,000 out of 3,170,000 people supporting conservative papers in Spain read *La Vanguardia*, which is a national daily founded in 1881 in Barcelona (which makes it the oldest paper in Spain). Therefore, its political vision has nothing to do with the rest of right-leaning papers, which reject any kind of a nationalist approach regarding the future of Spain.

3. Reporting on security issues in times of crisis

The articles analyzed for this research were published in the period from January 2010 to April 2013. As already noted, Spain has suffered greatly from the financial crisis since its onset in 2008. The consequences of the world crisis have been more serious for southern Europe due to the structure of its economy, which is dependent on several commodities and services that the crisis hit hard (for a detailed discussion see Taylor 2009). Spain's unemployment skyrocketed from 2,590,000 in 2008 to 5,769,000 in 2012 (INE's *Encuesta de Población Activa, EPA*). That comes out to an overall unemployment rate of 25% in 2012. Such figures are even worse among young people, where the rate is over 50%. Yet unemployment is not the only problem currently affecting Spain. According to the data from Spain's *Consejo General del Poder Judicial* (The General Council of the Judiciary), banks foreclosed and evicted 39,167 households from their homes in 2012, as their owners could not afford to pay their mortgages. Still thousands more were expelled from their rented homes after failing to make their rent payments. (Consejo del Poder Judicial 2012: 8).

Economic issues have thus been gaining more traction in both the media and among citizens since 2008. Evidence of this comes from Spain's *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS, The Center for Sociological Investigation)*, which carries out a monthly survey asking individuals, "What is in your opinion Spain's major problem currently?" Between 2007 and 2012 the percentage of Spanish citizens who identified economic issues and unemployment as Spain's biggest problem grew dramatically. According to the CIS's social barometer developed in April 2012, unemployment was considered Spain's biggest problem by 63% of the Spaniards, followed by the growing general economic issues (19%).

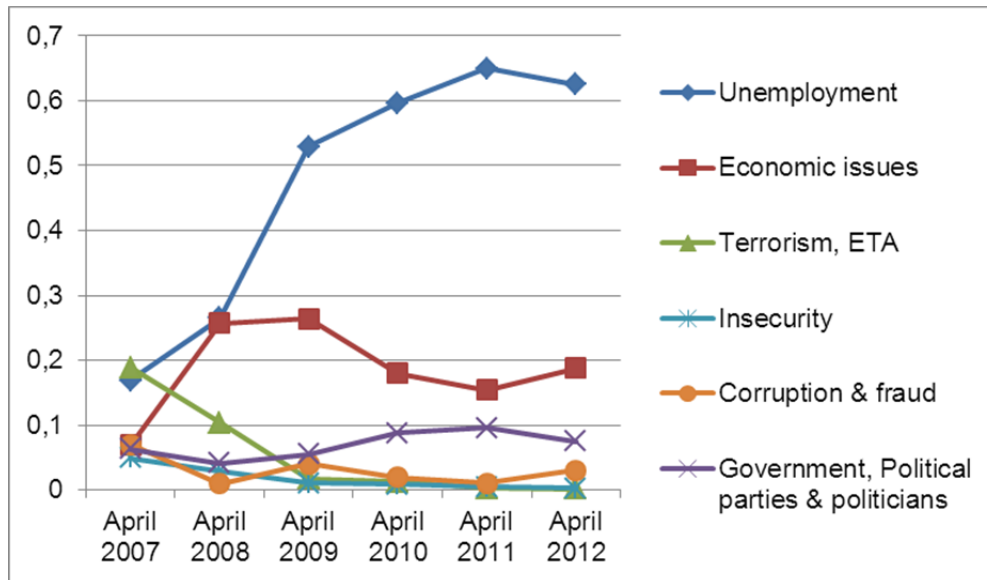
The rising economic malaise has also meant that stories related to personal security, the ETA, and terrorism have been losing importance (see **Graph 4.1.**). ETA-terrorism and security have nearly completely disappeared from

the public discourse. The last major ETA attack was carried out in 2006 at the Madrid-Barajas airport, but it has slowly slipped out of the public memory, as have the last series of smaller attacks that lasted until 2009. Remarkably, the percentage of respondents who considered ETA-terrorism and security to be the biggest problem facing Spain dropped precipitously from 19% in April 2007 to 2% in April 2008. Even more, this decrease in the perceived threat of the ETA occurred nearly a year and half before the ETA's declared ceasefire in September 2010, and over two years prior to ETA's announcement of a "definitive cessation of its armed activity" in January 2011 (Guardian, 10-01-2011). Since then, terrorism has not played an important role in the Spanish public life and has virtually disappeared from the daily news. It is likely that, for Spaniards, terrorism concerns have been supplanted wholesale by concerns about the economy and growing unemployment, as Spain's unemployment rate is currently the highest in Western Europe.

Regarding security issues generally, one can only guess if the decreasing concern for terrorism was a result of a perceived increase in security, or if it was because of pre-occupation with economic problems. But it is surprising that security concerns dropped drastically following not the end of attacks or announcements of ceasefires, but following the economic crisis and the realization of the threat it posed to the financial stability of the country. Especially in a country that has been deeply affected by both national and transnational terrorism, as well as by many episodes political violence, this major change is extremely curious. But while security might not make it to the top of the list, privacy-related topics have made the headlines. This was especially true in 2011 during the so-called "Right to be Forgotten" campaign against Google searches. The case started with a libel against Google in 2011 when the Spanish Data Protection Agency asked the giant to remove old personal information of nearly 100 individuals. The case later moved on to the European Court of Justice in March 2012 to assess which jurisprudence (EU or US) should be applied. The case is still pending (see Freedom House 2013). Privacy was also the main cause of one the most discussed court case in 2012 against a journalist, who refused to name the source of footage she made

public in 2009. The journalist was charged with a violation of privacy and fined €3,000 (Reporters without Borders 2012a).

Graph 4.1 Publically perceived major problems in Spain



Source: *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS)*

4. Methodology

This research report is based on a cross-national qualitative comparative analysis within the comparative EU-funded project *Seconomics*⁸ and evaluates the impact of security threats in contemporary societies by the use of diverse social science methods. For the purposes of this cross-national research project, the researchers participating in the *Seconomics* project conducted a series of national case studies, assessing the trends in media reporting of security-related issues. This report is one part of this research project, focusing on the coverage of two Spanish leading newspapers on three different topics: body scanners, Stuxnet, and CCTV cameras for the period of 2010-2013. The first analytical step to take was the selection of the two media outlets to study. I chose one left-leaning and one right-leaning daily newspaper in order to compare the differences between them regarding the importance given to each topic, the role of the actors speaking about those issues, and their narrative strategies.

This selection was guided by several criteria. First, it was necessary to choose two leading papers. For that purpose an analysis of the evolution of daily readership of the top ten Spanish newspapers from 2010 to 2013 was carried out. **Graph 3.1** shows that *El País* was the leading progressive paper for the whole period. Moreover, as some authors note, *El País*, founded in 1976, is the most widely read daily newspaper and “perhaps the most influential, as it played a critical role in guiding the formation of opinion in the early days of Spanish democracy” (Tilson and Perez, 2002: 129). Especially since many left-leaning papers have lost readers or even closed down entirely, *El País* has become the main center-left media voice in the country.

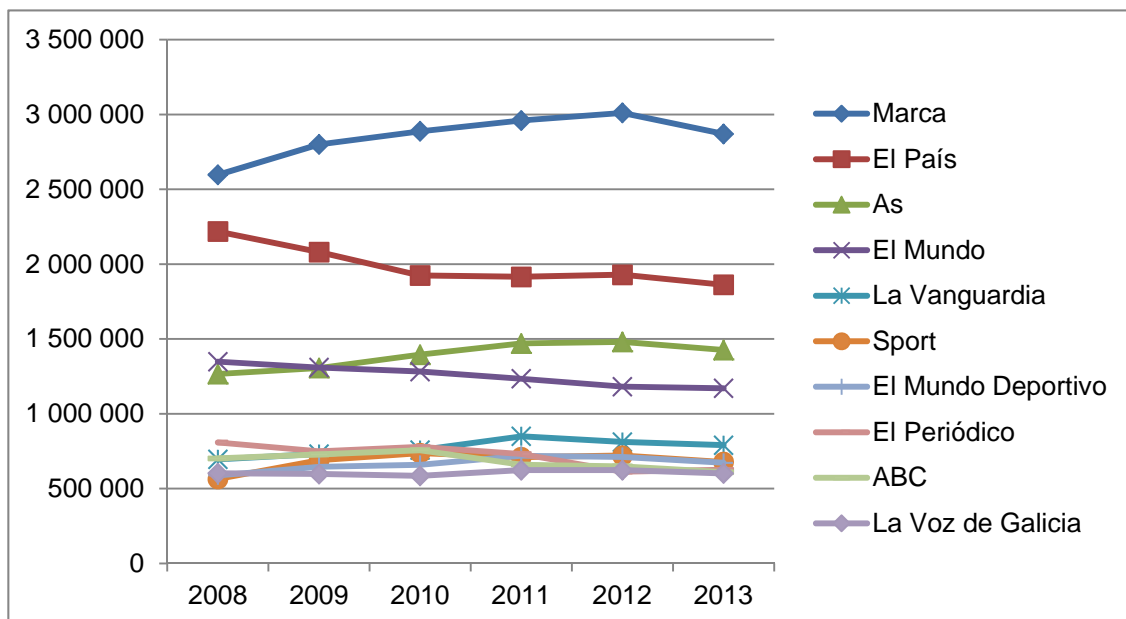
As for the conservative and center-right newspapers, the most important conservative daily newspaper in Spain is currently *El Mundo*. However, I chose to analyze *La Vanguardia* for several reasons. Firstly, *La Vanguardia* is a national regional paper. These allows us to compare not just differences

⁸See the official website of the project: <http://seconomicsproject.eu/>

between right-leaning and left-leaning, but also compare differences in the papers' conceptions of the structure of the state. Secondly, *La Vanguardia* has the largest circulation in Catalonia. So even though it is the fifth-most read newspaper nationally, it remains the most influential paper in one of Spain's most developed and dynamic regions. Finally, *La Vanguardia* is available in both Spanish and Catalan, so no translation is needed.

Once the newspapers were selected, I looked for all the articles they published about 3D body scanners, CCTV cameras and Stuxnet from 2010-2013. Both *El País* and *La Vanguardia* online search engines were used to find all news fitting those topics. For articles on CCTV cameras, the Spanish terms "videovigilancia" (video-surveillance), "cámaras vigilancia" (surveillance cameras) and "CCTV" were used. The search was easier on *elpais.com* since all articles were tagged (categorized) and there is currently a category named "videovigilancia" (video-surveillance), which has substantially simplified the search.

Graph 3.1 Evolution of daily readership of the Top 10 Spanish dailies 2008-2013



Source: *Estudio General de Medios* (EGM) by AIMC

For articles on 3D body scanners the words “escáneres corporales” (body scanners), “escáneres 3D” (3D body scanners) and “escáneres seguridad” (security scanners) were used. The term “Stuxnet” was used to find the news on the computer virus. Table 3.1 shows that 172 articles were downloaded. Around 65% of them were published by *El País* and 35% by *La Vanguardia*. By topic, *El País* published more articles on 3D body scanners and Stuxnet than *La Vanguardia*. However, a higher amount of news on CCTV was found in the Catalan newspaper. These figures are not surprising, as *El País* is a daily that focuses primarily on international affairs. *La Vanguardia*, on the other hand, is mainly interested in regional Catalanian issues. In this regard, a large number of CCTV devices were installed in Catalanian cities such as Barcelona between 2010 and 2013. This also explains why many articles were available for this period on the topic.

Table 3.1 Articles on 3D body scanners, Stuxnet, and CCTV published by *El País* and *La Vanguardia* 2010-2013

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
EL PAÍS	3D body scanner	31	3	4	1	39
	stuxnet	15	17	11	2	45
	cctv	13	7	6	0	26
LA VANGUARDIA	3D body scanner	9	0	0	0	9
	stuxnet	6	3	3	0	12
	cctv	14	15	9	3	41
Total		88	45	33	6	172

From the original 172 articles found, 41 were selected to be analyzed (around 25% of the total number, N), maintaining the proportion of articles published by newspaper, topic, and year (see Table 3.2). The sample includes articles from both *El País's* and *La Vanguardia's* online edition and print edition. I used a purposive sampling method as the selection of articles was not made randomly, but by choosing the most relevant ones in order to demonstrate a wide range of actors, narrative strategies, and arguments (both in favour of and against) on the three topics. That is helpful for us to accurately understand what messages these leading newspapers gave Spanish society.

Table 3.2 Sample of articles on 3D body scanners, Stuxnet, and CCTV published by *El País* and *La Vanguardia* 2010-2013

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
EL PAÍS	3D body scanner	8	0	1	0	9
	stuxnet	4	4	3	1	12
	cctv	3	2	1	0	6
LA VANGUARDIA	3D body scanner	2	0	0	0	2
	stuxnet	1	1	1	0	3
	cctv	3	3	2	1	9
Total		21	10	8	2	41

5. Analysis: 3D body scanners, CCTV systems, and Stuxnet (2010-2013)

The shift in the public's perception of threats, moving from terrorist to economic threats, explains why Spanish media have paid special attention to economic themes in the analyzed period. However, those topics have not been the only issues considered by the Spanish media from 2010 to 2013. For example, the debate over new European flight security regulations generated many articles, since Spain held the Presidency of the European Union at that time. Likewise, the newspapers published a number of articles about CCTV systems. Many of them focused specially on Catalonia, where some cities and towns, including Barcelona, began massive implementations of these kinds of devices. The third topic, the computer virus Stuxnet, did not provoke any special reactions from Spanish citizens, given its foreign policy dimension, which was not very relevant to ordinary Spanish citizens. Still, one finds many articles about it, particularly in *El País*, which simply inform readers of events. Overall, despite the decrease in interest in security-related issues, I have found enough material in the two selected newspapers to carry out an analysis of security risks.

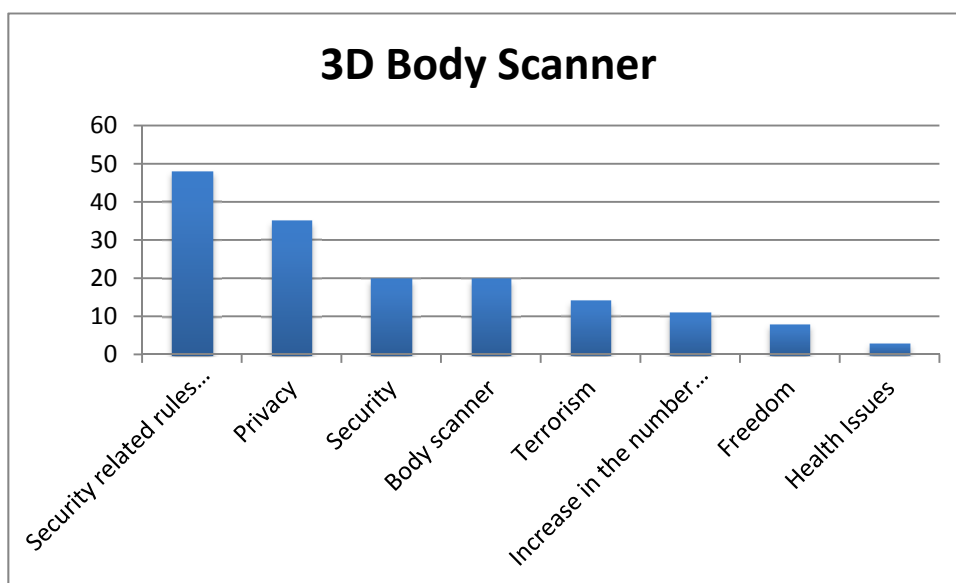
5.1 Body scanners

The implementation of body scanners at American and European airports is a good example of the process of modernization as defined by "Risk Society" (Beck 2006). Terrorist organizations - as new sources of risk - use technologies such as airplanes, explosives, or chemical weapons to fulfil their political and social purposes. Meanwhile, governments and institutions also use technologies, such as body scanners, to counter those threats. 3D body scanners are a good example of how societies employ products of industrialization to avert risks produced by industrialization itself. In this regard, the United Kingdom's Prime Minister at that time, Gordon Brown, stated in 2010: "We are facing a threat (international terrorism) that forces us to use new technologies (body scanners)" (*El País*, 04-01-2010).

Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, aviation security has become a key issue for both national states and transnational organizations. As a result, common regulations for aviation security were proposed for EU countries in 2008, but were not adopted. The period of analysis (2010-2013) was also marked by a new attempt by the European Union to pass a bill on air security, as well as making an agreement with the United States in that field. This is why the most repeated topic of the article's selected quotations are "security related rules and regulations" (48 times), followed by "privacy" (35), "security general" (20), "body scanner" itself (20), "terrorism" (14), "increase number of body scanners" (11), "freedom" (8), and "health issues" (3) (see Graph 5.1.).

Nevertheless, the topic "security related rules and regulations" plays a leading role in articles published by Spanish papers in 2010. This is not only because of the pending legislation, but also a result of Spain holding the EU presidency between January and June that year. The Spanish President, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, who was also the EU president, was faced with a double challenge. He had to implement the organizational restructuring agreed in the Lisbon Treaty, but also steer the EU through the repercussions of the world "credit crunch" (Heywood 2011).

Graph 5.1. Topic frequency in articles about 3D Body Scanners



Source: Author's coding.

The negotiations on aviation security among EU countries, as well as between the European Union and the United States, were extensively covered by Spanish papers, especially when meetings took place between representatives of Spain and the USA. In fact a number of articles published in 2010 spoke directly of the role of the US in the formation of these regulations. For instance, the 8th January 2010, *El País's* correspondent in Brussels highlighted that, "Washington watches European security." The same paper published two weeks later that, "the United States and the EU agreed to a common framework for aviation security." The same article also quoted the US Homeland Security Secretary, Janet Napolitano, insisting that decisions were indeed the result of a consensus: "This document is the result of a deep **joint** reflection on the current terrorist threats [that was especially necessary] after the attempted terrorist attack that took place the 25th of December on an airplane whose destination was Detroit, and on which people from eighteen different countries were travelling" (*El País*, 21-01-2010).

However, the biggest controversy regarding "security related rules and regulations" has nothing to do with the interactions between European Union and the United States. Rather, the big debate on the implementation of body scanners is related to "privacy." Many actors included in the category "state institutions" express their concerns about the consequences that such technology may have for citizens' fundamental rights. A number of statements from political authorities may be found within the articles sampled regarding the dilemma between security and privacy. For instance, "A spokesperson the European Union, Barbara Helfferich, has pointed out today that the European Commission seeks to analyze the impact that body scanners may have on passengers' health and privacy" (*El País*, 04-01-2010). In a similar fashion, other articles also discussed the topic of passengers' personal privacy. "Some countries, including Germany and Belgium, show a severe reluctance to use those devices until they have verified if their use is not a violation of travellers' privacy" (*El País*, 08-01-2010).

This tension between privacy and security concerns not just politicians and state institutions. In fact, many quotations expressing concerns of individuals and journalists on the implementation and use of these scanners are found in the Spanish media. These worries are focused, on the one hand, on how images of passengers' bodies could be "leaked" and, on the other hand, how some ethnic and religious minorities such as Muslims could be at risk of being profiled. These concerns are consistent with research conducted in Spain in recent years. In this sense, the privacy and security focussed PRISE-project-Spain⁹ suggests that body scanners, also called "naked machines," are supported by just 18% of Spaniards. Such a low tolerance is explained by Spanish citizens' fear of being exposed, as well as by their concern regarding the inappropriate use that workers in charge of scanners could make of the images generated (Pavone et al. 2007: 14). A good example of this attitude is the following citation: "Scanners that see through clothes to produce an image of the body have caused unease among human rights activists, who fear that authorities can commit possible invasions of passengers' privacy, as well as target Muslim travellers unfairly" (*El País*, 01-02-2010).

But critics to the implementation and use of body scanners do not just come from individuals and activists, but from journalists themselves. Although most of the articles published on this topic are not opinion pieces, one suspects that authors reject, or at least distrust, these measures in 2010. In fact, even when the main narrative strategy used by all actors is a definitive style (112 out of 139 quotations use that style), and that pattern is also true for journalists, it is obvious that both the progressive and the conservative media have reservations about the legitimacy of such surveillance. *El País*, for instance, introduces the implementation of body scanners in the United Kingdom by calling them controversial. "Prime Minister Gordon Brown has announced the implementation of the controversial body scanners" (*El País*, 04-01-2010). And a month later Paola Orelleiro, *El País's* correspondent in A Coruña, Spain, states something similar: "(The European Commission) will

⁹More information about the PRISE Project, whose name stands for "Privacy enhancing shaping of security research and technology," can be found at <<http://www.prise.oeaw.ac.at>>

make the most of the experiences of countries like Finland, which have already implemented those controversial devices" (*El País*, 12-02-2010). It thus seems that the body scanners have been universally considered a very contentious topic.

Going further, the left-leaning paper blames Gordon Brown's predecessor, former Prime Minister Tony Blair, of sacrificing civil rights to the increase international security. "Tony Blair was George W. Bush's right-hand man at the time, sacrificing civil rights to increase security, which is an industrial sector where a lot of arms companies, as well as aerospace companies, have been moving to recently, as it generates billions of euros per year" (*El País*, 04-01-2010). And regarding the debate between privacy and security in the United States they state that, "Within the political debate, the United States' national security has been prevailing over any other argument during the last decade" (*El País*, 13-12-2010). Security has thus been gaining the upper hand in these debates, according to this paper. Looking at the international context, the *La Vanguardia* headline "The Thanksgiving day porn-scan" (*La Vanguardia*, 23-11-2010) echos the protests of many North American passengers that they were searched by body scanners at airports when travelling to join their families for the traditional US Thanksgiving meal.

However, over time one perceives a change in journalists' views of body scanners. Initial worries detected in articles published in 2010 disappeared by 2012. It is impossible to know why, but it likely has to do with the idea that new technological developments are able to solve social problems, even those regarding civil rights. One headline, "New security devices at airports ensure travelers' privacy" (*El País*, 02-03-2012) illustrates this shift. A technological development might also improve the current tensions, as reported by another article that, "Technology makes progresses and companies are ready to release a new generation on scanners that ensure both security and privacy" (*El País*, 02-03-2012).

In summary, the use of body scanners could be defined as very controversial. Journalists warn of the risks of its implementation for passengers' privacy, while politicians and policy-makers state that it is necessary to be very careful in the process of decision-making in order to avoid any infringement of citizens' rights. The problem of tensions between the security versus privacy thus remains extremely topical and might be resolved only through further technological development or the development of some other major security threats.

5.2 CCTV

This part of the report refers to events in Spain regarding another divisive technological development, the so-called CCTV systems. CCTV is the most important issue among the three analyzed in this research in terms of number of articles published. In total, 67 out of 172 articles found in our search focus on it. On the other hand, 57 articles were found on Stuxnet, and just 48 articles were found about 3D body scanners. However, it is important to point out that those 67 articles are not equally distributed between *El País* and *La Vanguardia*. In fact, *La Vanguardia* published more than 61% of the articles. This is, though, simply because most of the articles have to do with the implementation of CCTV systems in particular Spanish cities and towns, especially in the Autonomous Region of Catalonia. That is why *La Vanguardia*, the Catalanian paper, had more coverage than *El País*, a national newspaper.

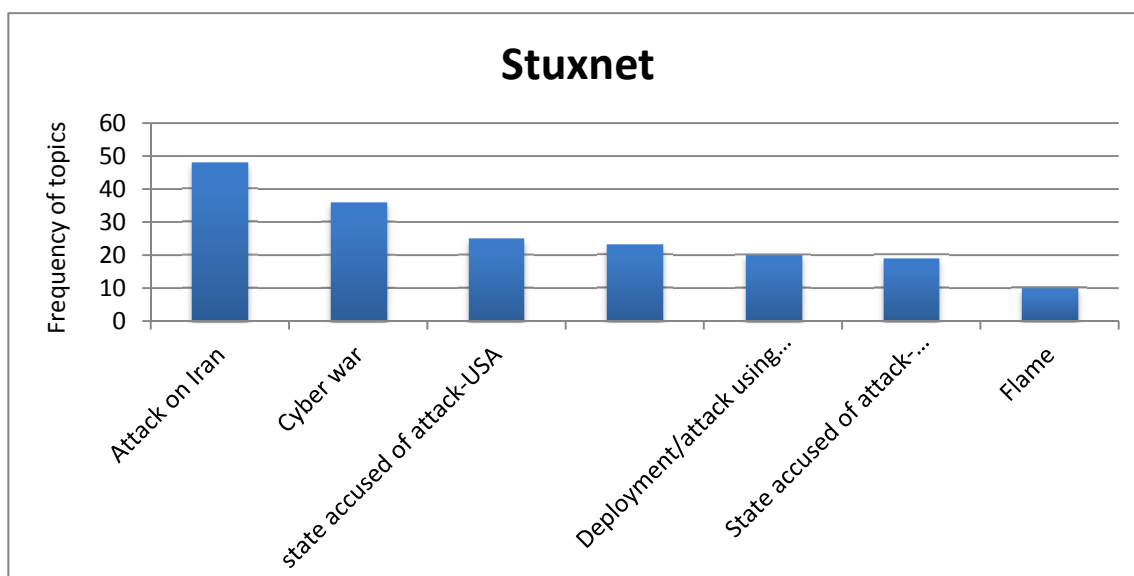
From those 67 articles, 15 were selected to be analyzed. Unlike in the previous case of the body scanners, the debate about privacy vs. security was completely missing from the coded articles. The use of CCTV does not seem to be very controversial. This is surprising since both technologies could be considered invasive and a breach of privacy rights. Instead, CCTV cameras seem to be quite accepted by the majority of citizens as long as the data protection law is not infringed. This could be because CCTV has become a very useful tool for uncovering petty crime, and because it has also already

been used for a number of years in many other European countries. In other words, people have become used to being surrounded by surveillance cameras and consider them normal.

A number of articles focus on the implementation of CCTV devices and the debate on the use of those systems turns around the compliance of the data protection law. It is thus not surprising that the top three coded topics were “purchase/installation of CCTV cameras” (62 times), “public domain monitoring” (42), and “security related rules and regulations” (32). However, other important topics were also found, including “CCTV cameras” (16), “security general” (14), “surveillance increase” (13), and “privacy” (12) (See Graph 5.2.). With regard to the actors, the top five are journalists (81), City Council (22), state institutions (21), citizens/passengers (11) and the police (8). Since a number of stories focus on the purchase and installation of CCTV cameras, journalists are the actors that explain how many cameras are going to be installed, where they are planned to be located and what the purpose of the implementation of those systems is.

Journalists also play a role explaining issues, such as the data protection law and its application. After reviewing the Spanish media, it seems that the implementation and use of CCTV systems in Spain is not as controversial as the use of body scanners. In fact, CCTV devices seem to be commonly accepted and its use only becomes a problem as long as the data protection law is violated. However, the Spanish law on this subject is quite complicated, so journalists do cover this topic quite often. There is a national agency for the data protection called *Agencia Nacional de Protección de Dato*. However, Spain is decentralized, with seventeen regions ruled by autonomous governments who are in charge of data protection as well. Some regions have their own agencies as well as their own commissions, which decide whether or not a CCTV circuit is allowed to be installed. Such a complex legal framework must be explained to citizens, which is why journalist emphasize the role of such agencies.

Graph 5.2. Topic frequency in articles on CCTV



Source: Author's coding.

For their part, journalists quote state institutions as well as city councils many times to provide information on the installation of new CCTV cameras in public places. These institutions include the Catalanian Data Protection Agency (called *Agència de Protecció de Dades Catalonian Comissió de Control de Dispositius de Videovigilància*), and the Madrid-based Commission of Surveillance (*Comisión Regional de Vidovigilancia*). In one quote, the paper states that, "The Catalanian Comisión de control de dispositivos de videovigilancia has allowed the installation of 22 cameras on the streets in order to avoid robberies, vandalism and antisocial behaviour" (*La Vanguardia*, 16-02-2011). Together with journalists, city councils, and state institutions, passengers and citizens have a say on the implementation of CCTV systems. However, they are not quoted as many times as those actors. Indeed, only six out of 15 articles have a quote from a citizen or a passenger. Most of the time, when a citizen/passenger or a representative of a neighbourhood association is quoted, he or she is complaining about delinquency and even calling for the installation of cameras. As one quote says, "(Neighbours) organize demonstrations every Thursday to call for cameras, as well as for an increase in police presence" (*La Vanguardia*, 24-12-2010). A positive attitude can thus be detected as in this quote by Lluís Quero, a representative of a neighbourhood association from Barcelona. "Cameras are O.K. They make

neighbours feel safe, and even when they do not solve a problem, they can help. But we need many more in order to stop drug-dealers" (*La Vanguardia*, 24-12-2010).

It can be concluded that citizens support CCTV systems as a good measure to fight against petty crimes and daily criminality. Nevertheless, it could be suspected that Spanish media try to hide citizen critics of this technology. With respect to this, the results of the PRISE-Project Spain states that some people are certain about the efficiency of the monitoring systems, but also that some "doubt the effectiveness of cameras in the prevention of crime" (2007: 13). Yet Spanish journalists from both *La Vanguardia* and *El País* give positive opinions on the efficiency of those systems. One statement says that "the 16 cameras that started to work at the beginning of August in Ciutat Vella have proved to be an efficient system to fight delinquency" (*La Vanguardia*, 28-10-2010). Another states "...the effectiveness of video-surveillance was proved again during demonstrations over rising higher education fees. 180 individuals were identified and arrested thanks to closed-circuit television" (*El País*, 09-08-2011). *La Vanguardia* even cited a drop in crime rates. "In some areas of Maresme, video-surveillance has shown its effectiveness. In Sant Viçens de Montalt, the level of delinquency has been cut 30% since cameras were installed. Also in Llavanes cameras located at the entrance of the town have allowed the detention of several criminals" (*La Vanguardia*, 03-03-2013).

We can see that most of the actors quoted support the implementation of video-surveillance. But one must note that city councils, citizens/passengers, and journalists think that video-surveillance can be a good strategy to control threats such as burglary or vandalism. However, they hardly mention terrorism as one of the potential risks to avoid, which is curious since Spain has been affected by nationalist terrorism for decades, and it suffered a major jihadist attack on the 11th March 2004 in Madrid.

Lastly, it is necessary to determine the kind of narrative strategies quoted actors use. The vast majority of the quotes extracted from the sampled articles are definitive sentences (123 out of 141), i.e. statements that define a concept. 14 out of 141 are evaluative and only 4 sentences are advocative. These results are not really surprising as most of the quotes have to do with explanations of the data protection law, the places where cameras were going to be installed, and the costs of the devices. However, when looking at the media strategies, especially the ones from *La Vanguardia*, the analysis becomes much more complex. The Catalanian paper uses a narrative style characterized by definitive strategies, just like the other actors. Journalists from that newspaper describe the situation of the neighbourhoods where cameras were going to be installed, as well as explain what the threats that authorities hope to control, etc. However, *La Vanguardia's* journalists do not try to be merely descriptive or neutral. In fact, they use loaded terms, such as "corners of degradation," "dark places," or "antisocial behaviors" to persuade readers that the situation is serious and that it needs to be solved. As one article states,

"Video-surveillance will join the rest of measures taken by (Barcelona) City Council to control the situation in La Rambla and El Raval. This winter the public lighting of the avenue has been improved, the presence of police has been increased, and some lights have been installed to eliminate dark places and corners of degradation" (*La Vanguardia*, 20-05-2010).

When using such terms, journalists do not only refer to deteriorated places, but also to areas where prostitution takes place. In this sense, it is remarkable that *La Vanguardia* defends those systems to combat prostitution, which is portrayed as similar to burglary, drug-dealing, and vandalism. This is especially applicable to Barcelona. The papers states that the "Barcelona City Council wants to avoid 'hot scenes' like the ones taking place last year in La Rambla and its surroundings, as well as put a stop to current problems of degradation in the city centre" (*La Vanguardia*, 20-05-2010).

For its part, *El País* uses a much more descriptive style and, as expected from a left-leaning paper, it is a bit more critical of the technology and of its risks of violating of citizens' rights. Even though *El País* does not oppose CCTV systems (and it even states that such technologies are effective), they do published a few stories regarding citizens complaints of the inappropriate use of CCTV cameras. For instance, one article states that, "Citizens complaints against video-surveillance are soaring" (*El País*, 03-06-2010) and another that, "Court denies the installation of CCTV systems in Pozuelo" (*El País*, 30-07-2010). In brief, the use of CCTV in Spain is not presented by both media as a controversial topic. Even when some critics of the systems are found, particularly in *El País*, the general trend is the support of those devices, unlike in the case of 3D body scanners.

5.3 Stuxnet

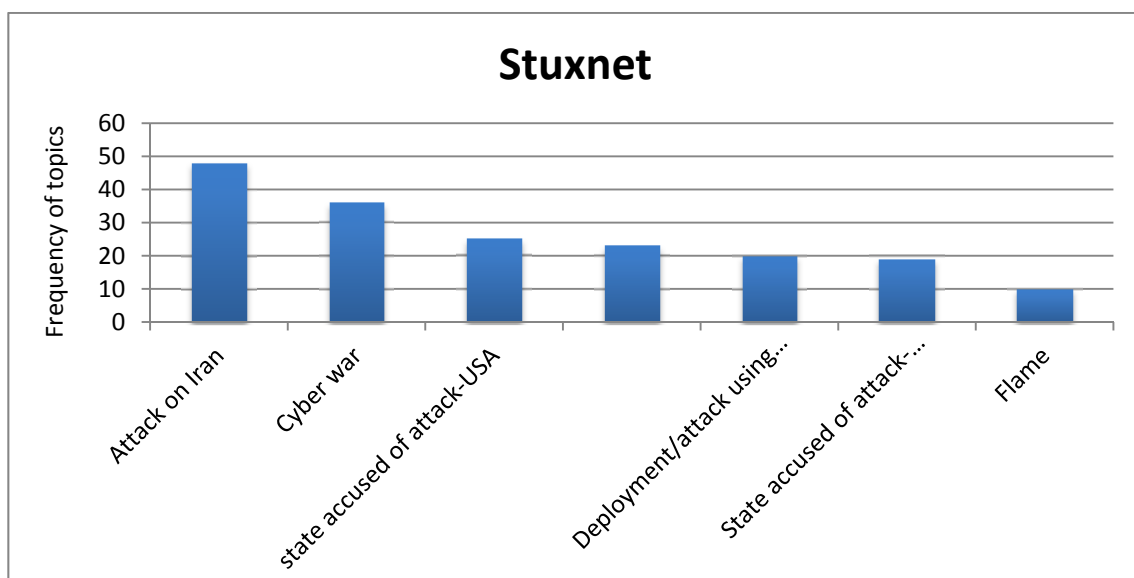
Unlike the CCTV systems and the 3D body scanners, Stuxnet is not a technology developed to improve levels of security in public places and critical infrastructures. Rather it is a computer virus designed to damage critical national IT infrastructure. Moreover, it is a technology that has no presence in people's daily life, contrary to scanners and cameras. Moreover, in this particular case, the events surrounding Stuxnet took place in Iran, which is not very relevant to current Spanish political and economic development. For these reasons I expected significantly lower media coverage than the previous topics.

In total, 57 out of 172 articles found focused on the Stuxnet virus, which makes this issue the second most important in terms of number of pieces of news published. Regarding our sample, 45 out of 57 articles were published by *El País*, and only 12 out of 57 by *La Vanguardia*. This is not surprising as *El País* is a newspaper that pays special attention to international affairs and the Stuxnet case was very controversial news that involved an important conflict between the United States, Israel, Iran, and China. Since other countries also played an important role in the case, commenting on the effects of the attack

on global security, as well as on the geo-strategic dimension of politics and diplomacy, it was in fact a well-covered story in the Spanish media.

But the Stuxnet case is not only important because of the number of news published on it. It is also relevant because of the diversity of actors involved. Statements selected from articles on Stuxnet show a number of different actors given information on the case. The top five were journalists (59 times), representatives of state institutions of the countries involved (36), experts on IT issues or military strategy (25), private companies (17), and presidents or prime ministers of different countries (5), all of them using a definitive strategy on their statements most of the time. These actors provide information regarding a wide range of different topics, though, most of them belong to the following categories: attack on Iran (48 times), cyber war (36), state accused of attack-USA (25), Iranian uranium enrichment program (23), Deployment/attack using Stuxnet (20), State accused of attack-Israel (19), attack on a company (13), and Flame (10) (see Graph 5.3.).

Graph 5.3. Topic frequency in articles on Stuxnet



Source: Author's coding.

The first topic that emerges from the articles on Stuxnet is "cyber war." Different actors agree that the deployment of that virus is the starting point of a new way of making war. "Stating that Stuxnet is the first cyber war

weapon ever is not a speculation,' an American expert says, and he assures us that the only doubts are against whom it has been used and who its author is" (*El País*, 27-09-2010). *El País* goes even further with its headline: "Cyber war is already here" (*El País*, 10-10-2010). In this respect, many actors highlight that *Stuxnet* makes a difference in the field of war as it does not attack personal computers and it doesn't steal industrial secrets either. It is able to destroy critical infrastructures, such as nuclear facilities, electrical generation plants and chemical companies. That is why some experts are concerned with what the consequences of the use of such a powerful weapon could be. "(Stuxnet) makes reality what was just part of science fiction. Some experts warn of its capability to make a facility fail" (*El País*, 27-09-2010).

This computer virus did, in fact, have severe consequences, particularly for Iranian critical infrastructure and its uranium enrichment program. That is why Iranian authorities got a leading role in the coverage of this case. At the first stage they denied having been the victims of the attack in order not to show any weakness. But soon they admitted they had been attacked, and they started to blame the West. "'This is part of the cyber war of the Western World against Iran,' Mahmud Liayí, a senior Industry Ministry official, has denounced" (*El País*, 27-09-2010). *Stuxnet* and its successor, *Flame*, were indeed weapons so dangerous that soon it started to be suspected (not only by Iran) that a western state might be responsible for their design and deployment. Ultimately, there was a consensus among different actors, blaming United States and Israel. This cooperation is pointed out 8 times, in 4 out of 15 articles. "Sources consulted by this newspaper state that only United States and Israel possess the necessary resources to create a virus so aggressive and complex..." (*La Vanguardia*, 28-09-2010). In this way *La Vanguardia* also pointed to the fact that the global power balance was still highly unfavourable for European countries, which did not have similar capacities at their disposal, Spain included.

However, the use of cyber war by countries such as United States and Israel is not always considered immoral. Some actors defend it as a non-violent way of

maintaining world security. Some political actors are even proud of their countries' potential in this field. Mark Fitzpatrick, the Director of the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Programme, was cited saying that, "Maybe this attack will be useful to restrict the Iranian nuclear threat without causing any deaths and without starting a war" (*El País*, 10-10-2010). This points to a very conciliatory position, trying to diminish the effects of the attack. The dailies also stated the position of Israel, stating "Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, stated yesterday that 'The cyber capacity developed by Israel increases national security... And he added: 'In the field of cyber war, what is important is not size of a country, but its scientific power. In this case, Israel is especially well prepared'" (*La Vanguardia*, 31-05-2012). This also points to the fact that many state representatives were trying to chase away worries of its citizens that their country could also be targeted by a similar attack.

In sum, the concept of a cyber-war is brand new and was born in 2010 when the Stuxnet virus was developed and deployed. Recently it has emerged as a newsworthy event again because of the information leaked by the former NSA contractor Edward Snowden. We probably do not even know the potential of cyber weapons and their potential consequences in people's daily lives, but news related to them have played and will continue to play a leading role in media over the coming next years. The coded Spanish papers have thus also followed this trend and reported informatively about its usage and political consequences. Yet none of these issues were treated as directly relevant for Spain.

6. Conclusion

It is undeniable that in today's world, media has a strong influence on citizens' perceptions of risk and acceptance of security technologies. For this reason this report has undertaken the task of analyzing how major media outlets, in this case leading national newspapers, inform citizens of the main security issues. This report is a national case study on the media coverage of security issues of two leading Spanish papers the national centre-left *El País* and the regional centre-right *La Vanguardia*. In the scope of the *Seconomics: Security Meets Economy Project*, we chose three relevant topics regarding security to be analyzed: 3D body scanners, CCTV systems, and the computer virus Stuxnet. These topics had a prominent position in news reporting between 2010 and 2013 and have also significantly affected policy-making at the national, European, and international levels.

The results of our analysis point to two main trends. First, economic issues prevail over security due to the on-going financial crisis and economic malaise in Spain. Second, privacy has remained a very important concern for Spanish citizens. The analysis of 3D body scanners shows that media present this case as quite controversial. Passengers are afraid of exposing their bodies, as they see the scanners as a violation of their privacy. Politicians and policy-makers are clearly aware of the importance of passing a law that would respect civil rights and chase away such concerns. Even when a body scanner is a technology designed to fight against one of the major global risks - international terrorism - actors involved in its implementation and use realize that it is a potentially invasive technology. Its application thus needs to be very careful in order to balance the trade-offs between privacy and security. However, later in the analyzed period, it becomes clear that even the media see the new generation of scanners as successfully balancing privacy and security. In other words, they present technological advancements as capable of reducing risks, along the lines of the theory of global risks proposed by Ulrich Beck. This could also support the argument that technology will eventually be able to solve our moral dilemmas.

On the other hand, the case of CCTV is surprisingly less controversial. Both analyzed newspapers, but especially the right-leaning *La Vanguardia*, are quite favourable to the installation of cameras and even support their use because of their effectiveness in uncovering crime. Articles on this topic primarily focus on the installation of new devices, particularly in Barcelona and other Catalan cities and towns. That is why the narrative style is mainly descriptive, with journalists stating where cameras were going to be installed and how many of them there would be. They also cited politicians announcing the implementation of such systems, and both journalists and institutions giving information related to the Spanish data protection law. However, it is a bit shocking that few articles show severely critical voices of Spanish citizens about the surveillance devices. In fact, citizens and passengers are mostly quoted giving their support or even calling for more cameras. This is not totally consistent with some empirical research on the acceptance of new security technologies in Spain, as these studies show resistance to public surveillance (Pavone et al. 2007, Pavone and Pereira, 2008). This points either to a certain level of self-censorship, given the financial connections between the state and these two newspapers, or maybe some other private interests on the side of the media. However, this speculation deserves further investigation.

The third topic, Stuxnet, is quite different from the other two. Both 3D body scanners and CCTV systems are security technologies that affect citizens' daily lives. However, the newspapers frame Stuxnet as a weapon used in a cyber-war against governments. That is why people's opinion does not play a leading role in this topic. The majority of the quotes come from journalists explaining what Stuxnet is and experts describing its capabilities and speculating about who its designer is. The second group of actors are representatives of state institutions, especially from Iran, blaming United States or Israel for the attack. Focusing on the latter, even when there is a consensus regarding the collaboration between the United States and Israel to develop a computer virus to damage Iran's uranium enrichment programme,

there is not an explicit condemnation of such behaviour. In fact, cyber war is even legitimized by some experts as a way to maintain security without causing any deaths. It is a peaceful compromise to cause economic harm while maintaining peace.

This report has also shown that the analyzed Spanish media lack a substantial analytical dimension regarding security issues. The predominant strategy of reporting was a definitive narrative, as only a few actors, who are cited directly, evaluate or give recommendations. Description and factual statements were the leading writing styles in all of the coded articles. Journalists of the two analyzed papers limit themselves to reporting, rather than investigating. This is certainly in line with the maxims of journalistic reporting, which needs to be objective without too many subjective statements. However, as many respected media outlets in the world demonstrate (*The Economist, New Yorker, Spiegel, Washington Post*), journalism can be objective and still present a view, condemning or criticising an idea according to the morals of the author or the editorial team.

Spain has certainly come a long way since its first democratic breakthrough in 1975. There is plentiful media, independently informing the Spanish public about a vast range of both domestic and international issues. In part because of the country's violent and authoritarian past, security does still play an important role in newsrooms. Although security as a topic of concern has been overshadowed by growing economic problems such as unemployment, the Spanish public is still quite interested in keeping its privacy, at least at a certain level. The heated debates surrounding the introduction of 3D scanners prove this desire. But at the same time, crime usually rises in times of economic crisis, and having good public safety measures, of which CCTV is part, can also be expected to stir public debates. And unlike the US or UK, Spain is a country primarily concerned with domestic issues, and less so with global politics, especially in times of major domestic financial crunches. It comes as no surprise that an international affair with a computer virus inflicted upon a distant country has not provoked any major public reactions.

It remains to be seen in the upcoming years how the discourse and debates surrounding security and safety will change in post-crisis Spain and whether terrorism will remain a secondary or even tertiary worry for the general public. In the end, the celebrated permanent ceasefire of the ETA might not be as permanent as it originally might have seemed. It is quite plausible to think that the current economic failures will stir reactions from separatist extremists in Spain once again, if they judge the government to be "misbehaving," along the lines of ETA's original statement from 11 January 2011, declaring the permanent cessation of activities. "[ETA] is only stopping to see how the state behaves. If the state does not behave well, they will return to arms - which they are not handing over now, and have not even announced they will hand over" (BBC 10-01-2011).

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