SicurezzaTerrorismoSocietà

Security Terrorism Society

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL - Italian Team for Security, Terroristic Issues & Managing Emergencies

**11
2020**

EDUCatt

SICUREZZA, TERRORISMO E SOCIETÀ

11

Sommario

Cyber-risk, cyber-migration.
For a new human geography and security

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Nota autore

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Abstract

Nella società odierna la velocità e l'intensità dei flussi di comunicazione e d'informazione definiscono uno spazio mediatico che si affianca oggi allo spazio geografico, ma senza sostituirlo. È in atto un processo di deterritorializzazione dello spazio e del tempo, chiunque sia nato nella seconda metà del XIX secolo è un migrante perché si muove, fisicamente e virtualmente, da una cultura a un'altra, in maniera liquida, frammentata e partecipata. L'evoluzione del web ha creato uno spazio sociale privo di confini che agevola la comunicazione tra le comunità di immigrati geograficamente disperse in ogni parte del globo.

Per gli immigrati e i richiedenti asilo che provano ad entrare in Europa, sono importanti non solo le tradizionali infrastrutture (ferrovie, porti…), ma anche quelle elettroniche-digitali come gli *smartphone*, le *app*, i programmi di traduzione simultanea, le piattaforme di messaggistica, i social network.

Sono questi strumenti che facilitano e supportano l'organizzazione del viaggio e tutta l'esperienza migratoria dei "nuovi migranti connessi", ma non va sottovalutata la questione sicurezza: l'uso inconsapevole dei *devices* può determinare diversi livelli di "rischio tecnologico".

Tuttavia, a fronte di queste problematiche, si registrano anche buone pratiche che associazioni ed istituzioni hanno sperimentato con successo, legate principalmente all'ICT al servizio dei migranti e dei rifugiati.

Attraverso un'analisi dettagliata e aggiornata della letteratura scientifica sul tema, adottando uno sguardo interdisciplinare, si cercherà di comprendere come il digitale abbia cambiato e influenzato i processi migratori, le forme di sfruttamento e di criminalità e allo stesso tempo le politiche di accoglienza e integrazione dei nuovi arrivati nello Stato ospitante.

The speed and intensity of communication and information flows are defining a media space that relates to geographic space today, but without replacing it. A process of deterritorialization of space and time is underway, anyone born in the second half of the 19th century is a

migrant because he moves, physically and virtually, from one culture to another, in a liquid, fragmented and participatory way. The evolution of the web has created a social space without borders that facilitates communication between the communities of immigrants geographically dispersed in every part of the globe.

For immigrants and asylum seekers trying to enter Europe, not only traditional infrastructures (railways, ports...), but also electronic-digital infrastructures such as smartphones, apps, simultaneous translation programs, messaging, and social networks facilitate and support the travel organization and all the migratory experience of the "new connected migrants". However the safety issue should not be underestimated: the lack of awareness in the use of *devices* can determine different levels of "technological risk".

However, when faced with these problems, there are also good practices that several associations and institutions have successfully experimented, mainly related to ICT available for migrants and refugees.

Through a detailed and updated analysis of the scientific literature on the subject, by adopting an interdisciplinary look, we will try to understand how digital has changed and influenced migration processes, forms of exploitation and crime and at the same time reception and integration policies of new arrivals to the host state.

Key words

Migration, social media, technological risk, IT security, new media, human geography

Introduction

The interdependence of the global-system within a new space-time frame, characterized by strong economic, cultural and IT pressures, is seriously questioning the ways in which the processes of construction and representation of the meaning and coherence of the systems based on traditional reference, together with an increase in the fragmentation of the subjective experience.

Memberships multiply and will weaken at the same time, the "plurilocalizzazione" compels the individual to recreate an identity that no longer follows the narrative logic and that tends to unite elements also seemingly contradictory; it is within this context that the means of communication, the main vehicles of meaning, define unprecedented communication spaces within which the individual can move with the aim of finding symbolic-identity and recognition resources (Cesareo, 2000).

Globalization is configured in all respects as a "mediated cultural force" that offers us a constant interaction between identity and difference, between local and global cultures, local and world news, and it is precisely the media that support and guide us in the recognition of ambiguities and the contradictions of this hybridization that forms at the center and periphery of the world system; for example, «we believe that the world news is the same wherever it is received, but we know it is not so. Meanings travel far and fast, but never in

a neutral or univocal way (...) the same story in both places changes with time "(Silverstone, 2002, p.174).

The media landscape has undergone important changes in recent years: mobile-digital communication, the Internet and the massive spread of social networks in public and private life have created a growing demand for interconnection produced by the digitalization of human activities, further strengthening the subjective character of communication processes in contemporary society.

The new forms of individualism and self-representation of the self undergo, in fact, an expressive reversal by means of a real "operational social system" (Toschi, 2016), defined as Networked Individualism (Raine, Wellman, 2012), capable of building a "reticular" dimension of daily life and imposing an ethical deconstruction of traditional forms of association found in the most diverse forms of individual and social behavior.

The two scholars attribute this social change to what they call "the triple revolution": social networks, the Internet and mobile communication.

These three changes have created a serious weakening of the traditional agencies of socialization placing at center stage the individual, giving them the ability to connect at any time in the collaborative networks that can provide different answers to different needs.

Networked means having a "refuge" that ensures the individual a sense of belonging and support (Raine, Wellman, 2012), an environment that has no precise geographical location, but that exists and is formed thanks to the performativity of its inhabitants.

In addition to spatial change, the electronic-digital media also produce a temporal change: before the advent of the new media simultaneity presupposed the place, or rather, the same time required the same place, while now within the new communication scenario we are witnessing a very rapid contraction in transport times and an experience of contemporaneity separated from sharing a common environment.

In the online society, the emphasis on sequencing is inverse, what defines the relationship with time is defined by the use of information and communication technologies, compressing the flow of time, denying sequencing and blurring the sequence of social practices, mixing past, present and future in a completely random order (Castells, 2009).

A new culture of digital media therefore tends to shape the world by describing a constantly mediated reality that overlaps the real one, confining the latter in the individual experience that regains meaning by referring to what you see, listen to and read as the average; this becomes necessary to build an image in the world to find that meaning, precisely, to inspire one's action in reality.

1. The fragmentation of borders and the public dimension of cultures

The social impact deriving from the new communication and information networks can be analyzed and understood starting from the assumption that "the use of the means of communication implies the creation of new forms of action and interaction in the social world, of new types of relationships and new ways of relating to others "(Thompson, 1998, p.13); the media are no longer limited to the pure representation of events and the transmission of information and symbolic contents, but they move by covering the relationships between the individuals who interact in an increasingly mediated social space, where every part of contemporary social life is touched by the presence of the media to the point that their absence is perceived as a wound: in the so-called information society, the absence of information is considered an "immense deprivation" (Silverstone, 2002).

The "mediatization process" of culture and daily life, understood on the one hand as a meta-process of ecological mold, of cultural and social transformation and, on the other hand, as the diffusion, by the media, of its formats and frames in the areas of everyday social relations (Couldry, Hepp, 2013), led individuals to experience events, observe and learn new cultures, real and imaginary worlds, outside the sphere of their daily encounters and to activate a process of reflective and open self-training, resorting increasingly to resources in their possession and to the symbolic materials offered by the media to form coherent identities.

The new social spaces are connected to a communicative reality to be understood not as a simple flow of meaning, but a set of meanings and actions that assemble realities, reproduced imperfectly and continuously transformed; here everyday life appears to be characterized both by the continuous tension of flexible adaptation to external conditions, and by the desire to develop strategies that exploit the possibility offered by new communicative-relational environments, ambiguous and fragmented, which escape the possibility of control of individuals who, as a defense or flight reaction, develop "resistance practices" which Certeau (1990) defines as "daily invention tactics".

The central problem concerns cultural identity and communication practices in new relational environments.

The connection between these two aspects is defined precisely by the power of the media, by social and digital technologies, which represent active and determining forces, as environments capable of modeling and modifying cultures and identities.

The media are the key element around which contemporary phenomena move, such as that of migration, and become a considerable part of the

flow of meaning in contemporary societies through production and reception practices; for Hannerz (1998, p.6) in fact: "the cultural flow consists at the same time in the externalizations of meanings that individuals produce through general forms, and in the interpretations that individuals provide of such manifestations".

The expressive nature of the media and the fusion between public and private generate two important changes in the information systems: they make access to information homogeneous and merge the types of image projected by the different actors in the public space; what we are witnessing is also a restructuring of the "social stages": the change of the public leads to a change in the social representations, the fusion of different situations and the meeting of different audiences contributes to bringing out a completely new situation that includes environments physical and information environments created by the media that can both bring out a strong sense of belonging and sharing, and a sense of isolation and exclusion, strengthening or weakening a feeling of "them" *vs* "we" (Meyrowitz, 1993).

The advent of the new media compromises the traditional link between physical location and social situation, confusing group identities, previously separated, and letting "outsiders" and "estrangement" invade an increasingly fluid private dimension; the crumbling of traditional group ties leaves room for other types of associations and communities.

Not only does the immediacy of human contacts increase, but also their intimacy and this new communicative-anthropological situation has caused the fragmentation of ancient social barriers, direct contact with the personal lives of others, contributing to the production of a growing informality of human relations.

This strange mix of distance, intimacy and informality originates from the fusion of previously separate social situations: printed paper allowed us to keep place and behavior separate, with social and digital technologies physical scenarios blend with behavioral scenarios and thus change the meaning of the place, causing the destruction of the original characteristics of time and space (Meyrowitz, 1993; Thompson, 1998; Couldry, 2015).

It is interesting at this point to highlight how the integration of the systems of communication and of information, increasing the access to a wider and inclusive environment, make social integration seem more likely and desirable, but what has been emerging in recent years is that such information merger does not necessarily lead to a harmonious company, to the contrary.

The first consequence has been the increase in social tensions due to the public and transparent nature of the new media, which increased the awareness of some groups of physical, social and legal segregation (Meyrowitz, 1993); a "mediated social conscience" that has emerged and which is

strengthened in parallel with the emergence of new communication and in-formation processes, where the issues previously of importance only at the local level, today have become national issues and force the "new public" to take position.

The second consequence was a greater flexibility of the same notion of citizenship which, obedient to the logic of global capitalism, sees the mi-grant rather as a "transmigrant" (NGO, 1999), dependent on the continuous redefinition of borders, international interconnections with the birth of new cultural and virtual identities.

The phenomena related to transnationalization (or globalization) have caused unexpected results, especially on a symbolic level, such as the altera-tion of the meanings of "otherness" and "identity", of "difference" and high levels of communication distortion.

An interesting element highlighted by Ulf Hannerz (1996) is that of the "deterritorialization of diversity", which have not been not cancelled today, but transformed radically, in the sense that we can find new ones, with origi-nal characteristics compared to the old cultural differences; the same goes for identities: we speak today of multiple identities, migrant identities and virtual community identities, as local effects of globalization (Appadurai, 2001).

Different concepts, now united by the idea of network and links, typical of information technology that are articulated today in civil society are now characterized by mobility, migrations and hybridizations of all kinds.

Faced with this scenario, the right question to ask is no longer "what is a migrant culture" and "how can this relate to the host culture", but "what processes are activated"?

The migrant himself experiences the geographical and cultural passage in a completely new way, in that he assumes a new mixed identity that leaves only room for new forms of interaction with the other, since it is not possible to trace common elements neither with the culture of origin, nor with that of arrival.

So who is the "new migrant" today? How do you communicate? Where does he move? What are the risks involved in crossing the connected physi-cal-virtual spaces?

2. Cyber-migration: opportunities and risks of the digital migrant

The enormous fractures described so far are attributable to the electronic means of mass communication that have radically changed the sector of mass media and other media, offering new resources and new disciplines for the construction of "worlds" imagined; the "media-action" (here understood as

media communication or conveyed by mass media) has transformed, as previously mentioned, the daily political, economic, social discourse while initially maintaining the sense of distance between event and observer, configuring itself as important resource for the experimentation of identity constructions in all types of society and for the imagination of the self as a daily social project (Appadurai, 2001).

Parallel to this evolution of the communication processes, a change is also found with regard to the phenomenon of human mobility, as migrations, whether forced or voluntary, are increasingly supported by the flow of mass-media images with cognitive effects – emotions created by them.

Public media content and migrants are simultaneously moving, they cross in an unpredictable way and it is this new form of connection that defines the link between globalization and the modern: the movement of people and electronic media-action change the global scenario as technically forces new ones that seem to push the work of imagination (Appadurai, 2001).

The transformation of daily subjectivities is, for the American anthropologist, in all respects a "cultural fact".

Imagination in the post-electronic world plays a significant role for three main reasons:

1. the individuals consider the idea of living and working in different places more normal today than where they were born and this idea is accompanied by a "right" to be able to imagine new ways of life. The difference between today's migration and that of the past lies in the decisive role of the images and narratives that pass-through mass media-action in its functional or realistic forms. It is the mass media imagery that, overcoming national borders, influences the impulse to move towards different environments and adapt within them. The use of the media therefore undoubtedly produces "action";

2. it is a duty to distinguish fantasy and imagination: while the former is configured as a thought separate from projects and actions, based on a self-referential logic, therefore capable of leading to indifference, imagination is accompanied by a sense of projection, creating ideas neighborhood and nation, moral economies and job prospects abroad;

3. another fundamental distinction concerns the individual and collective sense. Imagination is a priority of collectivities and the collective fruition of media contents, videos and films in particular, which create partnerships of worship and charisma and a "community of feeling". Capitalism and the press are an important means for those groups of people who have never interacted face to face and can begin to enrich their cultural identity by starting to think, for example, inserted in a cultural multidimensional dimension (Indo-Chinese, Italian-American etc.).

Returning to the thesis expressed by Appadurai (2001; 2005) it is possible to develop a new interpretative proposal of contemporary complexity and global flows, focusing attention on the processes of acceleration and communication and on the power of connectivity that merges the movement of people with that of media and cultural content.

To summarise, this concept can be expressed even more clearly by identifying five cultural representations, or rather, five typical forms of construction of individual and collective identities:

– *ethnoscapes*: representations produced by the flow of migrations (diasporas), also called "ethnic visions", ethnicities, however, mixed race, contaminated, because they are constructed through images and media scripts:
– *mediascapes*: flow of content and symbols mediated by the mass media (film, advertising...);
– *technoscapes*: technological knowledge and know-how flows (social networks as ambits capable of building "glocal" communities and cultural identities);
– *finanscapes*: cash flows that re-define those liquid boundaries between local and global;
– *ideoscapes*: ideas, belief systems theorizations that consider subjective and collective experiences, allow planning for the future.

It is within this described framework that the "new migrant" is configured, the one who crosses physical roads and electronic and virtual paths, a de-territorialized subject who is going to build not authentic ethnic identities, but now able to build multiform life projects and contingents, suitable for the interactions that characterize contemporaneity, useful for inhabiting the current world and adapting to it.

Jedlowski (1995) in the Italian preface to the *Metropolis and the life of* Georg Simmel's *spirit*, defines the metropolis as the "fifth essence of modernity", we could therefore define the new migrants as the "fifth essence of globalized and mediated modernity", that is, subjects uprooted from places where they originated and who find in the public-media space the possibility of keeping their cultural identities and traditions alive, of showing the world the social, political and economic conditions in which their countries of origin live and making people feel their voices through new information environments on the net.

The new immigrants create and reproduce multifaceted social relationships, connecting societies of origin and settlement in a sort of "third space" (Bhabha, 1990) which offers them not only the opportunity to overcome geographical, political and cultural barriers, but to develop multiple relation-

ships (family, economic, cultural) in a space that incorporates difference as part of identity.

In this way mediation between two worlds is managed by the migrant himself who, on the one hand, feels at home where his family is, on the other hand, however, continually recreates a series of references within the host country through objects, practices and memory technologies; the awareness of the diaspora implies, on the part of the social actor, the recognition of belonging also to a place of origin other than that of residence, survival to the diaspora is conditioned by its ability to conquer two types of autonomy: knowing how to maintain its superficiality towards the host society and to distance themselves from the society of origin in order to choose their own integration strategies, as well as their own identification and socialization criteria (Saint Blancat, 1995).

The migration process, dependent on international interconnections and symbolic media contents, now sees a new protagonist, a new social, nomadic, cosmopolitan subject, capable of re-defining himself, overcoming geographical and cultural barriers, supported by the power of electronic media (and digital), able to imagine the future and imagine himself in new environments (online and offline) taking advantage of opportunities and taking important risks: the cyber-migrant (or digital migrant).

The evolution of the web is, today more than ever, the main tool of interaction that primarily facilitates communication between geographically dispersed immigrant communities in every part of the globe. Previously, different media such as a letter, for example, allowed an asynchronous communication between immigrants and their motherland and had a dual function: to convey a message and symbolically represent an affective bond that had existed for some time.

Smartphones and social networks, with instant messaging and online video calling functions, build real-time communication bridges, personal and professional, with any type of recipient; it is for these reasons that for immigrants and asylum seekers who try to enter Europe today, not only the traditional infrastructures (railways, air ports, stations...), but also the electronic-digital one (tablets, apps, sites and platforms) online...) are important.

This ICT revolution has facilitated human mobility processes and the possibility for individuals to always stay in touch, only apparently reducing the costs and risks of migration (Cusimano, Mercatanti, 2017): in general terms, in fact, the new forms of communication have not only produced positive social effects, but have also become instruments of market of violence, intended as a violation of social and legal norms.

Technological changes (information overload, lack of space and time boundaries, high levels of active participation of the Net users) have been so

rapid that in the years immediately following the explosion of the Internet, the authorities are no longer able to to keep up, as the old crime patterns were no longer the same and the ineffective security policy strategies, especially if applied to the online scenario.

> By the mid-1990s, when we began to understand how different the crimes committed in cyberspace were, and how insidious some of them were, law enforcement had just started training or hiring experts to counter them (...) progress corresponded to the continuous advancement of technology that was often used for illegal activities (Douglas *et al.*, 2006, p.78).

The new communication and information platforms are tools that facilitate the migration experience starting from the organization of the trip, but sometimes they also constitute a danger because, for example, the digital traces left can be used by human traffickers to threaten and claim services (Shelley, 2014; Koslowska, 2016).

Inspired by the literature on the subject (Achotegui, 2011; Dekker, Engbersen, 2012; Cheesman, 2016; Connor, 2017) we tried to analyze in more detail the relationship between the migratory network and the use of specific social media by identifying four dimensions believed to always be present, sometimes overlapping, in the different phases of the migration process: the first three concern activation, reactivation and maintenance of share capital, the fourth, the information infrastructure of the new media that allow the exchange of information in time real.

The multifunctionality of new technologies allows migrants to consider new routes, evaluate the costs and opportunities of their project, understand how to manage and receive money better, as well as being able to consider both the possibility of crisis and emergency situations, as well as contact with human traffickers, both to receive information and services that the host State offers to new arrivals.

Specifically, the first dimension concerns the maintenance of the personal network.

The Skype instant messaging platform, for example, created in 2003 in Estonia, was the first fundamental medium for synchronous, digital and real communication, as well as Whats App in the following years, as free and simple services in the fundamental use for maintaining constant relationships with relatives and friends: forms of communication of this type fall within the concept of Connettography (Khanna, 2016), a neologism that indicates the geopolitical weight of factors such as ICT that cross state borders.

Within the second dimension, the possibility / ability of immigrants to resume and strengthen their contacts emerges both in the new country and in their territory of origin.

In this case, the most used medium is Facebook, a social network service created in 2004, as through a "special algorithm" it favors the creation of chain contacts highlighting on the bulletin board users names of people who are friends of friends, considering some common elements such as geographic location, nationality, preferences of the connected user (Achotegui, 2005; Boccia Artieri et al., 2017); the activation of the personal network, on the other hand, concerns the coming into contact with subjects known or not in the host country.

Also in this case we find the same social network for the presence of virtual groups (or communities) united by the commitment to collect stories and experiences of immigrants living in a certain place, taking advantage of the public and transparent dimension of the digital communication space; it is a form of socialization, inspired by the principles of solidarity, comparable to the traditional meeting places where the new arrivals went for the first information on the host country.

The fourth and final dimension concerns the possibility of accessing a free, open source information space from which to draw news, personal contacts, border controls, services or social services offered by the State of destination.

Table 1 - *Social media and migration network*

Analysis dimensions	Type of communication	Medium used
Maintaining the personal network	**Synchronous, digital and real communication**	**Skype, Whats App**
Strengthening their contacts both in the new country and in the territory of origin	**Creating chain contacts**	**Facebook (role of the algorithm*)**
Activation of the personal network	**Building interpersonal relationships**	**Facebook (virtual community training*)**
Access to free open source information space	**Search news and personal contacts**	**Means of information, public data, media files**

3. Trafficking in human beings as a computer crime

Regardless of the route, from the country of origin and destination, those who decide to migrate risk encountering the racket of human traffickers who, in most cases, decide the times, costs and methods of a very often improvised journey.

Recent Europol data (2016) show how 90% of immigrants arriving in Europe rely on organized crime for logistics and travel that generally takes place

by land with regular public or private transport, buses, trains, trucks or by sea (for e.g. an 8-10 meter dinghy where 30 to 40 people are boarded); It is also estimated that there are around 250 illegal hotspots on migration routes to the European Union for the collection and disposal of migrants.

The traffickers network covers over one hundred countries: in 2015 the turnover in the trafficking of immigrants was 6 billion dollars and the average per capita cost of a clandestine journey from Africa or Asia to the Old Continent fluctuates between 3 thousand and 10 thousand dollars, the payment methods used are cash (52%), *hawala* (20%), *money transfer* (2%), exploitation of immigrant labor (0.2%).

The United Nations (2000) defines trafficking in persons as an organized criminal activity, which takes place beyond national borders and which consists in the recruitment, transportation, transfer or reception of people, through the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power, receiving payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation or the prostitution of others in forms such as sexual, forced labor or slavery including the removal and sale of organs.

The *traffickers* run this profitable business, making use today of the latest technologies available in order to conceal their criminal activities; the success of the Network therefore provided not only quick access to information for our world, but suggested faster and more efficient ways of making organized crime work; according to the FBI, in 84.3% of cases, traffickers use the Internet for the trafficking of migrants and sexual exploitation, advertising victims to customers on real platforms (Lambruschi, 2019).

Since 2015, organized crime has made extensive use of false identity documents, allowing many illegal immigrants to present themselves as fake asylum seekers.

One of the focal points of this *hub* of international counterfeiters, was the band formed online through Facebook (obscured today), with over 120,000 subscribers and the name *The Traveller's Platform:* within the page were provided guidance on routes to take, news of last hour on departures and, above all, they put human traffickers and potential customers in contact (Europol, 2016).

Once the terms of the operation were agreed, in a few weeks any person of Albanian or Kosovar origin (at the risk of rejected by the EU because not a victim of wars or from conflict countries) could try to enter Europe as an asylum seeker and be welcomed as a refugee *with* a Syrian passport in hand.

According to Europol (2016), from a geographical point of view, the trafficking routes of human beings coincide with those that allow the transport of drugs, weapons and any other illegal product, and criminal gangs operate

within this space. which cooperate by providing services and logistical bases as real "polycriminal geo-political" actors.

Like any business, that of illegality also follows the laws of the market.

In recent years the demand on the part of immigrants seeking benefits and services to get to Europe has increased and the crime offer was not long in coming; between 2014 and 2015, in fact, the percentage of counterfeit suspects increased from 3% to 18% and the documents mainly requested for immigrants were not passports or identity cards, but the breeder documents (birth certificates, marriage certificates...) useful for fraudulently obtaining refugee status for long-term entry and stay visas (Connor, 2017).

To underline how times and rates, as well as the payment methods, imposed by traffickers, constantly change according to the routes to illegally reach the EU; in recent years the Balkan route and that of the central Mediterranean have been the most debated and each time the *modus operandi* adopted has been different.

4. When technology supports (and saves) migrants

Faced with this scenario, however, it is necessary to highlight how technology is also a medium of salvation and a strategic tool applicable to intercultural and emergency policies by the European institutions and by all communities.

In a survey conducted by the New York Times (Brunwasser, 2015) it was revealed how digital tools (maps, itineraries and useful tips via social networks) have allowed thousands of exiles marching from the Balkans to Europe to become autonomous from traffickers and able to provide the right *GPS* coordinates of the safest and least controlled routes by the border police even to their companions traveling to the same or different destinations, by storing the maps on their smartphones.

Currently, information technologies also allow natives to play a role in the migratory network.

An important case concerns the *I sea* application, born from the collaboration between the NGO *MOAS* and the *Gray for Food company* (Rogers, 2016): after downloading the app on a smartphone, the application captures satellite images of the waters of the Sea Nostrum which divides them into thousands of small portions, each of which is assigned to users available to monitor it to identify any boats of immigrants in difficulty.

If the check provides a positive result through a click, it is possible to alert the rescue authorities who are aware in real time of the position of the boat in the sea; the main purpose of the application is the creation of a large *database*

capable of identifying sea routes with a significant presence of traffickers to get to the coasts of the Old Continent.

There are further examples of "digital good practices" that are capable of fighting cybercrime and illegal immigration and which are at the disposal of refugees.

The Mikkelsen brothers founded *Refugee United* (RefUnite) in 2008, a digital platform in 15 languages that provides users with free technological tools to unite what conflicts divide: their family.

Furthermore, considering that 50% of the world's population does not have access to the Internet and almost one billion are illiterate (digitally speaking and often also of their own language), RefUnite, in collaboration with Facebook, has created a network of agreements with local radio and operators that allow the diffusion of vocal messages of refugees looking for relatives and friends in remote rural villages or in large refugee camps.

Welcome R efugees, on the other hand, is a special *Airbnb*, dedicated to asylum seekers in Germany; by following the instructions for registration, it is possible to indicate within the portal one's availability to host a refugee at one's home (Mente, 2017).

Similar hospitality services are present in the EU States, such as France (where we find *Calm-like at home)* and *Refugee Hero*, in Holland, a recently activated service that involves involvement and support also by local churches and mosques.

From a more institutional point of view, it is important to remember how the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has experimented with various projects that involve the application of new technologies in the management and reception of humanitarian immigrants.

With the digital *ProGres database*, however, created at the end of the nineties during the Kosovo crisis and updated in the last four years, detailed information (names, surnames, age, health problems...) is being collected on people who have applied for international protection (UNHCR, 2018).

Proges is used as a tool to verify the real identity of refugees by crossing the information collected in many UNHCR fields with biometric data, iris scans, fingerprints, thus avoiding giving help to "false refugees".

In order to combat trafficking and violence, various telecommunication companies such as *British Telecom, Microsoft and Nokia* have worked, since 2018, on the *Tech Against Trafficking* project with the aim of initially mapping all *hi-tech* initiatives to combat modern forms of slavery.

Afterwards, once the data has been processed, a three-year strategy will be built and applied that will support the most effective projects (for example, the development of *clouds* and applications to communicate victims, emergency numbers operators and the police).

All opportunities and strategies of "detoxification" of the web from new forms of deviance and violence, many still in the testing phase, demonstrate how a strategic and conscious use of new technologies can contribute to creating a strong and positive network of action, made up of citizens, institutions, police forces, to combat illegal immigration and forms of organized crime.

5. Conclusions: "taking care" of communication and public safety

Migrants move within a public and interconnected space that is re-defined precisely by the new technologies that represent their economic and social condition and attribute meaning to their mobility, create new conditions for forms of identity experimentation. These favor the experimentation of new forms of media-action and intercultural sensitivity between migrant and host society, between social and virtual spaces and lay the foundations for trying to identify and define a possible transnational-digital public sphere, in which fruition and media contents define a new communication environment where it is possible to draw on specific identity resources by creating new forms of narration of diversity and otherness, comparison and exchange with the other, as an opportunity for learning and intercultural encounter. Even the institutions, within this new global scenario find themselves re-thinking new strategies in terms of social and communication policies, trying to counter the great problem of organized crime now also present online.

The human traffickers are actively using both surface network and the shadowy network to manage their crimes in the sale of and in the recruitment of victims. There is still much work to be done to understand and delete thi new crime.

This work requires further understanding of the situation, development of technology, training of the people involved and governmental cooperation at a global level.

Recognition of the Other is therefore possible only through a critical attitude towards the representation of the latter, conveyed by the media, by the social and intercultural policy strategies offered by the European institutions and, no less importantly, by the level of security in physical and virtual spaces; all this represents a question of "care" (awareness), of hospitality and a search for the meaning and social meaning of modern information and communication, integration and being in community, concepts completely reformulated by the new media.

The multicultural-interconnected space is a reality that coincides with the space of global communication, but also of non-communication: it is in fact

a fragmented, polarized, dispersive, insecure place, where reality very often shows itself in the concreteness of its contradictions.

The irresponsible and superficial use of electronic and digital media has led over time to a distorted and spectacularized representation of good and justice, strengthened by the presence of deviant phenomena and violent behavior in our society, fueled by lack of education, self-control, difficulties in building empathic relationships, insecurity, low self-esteem and information overload.

To effectively deal with crime and insecurity, caused by the emergence of social phenomena that are difficult to govern (such as immigration), communities need to be consulted and more involved in the problems they face every day.

A task that we could all try to attribute to ourselves could, first of all, be to restore order and clarity in our communication, taking greater "care" (Couldry, 2015), ie. developing the ability to predict the consequences of what we say and post on social networks every day, while cultivating reading skills and critical analysis in the face of what the media offer us, leaving less space for emotions in favor of a more reflective and open attitude. Another point to consider is the detachment, which is still too evident, and a level of trust and collaboration that is limited between law enforcement agencies, institutions and citizens.

In the interconnected world, involving the increasingly multicultural population represents a complex and still open challenge in communicative and institutional terms; this open attitude should lead to greater trust in the political and judicial system through forms and channels of public communication.

Police forces, for example, have a fundamental *role* in communicating with local communities to prevent and control crime, guarantee social order and constant control; in this regard, the role of social media and communication technologies could strengthen and support this task.

In most cases, law enforcement agencies have joined the virtual dialogue by entering the hyperconnected world, making the results achieved and the investigative action program implemented against the various forms of crime public more transparent.

The public communication of the police forces now addresses, through the language of the web, the user directly, keeping him updated and making him a participant, but always respecting the traditional procedures adopted in cases of crisis and emergency, through the traditional media channels, such as organizing press releases and conferences and by interacting with journalists and institutions.

The interaction between the police and the public, within social networks, is useful not only to keep the connected user updated, but also to be able to evaluate information and multimedia material that could prove useful in the course of investigations: photos, videos, posts or suspicious tweets, fake profiles; the user can use new technologies to report live deviant or criminal behavior.

In reality, the involvement of the community has become an essential component for all anti-crime units in order to create a real social and investigative network that directly involves Municipalities, Regions, schools, social services, public and private sectors.

Media professionals can also contribute with an updated and less spectacularized narrative, checking the sources and official social pages of institutions and law enforcement agencies, educating the public on crime prevention strategies and how to recognize the factors of risk.

However, the media can negatively influence the human behaviour with an important impact on perception of inseciruty.

The spectacularization and exaltation of violent behavior, often attributed to immigrant subjects, giving little space to the story of the victims, profiling the hollywoodian and unrealistic line of a killer too much, an ad hoc storytelling that retraces all the stages of a series of murders or attacks generating fear, mistrust, selfishness and instinctive reactions.

We are in a historical period in which communication and public safety need to be "cured" and understood as "synonyms" of sharing and cooperation, as part of a new culture of security and information to which we must educate ourselves.

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