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Media and narratives: representations of reality and
social representations in the digital age. A case study on
COVID 19

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Ai miei genitori Lucia e Marco.

Non quia difficilia sunt non audemus, sed quia non audemus difficilia sunt.

Seneca

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1.0 Introduction

This research concerns the study of the subjective and emotional communication that in today's society invests communication at its various levels, mass media, TV, and, in particular, social media.

It also involves linguistic procedures that characterize the complex phenomenon of the construction of post-truths, understood as rhetorical-persuasive strategies in which the subjective and passionate component prevails over the referential one (Ferraris, 2018).

In these years, we explored the subject placing it in the more general framework of the relationship between media content and media use, observing and trying to demonstrate that the tendency to strongly polarized communication is prone to favor a partial and flawed understanding of reality and facts.

Within the broad spectrum of the information disorder, we investigated media phenomena that contribute to the strengthening and the diffusion of these practices such as storytelling, echo-chambers, filter bubbles, and the tendency to ideological polarization within communication exchanges usually perpetrated through activation of cognitive bias, observing different methods, timings, and outcomes on traditional and digital media.

Strengthened by the new digital media environment and the tendency to disseminate information with a cascading viral effect, these new information methods - not more assuming the objectivity of the information as a benchmark - use pragmatic discursive procedures associated with the production of meanings, often intended as a weapon of personal propaganda and delegitimization of the opponent and his theses in the political discourse (Baldi, 2018).

By investigating the polysemic nature of the term post-truth at first, we inevitably broadened the ground up to analyze the phenomena and empirical data to be cataloged.

The research project starts from a large and solid scientific literature that is based on an articulated set of theoretical and empirical methodologies, ranging from semiotics (Barthes, Chatman, Eco, Volli) pragmatics (Austin, Grice) semantics, the analysis of discourse, theories of communication, political communication (Baldi, Mazzoleni), sociology (Goffman, Meyrowitz) and statistics.

During these years, an attempt was made to extend purposely the knowledge to pursue a multidisciplinary and transversal approach to this investigation.

In addition, some aspects have been parallelly explored on several levels in the context of storytelling (from corporate to political) considered as an effective, modern, and prevailing communication tool, specifically intended as a way of configuring information on social media.

The explosion of the pandemic caused by COVID-19, which began at the same time as this research, led to partially reconsidering the object of study of this research in progress, not distorting what had been previously agreed and done, but adapting it to reality and contemporaneity of the events. Therefore, it seemed natural to decide to investigate this massive event from the media point of view by examining some communicative, political, linguistic, and sociological previously unknown aspects.

The analysis, in particular, took into consideration communication crisis models, institutional communication, political communication, agenda-setting of both national and international newspapers, keeping in mind the great capacity of pandemic emergency in the background, but looking closely at the numerous epiphenomena related to it.

The analyses and the data brought together in this manuscript consists of the collection of articles in communication and linguistics lightly revised, and with some clarifications and extensions, written or published between 2019 and 2021.

These chapters will be devoted to tracing the threads of a very complex general discourse that implies new social and economic dynamics. From these new dynamics thus, a picture will be drawn that involves new actors and stages, constantly evolving media consumption habits, very fast technological transformations, and the pace at which novel symbolic and narrative universes come to life.

We will focus on emphasizing the importance of changes involving the role of what in semiotics is called the 'reader', the 'consumer' in marketing, and the 'receiver' in communication, therefore the general aim of the present work is to contribute to the discussion about political fragmentation, personalization of the leader in an overload informative environment, pervaded by a communication disorder.

These phenomena, therefore, are forcefully inserted in the dramatic events of our contemporaneity, strengthening the trends in progress in the communicative narration.

CHAPTER 1¹

1.1 The revolutionary network

Internet-based technologies have changed how human beings live. The so-called Fourth Industrial Revolution affected humans' everyday lives and dramatically changed their behaviors in real life and communications. The internet has revolutionized the computer and communications world like nothing before. The invention of the telegraph, the telephone, the radio, and the computer, set the stage for this unprecedented integration of capabilities. The internet is at once a worldwide broadcasting medium, a mechanism for information dissemination, and a medium for interaction and collaboration between individuals and their computers without regard for geographic location. The infinite potential acquired by most of mankind through this new media has established new rules in communication, politics, economics, and marketing. We live in a narrative dimension. From the car to the bedroom, from cell phones to television reality shows, our daily life is constantly wrapped in a narrative network that filters perceptions, stimulates thoughts, evokes emotions, excites senses, and determines multisensory responses (Fontana, 2016).

The First Industrial Revolution used water and steam power to mechanize production. The Second used electric power to create mass production. The Third used electronics and information technology to automate production. Now the Fourth

¹ This chapter is based on the following original works: Crocchi, S. C. (2019). *Corporate Storytelling as an Effective Communication Tool*. Quaderni Di Linguistica E Studi Orientali, 5, 431-458 and in *Comunicare ad arte per costruire contenuti e promuovere eventi: 'Corporate Storytelling'*. Serena Camilla Crocchi ed. by Benedetta Baldi, 2020

Industrial Revolution is building on the Third, the digital revolution that has been evolving since the middle of the last century. It is characterized by a fusion of technologies that is blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres. The possibilities of billions of people connected by mobile devices, with unprecedented processing power, storage capacity, and access to knowledge, are unlimited (Schwab 2015: 1).

The expansion of this narrative universe and of the rules that determine its functioning has attracted the attention of many scholars from different fields. Storytelling, for instance, has now reached the highest level of pervasion ever in human existence; both work and private life are part of a narrative continuum. The historical moment in which we live, from the invention of the World Wide Web (conventionally attributed to the English computer scientist Tim Berners-Lee in 1991) to today, is very peculiar from the sociological and economic point of view. The new media have permeated the behaviors, sociability, and people's ways of knowing and remembering, raising many questions about how the world and reality are perceived and about the languages that reflect our semantic languages (Baldi, 2020). The technologies we created to be "always connected" to a virtual world that becomes more and more real have brought major changes to the social, and above all, economic dynamics in the post-modern era. We live in a new symbolic economy that contributes to the expansion of the immaterial, where the virtual dimension is becoming the reality and the medium becomes the message. According to Carmagnola:

It is, therefore, a system where the economic and the symbolic reproduce each other, where the imagery of the commodity derives from the imagery of customs, and where customary innovations are enhanced by passing through the production system. The media diffusion of lifestyles and languages constantly reconstitutes new features of the value chain, it becomes production passing through figuration and narrativization. The evolution of the economy of the sign in fictional economics is thus presented as a multipolar grid in which the traditional industrial research of efficiency is complementary to the capacity for imaginary reproduction. In all this, the media, in turn, are much more than a simple mechanism of dissemination and transmission of images and end up becoming one of the forms of deployed social and productive intelligence (Carmagnola, 2002).

The technology perfected during the Digital Age has completely unhinged two essential concepts of human nature: space and time. The invention of the World Wide Web has nullified the spatial dimension, eliminating physical distances and managing to concretely put the individual user in communication with the whole world, at any time. In the space of a few decades, we have gone from the first exchange of e-mails to the creation of search engines such as Google (1998), forums, blogs, and some of the most popular social networks such as Facebook (2004), Youtube (2005), Twitter (2006), Instagram (2010) and TikTok (2016). The changes generated by new digital technologies are comparable to the consequences triggered by inventions such as writing or the introduction of movable type. New technologies have contributed to shaping new behavioral models and new social structures,

significantly changing the reality we live in, the way we represent it to ourselves and others, and the way we relate to it (Baldi, 2018).

The possibility of unlimited access to online content (books, articles, newspapers, videos, etc.) and their potentially infinite reproducibility have dramatically changed the concepts of culture, information, even news consumption, helping to create *the knowledge illusion* (Sloman, Fernbach, 2018). According to the authors, we are much more ignorant than we think and the combination of our presumption with the power of our technology is very dangerous. Drawing a path that winds through psychology, computer science, robotics, evolutionary theory, and political science they warn that the world we live in is very complex and sophisticated technology increasingly dominates almost every aspect of daily life: it is really difficult to understand how the tools we use work while using them is becoming easier and easier. Similarly, technology allows in a short time to create shared opinions and certainties, not necessarily based on truth content. This makes the responsibility of citizens very great, called to express opinions and judgments on very difficult issues, determining the future of the community with their choices. Another potentially dangerous natural tendency of people is to take a position following instinctive impulses, with superficial motivations, without adequate information, mutually influencing each other in the direction of strengthening their beliefs, often avoiding or refusing confrontation with those who think differently. As stated by the authors, humans reason according to “a pack mentality” in which very strong positions are not based on an equally strong knowledge of the subject. Taken to the extreme - they continue

- the impossibility of realizing how little we understand, combined with the support of the community, can trigger truly dangerous social mechanisms.

This illusion of control over knowledge is fueled by the private and progressively more and more personalized dimension that computers and mobile devices have helped to shape. Furthermore, a mixture of semantic levels has been created in which personal narratives, promotional messages, spam, news, and *fake* news coexist altogether. All of this takes place strictly in real-time and is concentrated inside a small screen that is housed in the palm of a hand. The new technological devices, which allow us to connect with social networks, not only contribute to changing our media consumption habits but also influence the perception of ourselves. Online communication, and the Internet, in particular, has led in recent years to reconsider with a new look the relationship not only between oral and written forms of communication but, well beyond these, between the anthropological models respectively underlying the cultures based on orality and those oriented to writing. (Volli 2003:191). The most obvious case is that of the presence of typical elements of oral communication even within forms of written communication. This can be seen in certain ways of using electronic mail which in fact immediately takes the form of a hybrid between the usual uses of letter communication and those of telephone communication. Placing the functions of the medium halfway between two previously separate forms, the linguistic form used is equally hybrid. Not only that, from a social science perspective it makes little sense to define the Internet based on the generic technological information. Rather than a computer network, the Internet is a specific form of communication, much more complex and culturally determined

than the mere technological base that makes it possible. Use of structures of a hypertextual nature - structures which in the same years were also arousing interest in the development of other parallel forms of communication. And the hypertext signature in itself favors the bridging and inclusion processes, one in the other, of functionally very different communicative components.

The dematerialization of objects, typical of the post-industrial economy (where the functionality of the products gives more and more space to the value of their meanings and their image), has its parallel in this dematerialization of subjects and this new fluidity of discursive production.

1.2 A minute on the Internet

The astonishing success of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube led us to this discussion and one of the aims of this chapter. According to the 2019 edition of the annual report of We Are Social, more than 360 billion people came online for the first time during 2018, with an average of more than one million new users each day. About 57 % of the world's population is now connected to the internet. In addition to this global phenomenon, in Italy, there has been a major increase of 27% in internet users in just one year. According to a survey on Eurostat's website, a casual internet user is defined as someone who has used the internet within the last three months, while a regular internet user is defined as someone who has used the internet at least once a week within the reference period of the survey. Out of the population of 59.25 in Italy, 54.8 million people are internet users. Internet Penetration is the relationship between the number of Internet users in each country and its demographic data. In Italy Internet Penetration in 2019 is at 92%.

We live in a world that travels at frightening speed, whose dynamics change and change us within a few months and in which it is easy and inevitable to always be connected, but it is even easier to get lost. If on the one hand the physical boundaries have been practically canceled, the real dimension has begun to merge and merge with the unreal one, contributing to the creation of ever more evocative symbolic universes and constituting a real narrative continuum; on the other hand, the notion of time has also undergone a consequential perspective reversal. The time we have,

taking a twenty-four-hour day as a reference, is not the same as our parents, for example, had. Social media have become an integral part of our days, occupying a specific space to varying degrees within the public and private sphere of each; they influence social relationships, study, work, leisure, consumption habits, and information. The data summarized in the infographic below, created by Lewis and Chad for Visual Capitalist, faithfully report what is happening in one minute on the Internet in 2019.

The data of this report photograph a reality rich in stimuli in which the continuous cognitive flow of information and media content to which we are subjected rather resembles a bombardment. Due to this constant multisensory information overload, many scholars have noted the existence of disorders related to smartphones and social networks such as Nomophobia (the phobia of being without a phone); Continuous Partial Attention (a real attention deficit syndrome due to the constant presence, in the background, of other activities such as social networking while working; FOMO (Fear of missing out, or the fear of getting lost something, which would be one of the main reasons why we just can't help but look at the smartphone constantly.

The 52nd Censis Report on Communication 2018 shows below the data relating to the %age of people who connect to the network and the time they spend there based on the type of device used.

The Italians who use the internet go from 75.2% to 78.4%, with a positive difference of 3.2% compared to last year and 33.1% from 2007. Those who use smartphones rise from 69.6% to 73.8% (with an annual growth of 4.2%, while still in 2009 only

15% of the population used them). Social network users increase from 67.3% to 72.5% of the population. WhatsApp users continue to increase (67.5% of Italians, 81.6% of those under 30), while more than half of the population uses the two most popular social networks: Facebook (56%) and YouTube (51.8%). The step forward made by Instagram is remarkable, reaching 26.7% of users (and 55.2% among young people), while Twitter drops to 12.3%. [...]

The choice to connect to the internet and use social networks through smartphones is growing compared to previous years. These data, collected by Censis in July 2019, actually confirm the trend of new media to radicalize the fragmentation and identification of information, knowledge, and truths (Baldi, 2018).

In such a context, in which we are constantly exposed to thousands of different multisensory stimuli, we respond by systematically filtering the texts, images, and sounds that attract us to a lesser extent and that our mind automatically catalogs as noise. The main challenge for those involved in communication today, at various levels, is precisely this: to be able to rise from this background noise by making one's voice heard and hopefully remembered.

1.3 I communicate therefore I am: between the economy of symbols and emotions

The Digital Revolution has brought about massive changes to socio-cultural and economic dynamics in the postmodern era. In particular, we will focus on three crucial aspects that constitute the underlying reasons for the success of storytelling as a communication tool in the corporate environment: the emergence of an economy of the symbolic (or imaginary); the emphasis placed on the emotional component of communication at the expense of the rational and cognitive one; the evolution of the figure of the consumer into that of prosumer.

The gradual shift of the center of gravity of production processes from the local to the planetary dimension, caused by the spread of open and virtual social networks and assisted by the decline of great narratives in the post-modern era, has created the optimal habitat for the expansion of factory of the immaterial in which goods become relational and identity. The birth of new media and the possibility of viral diffusion offered by the web have put an end to the undisputed power of advertising and television. The era of advertising and brands seems to be over. In the early 2000s the declarations to this effect multiply. Advertising has lost its power, it no longer has credibility with consumers who are increasingly skeptical (Ries, 2002). In recent years and in the awareness of a new economic scenario (New Economy), the concept of emotional marketing has developed. Brands have the ability to excite their customers by creating experiences that must be perceived as memorable and must exploit it to emerge in this new type of market. The importance of this new way of marketing is corroborated by the belief that what causes emotions is kept in the long-

term memory and that, therefore, the experience is recalled by the customer who has lived it and who will be motivated to repeat. Regarding the experiential aspect of the purchasing process, Shaw and Ivens (2005) propose the following definition in particular:

A Customer Experience is an interaction between an organization and a customer. It is a blend of an organization's physical performance, the senses stimulated and emotion evoked, each intuitively measured against customer expectations across all moments of contact (Shaw, 2007).

Traditional marketing, on the other hand, is focused on features and benefits of products and services, which define the scope of competition between companies and the object of the rational evaluation of consumers. The latter, on the other hand, in many sectors consider the functional characteristics, the quality and the positive image of the offer as given, and rather look for products, communications and marketing campaigns that give them experiences capable of striking the senses, the heart, the mind. Experiential marketing is therefore based on four key concepts (Schmitt, 1999): the focus on the customer experience, the consideration of the consumption situation, the recognition of both the rational and emotional drivers of consumption, the use of eclectic management methodologies that not only favor a specific type of tools but, on the basis of the objectives, combine very different methods of investigation on the consumer in order to grasp the phenomena under study in their entirety (Schmitt, 2003). In particular, Schmitt distinguishes five types of experiences, called strategic experiential modules (SEM): sensory, emotional, cognitive, behavioral and relational.

The tendency to seek the emotional element in the act of consumption thus overturns the concept of homo oeconomicus in the new awareness that he is guided by non-rational logic. The purpose of narrative marketing is no longer simply to convince the consumer to buy the product, but also to immerse him in a narrative universe, to involve him in a credible story. It is no longer a question of seducing or convincing, but of producing an effect of belief. This new way of marketing operates a subtle semantic shift: it transforms consumption into theatrical distribution (Salmon, 2007). The online and offline consumption experience is designed by experts trying to stimulate and satisfy all five senses, for example through attention to the choice of certain colors, sounds, and materials. Thanks to social media, the role of the contemporary consumer has become increasingly active and participatory: today we speak, in fact, of *prosumers*. It is no longer the companies that define the 4Ps that remain the basis of marketing, but the consumer. The word prosumer derives from the contraction and union of two opposed concepts: production and consumption. The productive consumer is such to the extent that he has conquered his place, the network, and, thanks to the fact that in the network there are spaces that are not the exclusive property and control of production, but which seem designed to shelter the creations of consumers, to their innate immateriality. It is in fact [...], mainly of ways of using, ways of doing, and ways of describing products (Mazzoli, 2009). The voices of the new consumers share in an egalitarian relationship the same network space as the manufacturing companies. This paradigmatic revolution affects all fields of human experience: knowledge, science, politics, and economics. The possibility of expressing one's thought and placing it in a specific space on the web, with the very high probability that it will be shared and commented publicly, has

cleared the a priori trust in science, institutions, and even more, in this perspective, in narratives. business. It is no coincidence that giants like Amazon and Booking have based their business philosophy on the value of consumer experiences by granting sections dedicated to reviews on their site. Consumers, surrounded every day by thousands of different stimuli, no longer blindly trust the promises of the brand, but place their trust in the experiences of others who (as their peers) are more credible. In addition, the habit of continuously producing different media content (posts, images, speeches, videos, gifs) has helped to train the user and make them technologically more capable. The phenomenon and the popularity of influencers, for example, are placed precisely in this scenario.

1.4 Narrative as a way of thinking

The attention to narration and its forms can be documented starting from the illustrious precedent of ancient Greek culture and through the whole history of poetry, literary criticism, and entertainment. The suggestions, in this sense, are very numerous and drawn from different fields: anyone who has dealt with science and art has had to face the theme of narration. In the perspective of more formal analysis, the temporal and reference limits certainly shrink, but this does not simplify our work. Among the most significant names included, one cannot fail to mention Vladimir Propp, linguist and folklore enthusiast, who meticulously analyzed what he saw as the underlying structure of Russian folktales; formalists such as Mikhail Bakhtin who continued to develop narrative analysis; ethnological scholars like Levi-Strauss along with the linguist Noam Chomsky, who examined the invariable structure of the universal human mind; literature theorists such as Genette, Bremond, Todorov, and Segre; linguists like Greimas and Uspensky; sociologists, like Goffman, and more recently, semiologists like Chatman and Eco. There has been a significant amount of interest and speculation about the nature of the narrative since the mid-1960s. This may well be a function of our information society, where communication and the means of communication have become increasingly important to individuals and organizations. Furthermore, cross-cultural studies (Levi-Strauss, 1972; Chafe, 1980) suggest that narrative is an elementary and persistent form of human expression regardless of ethnic origin, primary language, and enculturation. This ubiquity is famously described by Barthes as follows:

The narratives of the world are numberless. The narrative is first and foremost a prodigious variety of genres, themselves distributed amongst different substances as though any material were fit to receive man's stories. Able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures, and the ordered mixture of all these substances; the narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting, stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, and conversation. Moreover, under this almost infinite diversity of forms, the narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there never has been a people without narrative. All classes, all human groups, have their narratives, enjoyment of which is very often shared by men with different, even opposing, cultural backgrounds. Caring nothing for the division between good and bad literature, the narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself (Barthes 1977: 79).

Narratives began to be systematically investigated with a very ambitious intent: to identify the minimal units of any narrative and to find a universal grammar of the story. This first phase encompassed the development of a series of essential tools for classifying the position of the narrator in a story, evaluating the relationship between the time of the narrated story and the time of the discourse that narrates it, identifying the point of view through which the story is told. All these authors have somehow contributed to the narratological field, highlighting that every human culture has deep, almost archetypal narrative structures, which recur in the construction of everyday life. This concept represents the conclusion of much of literature in

different fields, so much that anthropology seems to merge with semiotics, linguistics with philosophy, psychology with literature, almost raising the narrative principle as the foundation of the whole human essence. The term narratology was coined by the philosopher Tzvetan Todorov in 1969 to indicate the study of narrative structures. According to many scholars, it is a heterogeneous discipline that draws on different areas of knowledge. What we are most interested in is getting to the primary nature of storytelling, understanding how to best use the word and how to make our story effective.

1.5 The Narrative Turn in social studies

Starting from the 90s, the study of narrative practices has embarked on a new, more fertile road thanks to the cross-contributions of cognitivism, neuroscience, and studies of artificial intelligence. Cognitivism has realized that our mind, starting from childhood, is based on the chrono-causal connection of episodes. Essentially, we learn to correlate events as causes and effects or to make one internal state the engine of an external fact. At the same time, neuroscientists began to photograph with neuro-imaging techniques such as TMS (Transcranial Magnetic Stimulation) or PET (Positron Emission Tomography) how, when we observe something, we tend to classify it through the comparison with a stereotypical model, derived from similar experiences recorded in the memory. Each new experience is evaluated based on its conformity or difference concerning a previous scheme.

We can speak of an epistemological turning point in post-classical narratology thanks to the decisive contribution of cognitivism and neuroscience (Bamberg, 2007). The beginning of this new course can be placed in 2002, the year of the publication of *Story Logic* by David Herman (Herman, 2002). In Herman's work for the first time, the neurocognitive sciences enter an area that had previously been the field of literary scholars and linguists. As has been shown by scholars working in the field of Artificial Intelligence, the human mind, to integrate partial information into broader conceptual frameworks, accesses an archive of situational and contextual knowledge, recorded in the memory. Such studies include those by Marvin Minsky (1963 and 1986), Roger C. Schank and Robert P. Abelson (1977), and David E. Rumelhart (1980). They tried to replace the concept of context with more explicit

and detailed constructs: frames (or schemata) and scripts. The frames aim to reproduce the mechanisms of human knowledge and expectations regarding standard events and situations. The frames concern situations like seeing a room or making a promise, while the scripts involve sequences of actions such as playing a football game, going to a birthday party, or eating in a restaurant.

Beginning with Guy Cook (1994), schema theory has been adopted as a means of literary analysis; the scholar proposed a change of focus in literary theory, from a limited analysis to the textual structure, leading to an analysis that takes into consideration the interaction between the text and the cognitive structures of the reader. Frames are prototypical structures. Scripts are prototypical sequences. Both are present in the reader's mind, and function as models through which he adapts the text to his usual ways of thinking. Thus, according to Monika Fludernik (1996, 2009), readers narrate what they read, or rather narrativity is not simply something present or absent in the texts, but rather something recognized by the readers or sometimes projected by them within the texts. Fludernik, taking up the concept of naturalization introduced by Jonathan Culler (1975), uses the term narrativization to describe a reading strategy that naturalizes it through the use of narrative schemata: in the process of narrativization, readers commit themselves to read texts as narrative, that is, as manifesting a human experience; the narrativization then serves to reintegrate the new with the known and the familiar, operating based on a higher-level verisimilitude, which introduces a plurality of frames of reference. When readers are struggling with realistic texts, the process of narrativization is quite automatic, but

when confronted with difficult or even potentially illegible texts, they consciously seek strategies to recover them as narratives.

1.6 Narrative Communication

Scholars such as Seymour Chatman and Umberto Eco examined content in the context of narrative communication. They investigated the roles of the author and the reader within the text itself. Their contribution to narratological theories is enormous. They analyzed narrative as communication and tried to understand how the transmission of meaning occurs between subject and recipient, author and reader, company and customer; focusing on the various dynamics that occur. In his *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (1980) Chatman summarizes narrative communication as follows:

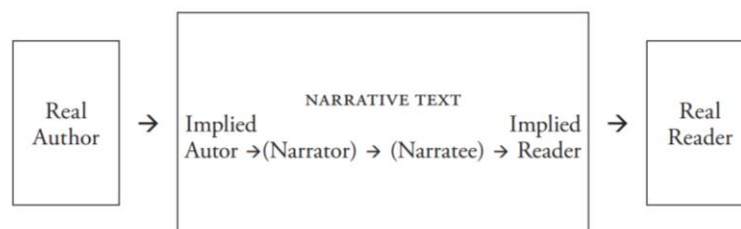


Table 1. The narrative-communication model (Chatman 1978, 158)

This scheme highlights the fundamental roles within narrative communication. At the beginning and the end of the scheme, we find concepts such as real author and real reader, while in the center we find the figures placed within the text. The implied author is “the principle that invented the narrator along with the rest of the narrative” (Chatman 1987: 157). He is essentially the constructor of the text. At the other end, the implied reader is the presupposed reader; in the middle, narrator and narratee: the narrator is the one who speaks in the text and is different from the real author, while

the narratee is “an expedient with which the implicit author informs the real reader on how to play the implicit reader”.

Chatman improved the diagram several times within his book by adding elements or making clarifications. What we need to remember is that this scheme of interaction between reader and author according to its various degrees is a scheme that will also be examined by Eco in his search for a theory of interpretation. In one of his most important books: *Six Walks in Narrative Woods* (1994), the so-called Norton Lectures held at Harvard University in 1992 summarized some of his thought already presented in well-known books like *Lector in Fabula* and *Opera Aperta* (1979). He considers the forest as a metaphor for narrative text. Paying homage to the postmodern writer Jorge Luis Borges and his famous novel *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan*, Eco writes: “A text is a garden with forking paths. Even when in a forest there are marked paths, everyone can trace his own path deciding to go to the right or left of a certain tree that he meets. In a narrative text the reader is forced at any time to make a choice” (Eco 1994: 3). The philosopher somehow completes the framework developed by Chatman, warning us about the potential of the reader/recipient writing:

Every text, after all, is a lazy machine asking the reader to do some of its work. What a problem it would be if a text were to say everything the receiver is to understand - it would never end (Eco 1994: 3).

He does not limit himself to completing the picture but enlarges it by emphasizing the scope of the model. We are talking not only about literary works but about any statement based on narration to convey meaning. This means that this reasoning can

be safely applied to many forms: advertising, radio, and cinema. The reason is simple: in narrative communication, a sort of dialogue is established between subject and recipient, which is inserted at the level of the text: “Whenever the speaker is about to end a sentence, we as readers or listeners make a bet (albeit unconsciously): we predict his or her choice, or anxiously wonder what choice will be made” (Eco 1994: 6). The dynamics are variable according to the different forms considered. In oral discourse, dialogue is built on an exchange that requires direct feedback, while in a literary text or text for cinema this occurs indirectly through the relationship between author and model reader. These concepts introduced by Eco refer in some ways to Chatman’s author and implicit reader: while the model reader is the reader-type that the text foresees as a collaborator and tries to create, the model author is the typical author, the one who is created in the empirical reader’s mind. For our research is now crucial to analyze how the message (conveyed in narrative form) reaches the recipient. This assumption is fundamental for a company, a brand, or an individual who decides to rely on narrative communication to achieve a certain purpose. It is no coincidence that the interpretative process of the text is often at the center of Chatman’s studies. In his analysis he comes to some important results which are summarized below:

- “The text is a lazy machine that requires the effort of the interpreter to produce meaning (we remember that interpreting means according to Eco and traditional semiotics, translating a sign into another expression)”.
- To understand the concept of text, it is necessary to take into consideration the starting code (see in this regard the work of Roman Jakobson) and the

Encyclopedia, or the recorded set of all interpretations, conceivable objectively as a library of libraries.

- The latter is a regulatory hypothesis in reading the text concerning the interpretation, deriving from the virtual library of each, and variable according to the culture, education, and previous readings.

- The text leaves the reader with the interpretative initiative. That is, it is issued so that someone updates it and brings its meaning to light and it is at this level that the figures of the model author, model reader, and Chatman's scheme are inserted.

Starting from these ideas, Eco describes the process of interpretation as follows: “The model reader of a story is not the empirical reader. The empirical reader is you, me, anyone when we read a text. Empirical readers can read in many ways, and no law tells them how to read, because they often use the text as a container for their passions, which may come from outside the text or which the text may arouse by chance” (Eco 1994: 8). The model reader, on the other hand, manifests itself on an interpretative level as the author of the game, as he signs a pact with him by letting himself be transported through the text. Real broadcasters and recipients work according to textual strategies, implementing textual cooperation on multiple levels within narrative communication. In this cooperative process, the reader must use the knowledge in his Encyclopedia and implement common or intertextual scripts. Some narrative techniques such as delay, suspense, and slowdown, encourage what Eco calls inferential walks which are performed outside the narrative forest and encouraged by the author himself. For the reading, we must always refer to a possible

world existing behind the text, due to its reconstruction of meaning. A few years earlier, Eco addressed these issues in *Opera aperta* (1962). Through his reflection on narration and interpretation, he wanted us to reflect on the relationship between text and viewer and on the interpretative possibilities where the latter is involved. This is why when he speaks of openwork and by openness, Eco intends “the programmed predisposition of a particularly free cooperation, in the attempt (however) to direct the initiative of the interpreter according to certain possible interpretative tendencies that the work does not impose but in some way it prepares, making them more probable” (Eco 1962: 12). During the process of interpretation, the reader has a certain level of freedom that is manifested by opening the text itself to walk outside. This freedom can be limited within the text according to the textual strategy inserted by the author himself. We will therefore have open texts and closed texts depending on the constraints used. The theme is certainly very complex, but in the context of Communication, it does not lose value. On the contrary, it helps us to broaden our horizons. It is very useful to understand the importance of the reader and his constant freedom in interpreting the text whether it be a literary work, an article, or an advertising spot.

From this point of view, the author’s work is very similar to the initial work of the communicator in identifying its stakeholders. Organizations must track down their audience to communicate properly in the same way as the author has their model reader in mind. Eco’s theorization goes even further when it comes to combining narrative and cognitive psychology studies. Inside his Norton Lectures, Eco introduces the concept of frames and knowledge of reality conceived through

narrative schemes stating that “[...] we understand a sentence because we are used to thinking of an elementary story to which the statement refers, even when we are talking about individuals or natural genres” (Eco 1994: 161). It speaks of frames, referring to recent discoveries in the field of artificial intelligence, “[...] as schemes of action like entering a restaurant, going to the station to catch a train, or opening an umbrella” (Eco 1994: 162).

And he goes on:

[...] a psychologist like Jerome Bruner assumes that even our normal way of accounting for everyday experience takes the form of a story, and the same happens with History as *historia rerum gestarum*. [...] Our perceptive stories work because we trust a previous story. We would not fully perceive a tree if we did not know (because others have told us) that it is the result of slow growth, and it has not sprung up from morning to evening: this certainty is also part of our “understanding” that that tree it is a tree, and not a flower (Eco 1994: 161).

1.7 Consumer vs Prosumer

The most difficult challenge that companies face today is to capture the attention of consumers. It is therefore essential to set up communication strategies that convey effective and credible messages capable of affecting consumers and positively influencing their attitude towards products. Considering the current market scenario, which is increasingly saturated and unstable, doing this becomes increasingly difficult. In fact, according to research carried out by the Mc Studio communication agency, about 79% of people do not read a text word by word but look at general content. About 82% of consumers ignore advertising if it is considered intrusive. Therefore, companies need to develop new ways of communication to survive in the market, bearing in mind the profound change that has affected both the consumer and the entire society. An increasing number of brands use storytelling as a communication technique which has in many cases proved to be the key to attracting and retaining consumers. Before going on to examine the need to include storytelling among integrated marketing communication tools and why it represents an effective tool to reach consumers, it is essential to observe the new distinctive features of contemporary society and consumers.

The term prosumer is generally attributed to Alvin Toffler (1980) who devoted considerable attention to it in his work, *The Third Wave*. Toffler argued that prosumption was predominant in pre-industrial societies; what he called the “first wave”. It was followed by a “second wave” of marketization that drove “a wedge into society that separated these two functions, thereby giving birth to what we now call producers and consumers” (Toffler 1980: 265). Thus, the primordial economic

form is neither production nor consumption, but rather it is prosumption. However, in Toffler's view, contemporary society is moving away from the aberrant separation of production and consumption and towards a "third wave" that, in part, signals their reintegration in "the rise of the prosumer" (Toffler 1980: 266).

The technological revolution brought about by the internet and digital technologies is one of the main features of the contemporary era. It has profoundly changed the way companies communicate. In particular, the transition from traditional to digital media and the rise of the so-called 2.0 technologies have allowed the consumer to no longer be just a passive receiver of corporate communication. The consumer can establish a direct dialogue with organizations, politicians, and authorities by implementing continuous feedback and response mechanisms. New technologies represent a real reversal of perspective in terms of the relationship between the company and the customer (Fabris 2003: 130). The relationship between consumers and companies is no longer monodirectional but is instead characterized by interactivity, conceived as the possibility for users or consumers to influence the other components of the system (other users, means, and contents) and to be mutually influenced by the same (Pastore 2008: 434).

Characteristics of digital technologies such as multimedia, cross-media, and dynamism have given the consumer greater decision-making power. He can utilize different types of content and expressive codes on multiple devices, plus he can be a content creator. This, on the other hand, can generate the problem of information overload occurring when the amount of information available exceeds the individual's ability to process and store it efficiently. Consumers are constantly

assaulted by numerous messages from many brands on multiple devices. As a consequence, they have become more adept at filtering information and focusing only on that relevant to them. In fact, according to research conducted by Microsoft, the average attention span of consumers has decreased from twelve to eight seconds from 2000 to today, though the ability to do more things simultaneously, the so-called multitasking, has improved.

Another fundamental aspect to be considered is the radical change of the concept of consumption from the modern to the post-modern era. Previously, consumption was not considered as an autonomous dimension but always as an appendix of production. Nowadays it has instead taken on a brand-new meaning: “The value of a good is also and perhaps above all a semantic value through which we express ourselves and with which we communicate with other” (Fabris 2008: 68). Consumption has become a language through which the individual constantly communicates the distinctive traits of their identity, including their values, beliefs, and social status. As a result, products are purchased today more for the symbols they represent than their technical characteristics.

Furthermore, consumption has become pure narration: “cars, cell phones, clothes, furniture, creams, companies, individuals, territories ... everything is accompanied by a narrative framework that justifies and promotes its existence” and he goes even further stating that objects have become narratives that are factually bought into: “non-places that are themselves targeted narratives, staging set up artfully to excite us, excite us and push us to social recognition through purchase” (Fontana 2010: 79). The transition from an economy of goods and services to an economy of experiences

is closely linked to this last aspect. A progressive dematerialization of physical objects is taking place as consumer attention is increasingly shifting towards what the object represents abstractly and not as it is physically. For this reason, the real economic offer is represented by experiences and no longer by material products or even by services. Unlike a service, an experience can be defined as “a series of memorable events that a company stages in a theatrical play to engage him in a personal way” (Pine and Gilmore 1998: 2).

According to Pine and Gilmore (1998), experiences represent the fourth stage of the economic offer – after commodities, goods and services – and they were born as a response to the standardization and industrialization of services, as a way to differentiate themselves from the competition. Companies have created experiences to escape from competition based on prices and to be able to offer added value to consumers trying to obtain higher profit margins. The planning of exciting and engaging experiences, therefore, guarantees a real competitive advantage to those companies that manage to put them into practice. The success of products such as gift boxes, including stays, dinners, or wellness programs, is an example of the growth of experiences as an economic offer. According to research by the National Retail Federation conducted by Prosper Insight & Analytics, about 52% of consumers prefer an experience as a gift, a %age that rises to 57% in the age group between 18 and 24. The importance of experiences is also confirmed by another Oracle survey conducted by Harris Interactive, according to which about 86% of customers would pay more for a better consumer experience, and 89% of them switch to a competitor in the case of a mediocre experience.

Finally, it is essential to consider the role of emotions in the purchasing decision-making process. The era of the homo oeconomicus, when the consumer was a rational being who based his decisions on a meditated analysis of costs and benefits, is now gone. Numerous neuromarketing studies, on the other hand, have shown how emotions guide most decisions and behaviors of human beings. According to Baba Shiv, professor of marketing at the Stanford Graduate School of Business, about 95% of the decisions that we take daily are not rational but dictated by emotions (Brown 2015: 83). Emotions can be defined as mental states that arise as reactions to stimuli from the external environment and play a fundamental role in many processes of the human mind: they influence the information processing; they push towards the implementation of behaviors oriented to specific objectives; they act as intermediaries in responding to attractive requests; and finally they are also useful for measuring the effects of marketing stimuli and consumer well-being (Bagozzi and Gobinanth 1999: 202). Considering this context, therefore, it is possible to understand the importance of using new forms of communication capable of breaking through the barrier of filters that consumers use every day to avoid the continuous flow of information. At the same time, new communication technologies can enhance the symbolic aspects of consumption, arouse strong emotions, and create an engaging experience for the consumer.

As far as storytelling is concerned, most of the scholars who have dedicated themselves to it, have defined it as “the art of telling stories”. However, this definition represents a not fully correct translation of the term storytelling which does not have a valid equivalent in Italian. According to the author, the term “story” should not be

translated into “storie” but with the Italian “racconto” which in turn can be assimilated to the terms “representation” and “simulation”: “for this reason, storytelling means creating text, visual, and audio representations: of a brand, product or service, to excite or better relate to an audience”. Ultimately, therefore, the author defines storytelling as “communicating through stories”. Also significant is the definition given by the NSN National Storytelling Network, the U.S. organization that deals with the promotion and dissemination of storytelling: “Storytelling is the interactive art of using words and actions to reveal the elements and images of a story while encouraging the listener’s imagination”. Another important definition is given by the Storytelling Observatory, a cultural association that aims to stimulate the research and study of narrative sciences in Italy: storytelling is “the way of thinking and communicating of the human being, present in every area where there is the interaction between people.” In this case, storytelling is defined not only as a way to communicate with other people but also a means by which man organizes thought. This definition is also confirmed by the authors Lee and Shin (2014: 6): “Storytelling is a fundamental way for humans to perceive the world and a device for emotional utterance regarding the world as people see it.”

Therefore, storytelling is a technique that belongs to the discipline of narrative and literal studies that can be defined as the act of narrating or communicating a message through stories using the principles of rhetoric. Progressively this technique has been adopted also in other areas always with the function of conveying a message but to achieve objectives of a different nature. Today storytelling is successfully used in the economic and pedagogical sciences as well as in political communication: it is a form

of discourse that is imposed in all sectors of society and transcends political, cultural, or professional boundaries.

As it is also specified by the Storytelling Observatory, “it is a specific discipline of the Narrative Sciences, with different operative declinations: from marketing to medicine, from politics to the world of consumption” and as also stated by Lynn Smith, journalist of the Los Angeles Times, in her article Not the Same Old Story (2001): Historians, lawyers, physicians, economists, and psychologists have all rediscovered the power of stories to frame reality, and storytelling has come to rival logic as a way to understand legal cases, geography, illness, or war.

It has therefore been proven that storytelling can be a useful tool to achieve goals even outside the literary field. Today storytelling is successfully used also in the economic and pedagogical sciences as well as in political communication. After defining what is meant by storytelling, it is essential to analyze the reasons why today it represents one of the most widely used communication tools in different fields and with different approaches. As previously analysed, it is a form of communication that has always existed, it represented the main way in which the human being gave meaning to the external world and transmitted information to future generations. Storytelling has always been an effective communication tool and its recent success is due to the rediscovery of its persuasive and communicative power. It is possible to identify three clusters of reasons that explain the effectiveness of the stories:

1. The way of thinking of the human being through narrative schemes and his physiological need to believe in something;

2. The phenomenon of neural coupling which consists in a cerebral alignment of the brains of those involved in the story and takes place during the story;

3. The ability of stories to arouse emotions and create an emotional connection with the audience.

The first element that determines the effectiveness of storytelling is linked to the peculiar way of humans of thinking and interpreting the surrounding reality. As evidenced by psychologist Jerome Bruner humans do not use logical and scientific argument to organize their own experience but uses the narrative form that represents a general convention to give meaning to reality:

For many historical reasons, including the practical power inherent in the use of logic, mathematics, and empirical science, we have concentrated on the child's growth as "little scientist", "little logician", "little mathematician" [...] we do not achieve our mastery of social reality by growing up as "little scientists", "little logicians" or "little mathematicians" [...] we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative (Bruner 1991: 4).

This thought is also shared by the authors Woodside, Sood, and Miller (2008). According to them, the human being thinks naturally with narrative and non-argumentative patterns. According to Mike Turner (1996), the story is a basic principle of the human mind through which every human being organizes his experiences, his knowledge, and his thoughts. Consequently, storytelling is effective first of all because it is a mechanism already present in the human mind. Humans elaborate stories and use them daily to explain the reality they live in: "We are

therefore in the presence of a foundational instinct, as Sharazade already knew that he was able to suspend his death sentence by enchanting the sultan with his narrations.” Gottschall (2012) states that it is even a genetic component of human DNA and that if it were not so, evolution would surely have eliminated it. Precisely because the stories are part of our nature and represent the way we organize our thoughts; we are also willing to listen to them and believe the message they want to convey. Narratives are successful because whenever a story is told, a self-delusion mechanism that derives from the natural propensity of the human being to believe in something is activated in the human mind. Listening to a story begins when a process is triggered which leads to setting aside one’s critical faculties, which would be able to grasp even the smallest incongruity in history and fall into a state of conscience altered for the norm, which leads us to identify ourselves completely with the object of the narration and with whom it is telling, causing us to suspend our disbelief. This state of consciousness is called the listening narrative trance which consists of an extremely engaging experience that drives a man to abandon himself totally to the pleasure of listening and which derives from his innate need to believe. The stories, therefore, have strong communicative power, because man has a physiological need to believe. The satisfaction of this need takes place through the narrative listening trance that consists in lowering the mental defenses and in the total abandonment towards what is told. The words of the English poet and philosopher Samuel Taylor Coleridge, reported by Jonathan Gottschall in his book *The Storytelling Animal*, clearly explain this concept. He argued that the “willing suspension of disbelief” is fundamental to enjoying any story, stating that “to enjoy me, I have to silence my inner skeptic.”

However, the narrative trance of listening does not take over as soon as the story begins, rather some stages lead the listener or the reader to gradually abandon himself to narrative pleasure. They are seven and are valid for any type of story, whether it is a political discourse or a brand narrative:

1. Contact: it represents the moment in which for the first time one comes into contact with narration through the five senses;
2. Familiarity: after the first contact, it is the moment in which one begins to develop trust and confidence with the narrative object;
3. Immersion: it represents the moment in which the narration envelops the audience to which it is addressed, which can be considered “immersed” in the story;
4. Identification: it is the moment, considered the most important, in which the identification of the audience takes place with the elements of the story that relate to memory and personal experience;
5. Emergence: it is the moment in which the narration ends, and the audience emerges from the trance in which it fell during the story;
6. Distancing: it represents the moment, after the end of the story, during which the details of the same are forgotten but the memories that the experience as a whole has left behind are not forgotten;
7. Transformation: any story has an impact on whoever receives it. It can be large and involve a radical or tiny transformation and last for a very short time compared to the end of the story. The transformation can consist in adopting a new behavior, a new point of view, or even a different mood.

1.8 Neural Coupling and Mirror Neuron System

Many kinds of research have shown that it is possible to evaluate the effectiveness of storytelling from a biological and cerebral point of view. In a recent study, Uri Hasson (Hasson, 2016), a neuroscientist at Princeton University, recorded the brain activity of a subject narrating a tale from real life and other subjects who listened to the narrative of this story. The analysis was carried out using the fMRI – functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging – which scanned and recorded the mental activity of the subjects involved in the study. The results showed that during the story, the brains of the speaker and listeners reasoned according to shared and temporally aligned patterns: a phenomenon called neural coupling. The brains performed the same type of activity demonstrating a cerebral alignment both when the story was told and when the story was listened to thus delineating the following pattern:

1. It was widespread and did not only concern the auditory cortices but also the linguistic and extralinguistic areas of the brain;
2. It occurred both between the brain of the speaker and those of the listeners and between the brains of the listeners themselves;
3. It emerged only when verbal communication took place between the interlocutors.

Researchers conducted the same analysis in another language. The listeners could not understand the story and “coupling” between the brains was quantitatively irrelevant: this means that the process of neural coupling depends not only on auditory stimulation but, above all, on the possibility for the listener to understand

and process the information communicated to them. Furthermore, the neural coupling process facilitates the elaboration, assimilation, and memorization of the story. The listeners compared the story to their own experiences, connected it to their memories, and transformed it through their ideas. In this regard, Woodside's theory appears to be relevant. According to his theory, a story is effective because it contains a series of "indexes" that allow the recipients of the story to make comparisons with previous experiences and therefore to remember them more easily. They can be decisions, places, conclusions, actions, and attitudes and are described as points of contact that are established between those who tell and those who listen, and those who cause awareness and an emotional connection among them. Other research carried out in the field of neuroscience has shown that, when analytical data is received, only the parts of the brain dedicated to linguistic understanding are activated. When a story is communicated the brain is activated in the same way whether we are listening to or reading a story or whether we are living a real experience. Consequently, this particular characteristic of the brain means that the human being remembers more from storytelling than from reading data or simple facts. The brain makes a minimal distinction between a lived experience and a story. The neural coupling process also explains in part the phenomenon of the narrative listening trance previously described: the mental connection that is established between the interlocutors of a story favors the abandonment and the lowering of critical defenses on the part of the listener, leading them to immerse themselves in the story. In conclusion, therefore, this research shows that storytelling is effective because it favors the creation of a bond, a mental alignment between the subjects involved in the story which makes the story easy to assimilate and remember.

1.9 Building Emotional Connections

In recent years, we have witnessed an increase in consumption of “hedonistic” products more aesthetically cured and pleasant than those of the past. This trend is directly connected to the experiential aspect of marketing. Since the 1980s, marketing studies have attributed increasing centrality to sensory and emotional performances in the consumption experience. In purchasing processes, the association between emotions and brands is the primary objective of many companies’ marketing campaigns, and this involves a considerable economic investment. Unlike traditional marketing, Marketing 2.0 and 3.0 attribute a primary role to the customer experience and consequently to the emotions aroused during this phase.

It is possible to influence consumer preferences through emotions. Highlighting the perception of certain feelings or thoughts, we create a need that must be satisfied through the purchasing experience. In this way, a bond is created and it can generate an emotional dependency between the brand and the consumer. Emotional branding is, therefore, a fresh, current, highly competitive concept based on the choice of a sign, a color to use, words to conquer, and emotions to communicate. In the melting pot of the digital age, emotional branding becomes essential to succeed especially since passive targets have turned into active stakeholders. Concerning the experiential aspect of the purchase process, Shaw and Ivens (2005) propose the following definition:

The customer experience is the interaction between an organization and its customers. It is a blend of the organization’s physical performance, the senses

stimulated, and the emotions evoked. Each is intuitively measured against customer expectations across all periods of contact (Schmitt 2003: 8).

Schmitt distinguishes five types of experience (sensory, emotional, cognitive, behavioral, and relational), called strategic experiential modules (Sem) that marketing can create for customers through special practical tools such as communications, visual and verbal identity, product presence, co-branding, spatial environments, web sites, and electronic media. Finally, when examining the effectiveness of storytelling as a communication tool, the role of emotions must also be taken into consideration. Besides the natural propensity of humans to think and remember through stories, and the neural coupling phenomenon, stories are effective because they generate emotions. The main objective of a story is precisely to generate an emotional reaction in its recipients and create an emotional connection with them: “whether a break-room anecdote or the storyteller is hoping to evoke emotions in the audience”. Some research (Kirwin 2005; Hsu 2008) showed that during exposure to a story our brain starts producing two hormones: oxytocin and cortisol. Cortisol is related to the ability to focus attention on something important and it is directly related to the level of anxiety. Oxytocin is involved in creating social bonds, empathy, and trust. The combination of these two hormones involves the creation of an emotional connection between the listeners and the storyteller. It is therefore essential for companies to take this aspect into account to make it into the mind of the consumer and keep it faithful to the brand. In the current market scenario, only those brands that manage to create an emotional connection with their customers

survive. In this case, storytelling takes the form of a tool to establish this important connection.

1.10 Conclusions

This aim of this chapter is to highlight the effectiveness of storytelling as a powerful and persuasive communication tool in the corporate context. This peculiar kind of communicative approach allows the creation of a symbolic universe potentially shared by the public, with which not only can it recognize itself, but with which it can interact. The fundamental theories of narration and their evolution is taken into consideration, as well as the evolution of the consumer into prosumer and the sociological and economic consequences that emerged. We have seen how narrative content can be exploited using different mediums and the potential of social networks. Today storytelling is successfully used in the economic and pedagogical sciences as well as in political communication (as we will see later in the discussion): it is a form of discourse that is imposed in all sectors of society and transcends political, cultural, or professional boundaries.

CHAPTER 2²

2.0 Introduction

The disruptive revolution brought by the internet and social media platforms in the last two decades has had major repercussions in the conceptualization of the world of information and many of its dynamics. In the last decade, we have had a conspicuous crescent amount of scientific literature focused on digital media environments and, consequently, many new fields of application and research studies have spread. Social media platforms possess an accessible democratic nature that opens to everyone the territories once lead by the mass media, official sources of political parties, organizations, and governmental institutions. In this chapter, we will explore some of these unique dynamics and phenomena examining how social media have been involved by and have contributed to constructing the theoretical frame of the global pandemic caused by Coronavirus (COVID-19, from now on).

In terms of Communication Crisis Theories and Communication Management, we will consider five main aspects of the nature of this event that has shaped the communicative dimension, considering two traditional approaches to formal validity – i.e., semantics/meaning, in terms of semantic clauses and truth preservation, and syntactic organization, in terms of rules of inference and the availability of proofs.

² This chapter is based on the following original article: Crocchi, S. C. (2020). *Communication strategies in the infodemic era*. *Quaderni Di Linguistica E Studi Orientali*, 6, 383-404.

The aspects that we will consider are the primary role of social media in the construction of meaning and topics about the virus, the changes in media consumption during the pandemic, the changes in crises communication management brought by digital media, the spread of information disorders fostered by the new information environment. and some of the communicative framings emerged during the pandemic.

2.1 A Global Disease in a Globalized World

Living in a globalized world where time and space are relative concepts, borders do not exist, interactions are very fast, and distances are canceled means having great power, but this power also hides a dangerous pitfall. Internet-based technologies have changed how human beings live dramatically changed their behaviors in real life and communications. The internet has revolutionized the computer and communications world like nothing before. The invention of the telegraph, the telephone, the radio, and the computer set the stage for this unprecedented integration of capabilities.

The internet is at once a worldwide broadcasting medium, a mechanism for information dissemination, and a medium for interaction and collaboration between individuals and their computers without regard for geographic location. The astonishing success of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter led us to this discussion and the aim of this chapter.

Communication in the last decades has been greatly affected by the socio-economic dynamics and social movements typical of a liquid society as intended by Zygmunt Bauman (2000). Starting from the postmodern, his philosophical and sociological speculation opens – through the analysis of the phenomenon of globalization – to the meta-level of life, and then circumscribes the most recent thinking on political life, until reaching the liquid modernity: overcoming postmodernity itself. As a result individual, society, ethics, power, religion become those words impregnated with liquidity capable of condensing in itself the most significant aspects of the present reality: a dimension in which the lasting gives way

to the transient, the need to the desire, and the necessity to the utility. Zygmunt Bauman is one of the greatest interpreters of our present time, a time which turns into a shapeless mass tending to a constant and relentless change. This is not the modern era, nor the postmodern one, if anything, this period can be well identified as liquid modernity: a concept, able to focus on the transformations that affect human life concerning the general policy determinations of life. Moreover, Bauman's liquid modernity is a term that can overcome the concept of postmodernism, because leaning towards the contemporary world: the reality in which life considers highly what is transitory rather than permanent, the immediate rather than long term; and regards utility as before any other value. Consequently, it is fundamental to understand in advance and profoundly the concept of liquidity around which Bauman interweaves his most recent philosophical and sociological reflection. Solidity and liquidity are the distinctive features of two eras: modernity and postmodernity, which becomes liquid modernity as it relates to contemporary existence (Palese, 2013).

In recent years, large-scale communication has undergone profound technological structural changes, with the emergence of what has been called 'mass-self communication', based on horizontal multi-directional and interactive communication networks. Thanks to a wireless communication system, social platforms are prevalent today and almost everywhere. The Digital 2020 edition of the annual reports published in partnership with We Are Social and Hootsuite shows that digital, mobile, and social media have become an indispensable part of everyday life for people all over the world. More than 4.5 billion people are using the internet at

the start of 2020, while social media users have passed the 3.8 billion mark³. Nearly 60 % of the world's population is already online, and the latest trends suggest that more than half of the world's total population will use social media by the middle of this year. Some important challenges remain, however, and there is still work to do to ensure that everyone around the world has fair and equal access to life-changing digital connectivity. Digital's role in our lives has reached new heights, with an increasing number of people spending more time doing many things online than ever before: the number of people around the world using the internet has grown with an increase of 7 % (298 million new users) compared to January 2019. Worldwide, there are 3.80 billion social media users in January 2020, with this number increasing by more than 9 % (321 million new users) since this time last year. Globally, more than 5.19 billion people now use mobile phones, with user numbers up by 124 million (2.4 %) over the past year. In addition to this global phenomenon, the number of internet users in Italy increased by 1.2 million (+2.4%) between 2019 and 2020 and there were 35.00 million social media users in January 2020. The internet is also playing an ever more important role in our lives. With the world's internet users spending an average of 6 hours and 43 minutes online each day, the typical user now spends more than 40 % of their working life (Kemp, 2020).

Although this research shows us how the internet and social networks have reached impressive levels of penetration that seem not to stop, we must also take into account other data. As the annual report from Freedom House (2019) shows, internet access and use are not free in most countries. Censorship and restraints add up to

³ <https://wearesocial.com/uk/blog/2020/01/digital-2020-3-8-billion-people-use-social-media/>

forms of manipulation that use user data to influence behavior through disinformation and propaganda. Freedom on the Net's report summarizes this, as follows⁴. Out of 3.8 billion users:

- 71% live in countries where individuals have been arrested or imprisoned for posting political, social, or religious content;
- 65% live in countries where individuals have been attacked or killed for their online activities;
- 59% live in countries in countries where the authorities have employed pro-government commentators to manipulate discussions online;
- 56% live in countries where political, social, or religious content has been blocked online;
- 46% live in countries where the authorities have disconnected the internet or mobile networks for political reasons;
- 46% live in countries where access to social media was temporarily or permanently restricted.

According to Baldi (2020), the result is that in most states, internet freedom is a form, even if only partial, of controlling consciences, a tool of disinformation and influence that escapes the control of the individual.

It is also true that the pervasive presence of digital communication and the double public/personal dimension as an interaction tool play a crucial role within current social network movements since communication technologies are now, and more than ever due to its penetration, at the root of many social movements. As largely

⁴ https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/Feb2019_FH_FITW_2019_Report_ForWeb-compressed.pdf

demonstrated by the birth and spread of many social movements in the last fifteen years, such as the Arabic Spring in Egypt (2011), the Indignados in Spain (2011), Occupy Wall Street (2010), Gezi Park protests in Turkey (2013), Movimento Cinque Stelle in Italy (2009), Me Too (2017) and Black Lives Matter (2020), digital communication plays a primary role in the formation and practice of social movements. The point is that citizens can challenge rulers only by connecting, sharing the indignation, feeling united, and building alternative projects for themselves and the society in general (Castells 2014: 217). In a world clouded by the economic crisis, political cynicism, cultural void, and individual discouragement, the internet and social media offer a limitless perspective. Many politicians were exposed as corrupt and liars. Financial gurus went from being the object of general envy to the target of universal contempt. Many governments were put under attack and mass media were suspected. Trust in the institutions had disappeared and consequentially some individuals had found themselves together (on the internet) in search of new forms of identity, values, and symbols to believe in. Everything started from social networks, on the Internet the autonomy spaces are largely outside the control of governments and corporations that historically had always held control and monopolized communication channels to assert their power. These movements spread by contagion in a networked world centered on the wireless Internet and marked by rapid and viral diffusion of images and ideas (Castells, 2014). Another effect of globalization is the growth in the geographical extension, interconnection, and speed of information and communications technologies. Manuel Castells identifies globalization as “the rise of the network society”, characterized by the binomial of connected versus not connected. This binomial redefines the meaning of

the concepts of identity, belonging, inclusion, sovereignty, and citizenship. The increasing interdependence among global systems implies a dark side involving previously unimagined threats: environmental disasters with a global impact like the Chernobyl accident and the British Petroleum oil spill off the U.S. coast in 2010; the rapid, global spread of diseases like SARS, avian influenza, mad cow disease, and COVID-19; and the growth of illegal networks engaged in drug dealing, money laundering, the weapons trade, and international terrorism (Maddalena, Gili 2020).

The fall of the giants (political parties, academics, and scientists) the crumbling of granite knowledge and trust in institutions entails a potentially dangerous paradigmatic change in which scientific and academic authority are depleted of their value and even mocked because hopelessly misunderstood. In a liquid, interconnected, and very fast society in which ‘one is worth one,’ it is equally easy to get lost and lose the sense of reality with respect to important issues. The opinions of the common man have the same epistemological weight and communicative value as the scientist.

2.2 Dealing with the *infodemic*

The term infodemic was coined in 2003 by journalist and political scientist David Rothkopf in a Washington Post column when the world's attention was on the current crisis's less terrifying relation:

SARS is the story of not one epidemic but two, and the second epidemic, the one that has largely escaped the headlines, has implications that are far greater than the disease itself. That is because it is not the viral epidemic but rather an “information epidemic” that has transformed SARS, or severe acute respiratory syndrome, from a bungled Chinese regional health crisis into a global economic and social debacle. The information epidemic – or infodemic – has made the public health crisis harder to control and contain⁵ (Rothkopf, 2003).

The term has seen renewed usage in the time of COVID-19. It is a blend of information and epidemic that typically refers to a rapid and far-reaching spread of both accurate and inaccurate information about something, such as a disease. As facts, rumors, and fears mix and disperse, it becomes difficult to learn essential information about an issue. Rothkopf goes on to clarify what he exactly means by the word:

⁵ <[washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2003/05/11/when-the-buzz-bites-back/bc8cd84f-cab6-4648-bf58-0277261af6cd/](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2003/05/11/when-the-buzz-bites-back/bc8cd84f-cab6-4648-bf58-0277261af6cd/)> (06/2020).

A few facts, mixed with fear, speculation, and rumor, amplified, and relayed swiftly worldwide by modern information technologies, have affected national and international economies, politics, and even security in ways that are utterly disproportionate with the root realities. It is a phenomenon we have seen with greater frequency in recent years – not only in our reaction to SARS, for example, but also in our response to terrorism and even to relatively minor occurrences such as shark sightings (Rothkopf, 2003).

In February 2020 WHO launched a platform aimed to combat misinformation around COVID-19. As stated by the WHO, the COVID-19 outbreak and response have been accompanied by a massive infodemic: an overabundance of information that makes it difficult for people to find trustworthy sources and reliable guidance when they need it. Infodemic refers to a large increase in the volume of information associated with a specific topic and whose growth can occur exponentially in a short time due to a specific incident, such as the current pandemic. In this situation, misinformation and rumors appear on the scene, along with manipulation of information with doubtful intent. In the information age, this phenomenon is amplified through social networks, spreading farther and faster like a virus. Misinformation is false or inaccurate information deliberately intended to deceive. In the context of the current pandemic, it can greatly affect all aspects of life, specifically people's mental health, since searching for COVID-19 updates on the Internet has jumped 50%-70% across all generations. Misinformation in a pandemic can negatively affect human health. Many false or misleading stories are fabricated and shared without any background or quality checking. Much of this misinformation

is based on conspiracy theories, some introducing elements of these into seemingly mainstream discourse. Inaccurate and false information has been circulating about all aspects of the disease: how the virus originated, its cause, its treatment, and its mechanism of spread. Misinformation can circulate and be absorbed very quickly, changing people's behavior, and potentially leading them to take greater risks. These phenomena make the pandemic much more severe, harming more people and jeopardizing the reach and sustainability of the global health system. Increased global access to cell phones with an Internet connection, as well as social media, has led to the exponential production of information and the number of possible paths for getting it, creating an information epidemic.

Through social media an unprecedented amount of information is being produced and shared to every corner of the world, reaching billions of people, and contributing to misinformation which expands at the same pace as content production and distribution paths grow. Therefore, the very same infodemic accelerates and perpetuates misinformation creating a never-ending cycle. According to a study by the Center for Health Informatics at the University of Illinois, in March around 550 million tweets included the terms coronavirus, coronavirus, covid19, COVID-19, covid_19, or pandemic. An exponential increase in the volume of tweets occurred around the start of the lockdown in Italy, reaching a plateau around the day the United States declared the pandemic had become a national emergency. Of the total tweets, 35% came from the United States, followed by the United Kingdom (7%), Brazil (6%), Spain (5%), and India (4%). The gender distribution was almost even, with

men tweeting a little more (55%). The most-used pandemic-related hashtags were #Pandemic and #FlattentheCurve.

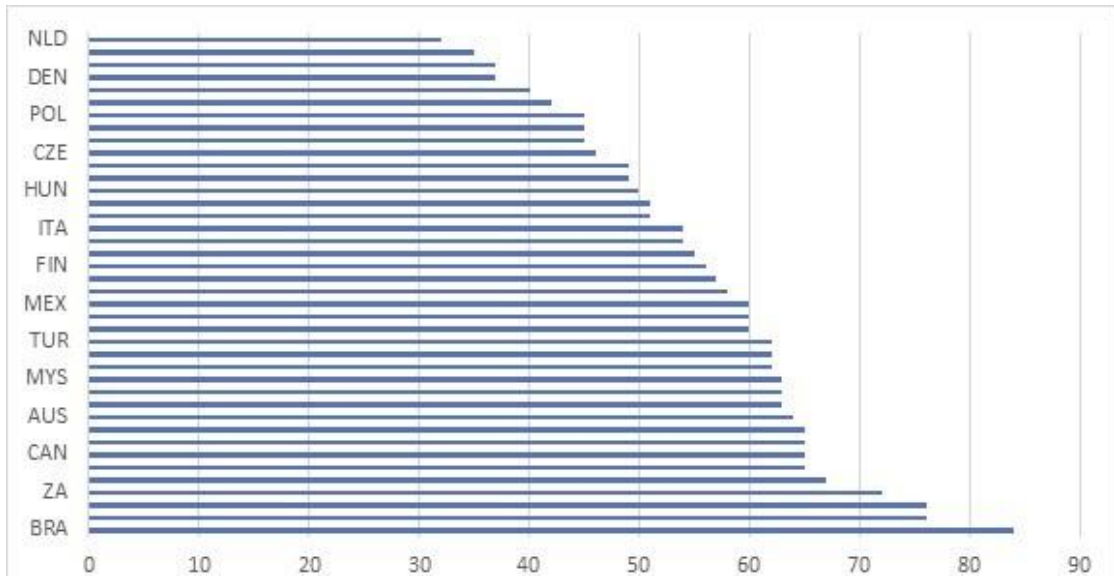


Table 2. Proportion concerned about what is real and what is fake on the internet when it comes to news - all markets (Reuters Institute)⁶

More than half (55%) of the sample across 38 countries remains concerned about their ability to separate what is real and fake on the internet. The concern is highest in Brazil (85%), South Africa (70%), Mexico (68%), and France (67%), and lowest in the Netherlands (31%), and Germany (38%), which tend to be less polarized politically. The biggest jump in concern came in the UK (70%) where the news media have taken a lead in breaking stories about misinformation on Facebook and YouTube and there has been a high-profile House of Commons inquiry into the issue (Reuters Institute, 2019).

⁶ The author has personally reworked the graphs using the data provided by the appropriately cited companies.

2.3 Changes in media consumption during COVID-19

A global survey conducted in March 2020 by Statista.com revealed that the coronavirus has had a direct impact on in-home media consumption around the world, with 35 % of total respondents professing to have read more books or listened to more audiobooks at home and 18 % having listened to more radio due to the COVID-19 pandemic, whilst more than 40 % of consumers spent longer on messaging services and social media. Interestingly, although at least 50 % of respondents in most countries said that they were watching more news coverage, figures for Australia and the United States were lower, amounting to just 42 and 43 %, respectively. Australians were also the least likely to be reading more newspapers; just 5 % of consumers said that they were doing so compared to the global total of 14 %. Whilst 60 % of Italians were spending longer on messaging services, in Japan, the same was true for only 8 % of respondents, and survey participants from China and the Philippines were by far the most likely to be spending more time on music streaming services.

	World-wide	Italy	Spain	France	Germany	China	U.S.	U.K.	Singapore	Australia	Brazil	Japan	Philippines	South Africa	In %
Watching more news coverage	67	67	63	50	60	77	43	50	57	42	69	56	79	61	%
Watching more shows/films on streaming	51	53	58	31	21	63	42	32	35	30	43	21	61	39	%
Watching more TV on broadcast channels	45	55	43	53	35	46	42	32	32	32	43	51	70	46	%
Spending longer on messaging services	45	60	61	24	22	59	17	24	35	19	48	8	55	45	%
Spending longer on social media	44	52	49	27	21	50	32	21	39	28	50	23	71	44	%
Spending more time on computer/video games	36	41	48	39	21	29	29	20	25	24	41	32	40	32	%
Reading more books/listening to more audiobooks	35	36	42	24	19	44	25	19	18	16	27	18	27	26	%
Listening to more streaming services	35	25	27	14	13	49	18	14	17	16	30	11	43	22	%
Listening to more radio	18	29	32	23	24	16	16	17	20	15	18	9	32	36	%
Reading more magazines	16	23	22	14	17	14	12	15	29	14	22	16	23	24	%
Reading more newspapers	14	18	14	14	10	17	12	9	9	5	12	7	12	11	%
Creating/uploading videos	14	10	15	7	5	17	6	6	9	6	21	5	17	12	%
Listening to more podcasts	12	8	10	6	6	13	10	11	9	11	15	4	17	13	%

Table 3. Consuming media at home due to the coronavirus worldwide 2020, by country (Statista.com)

During the lockdown, not only did media consumption increase greatly overall but the main re- searches and discussions concerning the virus and the pandemic. According to a study conducted by Statista.com in March 2020, the most used

sources of news and information regarding the coronavirus among news consumers worldwide were major news organizations, with 64 % of respondents saying that they got most of their information about the virus from larger news companies. The study also showed that social media was a popular news source for COVID-19 updates in several countries around the world. Despite social networking sites being the least trusted media source worldwide, for many consumers, social media was a more popular source of information for updates on the coronavirus pandemic than global health organizations like the WHO or National health authorities like the CDC, particularly in Japan, South Africa, and Brazil. Government sources also varied in popularity among consumers in different parts of the world. Whilst 63 % of Italian respondents relied mostly on national government sources, just 22 % of UK news consumers did the same, preferring to get their updates from larger organizations. Similarly, twice as many Italians used local government sources to keep up to date than adults in the United Kingdom, and U.S. consumers were also less likely to rely on news from the government.

2.4 Communication Crisis Management

Over the past two decades, the spread of the internet and social media has changed human reality and perception in many ways. Communication was at the center of a paradigmatic revolution that disrupted previous knowledge, consumer habits, work habits, and the way of doing politics. Here we would like to briefly recall how the consequences of these new socio-economic dynamics have had a great impact on communication theories and, in this case above all, on crisis communication management.

The word crisis derived from the Greek word κρίσις, ‘judgment’, ‘result of a trial’, ‘turning point’, ‘selection’, ‘decision’ (according to Thucydides), but also ‘contention’ or ‘quarrel’ (according to Plato), a standard, from which to derive criterion, ‘means for judging’, but also ‘ability to discern’, and critical, ‘suitable to judge’, ‘crucial’, ‘decisive’ as well as pertaining to the art of judgment (Bauman and Bordoni 2014: 2). According to Coombs (2009), it is possible to conceptualize the phenomenon of the crisis by drawing on various definitions that consider the possible predictive nature of this phenomenon and the importance of the perception by the public towards it. Among many definitions, we will consider Coombs’s updated definition of crisis in communication as ‘an unpredictable event that threatens important expectancies of stakeholders and can seriously impact an organization’s performance and generate negative outcomes’ (Coombs 2015: 3). The definition emphasizes stakeholders’ role in co-creating the meaning of a crisis as meaning is socially constructed and crises are no exception. Thus, it was important to utilize a definition that reflects the perceptual nature of crises. Over the last couple of decades,

much of the academic literature has addressed crisis, disaster, and risk communication, among which crisis communication is organizational and public relations focused. As Coombs stated (2015), the many definitions of crisis communication can be categorized into two types: one is to define the crisis as an event; the other is to regard the crisis as part of a process. As mentioned previously in this paragraph, we will adopt Coomb's most recent definition which considers crisis as an event. As a result, by coding crises as events, it is possible to identify directly the name of a crisis and analyze variables such as types of crises and the time of crisis events, which serve as important dimensions to provide a holistic examination of the nature of a crisis (Pearson and Mitroff 1993). According to his definition, Coombs observed that we can segment and appropriately research and develop crisis planning in three phases: pre-crisis (signal detection, prevention, and preparation), crisis event (recognition and containment), and post-crisis (evaluation, learning, and follow-up communication). Pre-crisis involves efforts to prevent crises and to prepare for crisis management. A crisis is a response to an actual event. Post-crisis are efforts to learn from the crisis event (Coombs, 2015). These three categories reflect the phases of crisis management. They are useful because they provide a mechanism for considering the breadth of crisis communication. More than any other communicative process – crisis communication is rhetorical, it requires advocacy both in-process and in meaning. Crisis discourse is propositional therefore it entails the development of fact-based, evaluation-driven, and policy conclusions. Indeed, facts do not count as much as how they are framed and interpreted.

2.5 The impact of the Internet and Social Media on Communication Crisis Theories

Defined as “a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0” (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010: 61), the types of social media such as Wikipedia, Twitter, Facebook and Pinterest are ushering in a new era of crisis communication between the organizations, political parties, institutions, and their public. These new technologies offer pros and cons when it comes to crisis: organizations can efficiently utilize social media to interact with the massive and diverse stakeholders but – nevertheless – with the emergence and exchange of user-generated content, social media create a breeding ground for crises or risks. Studies of 16 international companies (e.g., the United States, China, France, Germany, and Mexico) found that 36% of crises were caused by digital security failures or negative new media publicities. By incorporating social media strategies into the traditional framework of crisis communication strategies, according to Chen three main questions might emerge:

With the increasing use of social media, what crisis communication strategies may be applied to manage social-mediated events? How would the organizations apply CCS in different phases of crises? Have new strategies ever emerged and substituted the traditional CCS spectrum? (Chen 2016: 4)

These questions have solicited numerous discussions among scholars. To explore the patterns of the use of crisis responses, Coombs started developing in 1995 the

Situational Crisis Communication theory (SCT, from now on). Originated and developed from the Image Restoration theory (IRT) which emphasized CCS as symbolic resources, SCCT included the attribution theory and developed situation-oriented CCS based on experimental studies. However, SCCT did not fully investigate the influence of media, especially the social media effects on crisis communication; it still focused on the perspective of organizations and used the general term 'stakeholders' to describe the other key parties. Many of the above-mentioned theories and models failed to consider the impact of social media, which was changing the field of crisis communication by creating risks or crises and meanwhile bringing the interactive, dialogic and fast communication between the organization and stakeholders. a large amount of SMCM literature was discussing some new strategies and contexts, the interactive crisis response form, the stakeholder desired strategies on the Internet, and the social media strategies on the recipients' perceptions of reputation. Within the SMCM research, organizations, social media, and stakeholders, as three major research perspectives, were identified. Among these, the stakeholders and their media use have become the most dominant showed research perspective in crisis communication, according to Chen (2016).

Researchers increasing interest towards the stakeholders and widely discussed motivation of social media use, emotions, identification, and generated online content during crises (Fortunato 2011; Procopio 2007; Stephens 2009). Despite this common theoretical ground, in the last few years, the SMCM literature provided two contradictory patterns in evaluating the effects of social media on crisis communication. Some scholars were optimistic about the effective function of social

media. For example, Kim and Liu (2012) found that social media was more frequently used than the traditional ones in organizational crisis management. Through experimental analysis of the effects of CCS (i.e., information, sympathy, and apology) via social media in comparison with traditional media, Schultz and Utz (2011) also found that the strategy of information on social media resulted in fewer negative crisis reactions than via traditional newspapers: newspapers might be credible to present issues, while Twitter had positive effects on secondary crisis communication (e.g., sharing and posting newspaper messages) and reactions (e.g., willingness to boycott). Meanwhile Brown has realized the empowering function of social media (2013) advising that organizations could effectively utilize the interactivity of social media, by creating dialogues with stakeholders, paying more attention to citizen-generated content, adopting stakeholder desired strategies, cultivating opinion leaders on social media, and creating texts, pictures or videos online in the same way for organizational legitimacy.

Conversely, it was found that in crisis communication management methodologies social media might bring new challenges such as image management issues, and fragmented media channels. A differentiation in CCM is also required in CCM according to the characteristics of the social media involved. For example, Gilpin (2010) found that image construction was nonlinear on social media, as each channel could address different dimensions of an organization's projected image. The ICC model also identified the contents between the organization and stakeholders. Through a reciprocal loop between them (Table 4), types of media and stakeholder-generated contents (e.g., visual, text, voice messages, or mix) on social

media (e.g., Twitter, Pinterest, Facebook) were exchanged (Chen, 2016). Meanwhile, the organization continuously sends positive media content to the public and maintains a good relationship. It is expected that the more positive the dialogue that an organization holds with its stakeholder, the more likely a high level of CCS effectiveness can be achieved if the prior reputation, relational characteristics with the public, and situational variables are controlled. In the SMCMM research, it was also found that the new ‘digital’ time frame of the online media landscape has greatly shortened the length of time during which organizations were expected to react (Gilpin, 2010). Thus, controlling the messages became more unpredictable on social media than before. Social Media play a threefold role in crisis firstly they can be considered tools to manage communication crises then they could amplify and increase the resonance of a crisis, and finally, they could be the cause themselves of a crisis. The interactive crisis communication model on social media is magistrally summarized in the following scheme by Chen (2018).

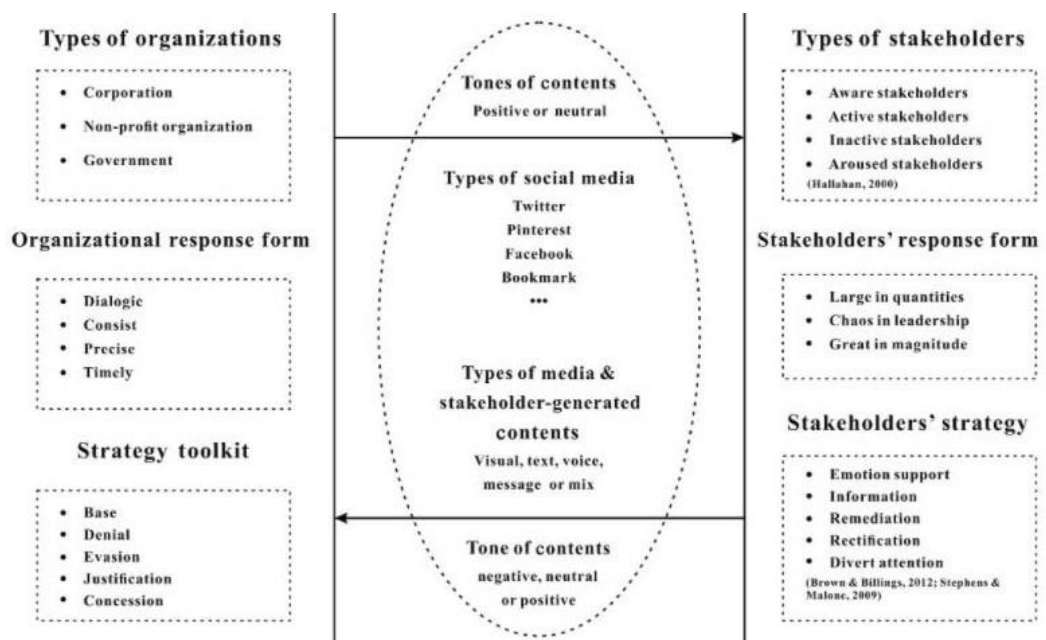


Table 4. The interactive crisis communication model on social media (Chen, 2018)

Conclusions

After having exposed some of the phenomena related to the spread of the internet and social media that have contributed to the creation of a pervasive and immaterial narrative universe, in this chapter we have dealt closely with the concept of mediated reality. Then, we have looked at those phenomena identified under the label of information disorders which are partly the result of these technological transformations.

We have seen how the disruptive revolution brought by the internet and social media platforms - in the last two decades - has had major repercussions on the conceptualization of the world of information and many of its dynamics.

In the last decade, we have had a crescent amount of scientific literature focused on social media environments and, consequently, many new fields of application and research studies have spread. We have also seen how in the context of the pandemic caused by COVID-19 media consumption has changed and how the internet and social media impact communication crisis management theories.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 Introduction

After seeing how the accessible democratic nature of social media platforms opens to everyone the territories once lead by the mass media, official sources of political parties, organizations, and governmental institutions; we have explored some of these phenomena examining how social media have been involved by and have contributed to constructing the theoretical frame of the global pandemic caused by Coronavirus. Furthermore, we have then considered five main aspects of the nature of the pandemic that has shaped the communicative dimension. In the third chapter the aspects that we will consider are the primary role of social media in the construction of meaning and topics about the virus, the changes in media consumption during the pandemic, the changes in crises communication management brought by digital media, the spread of information disorders fostered by the new information environment and some of the communicative framings emerged during the pandemic.

After having exposed some of the phenomena related to the spread of the internet and social media that have contributed to the creation of a pervasive and immaterial narrative universe, in this chapter we deal closely with the concept of mediated reality. Then, we look at those phenomena identified under the label of *information disorders* which are partly reinforced by these technological transformations such as ideological polarization, echo chambers, filter bubbles, and selective exposure.

3.1 Living in a Post-Truth Era

In this paragraph, we will discuss more in-depth the process of constructing post-truths understood as the rhetorical-persuasive strategies in which the subjective and

emotional component prevails over the referential objective one (Oxford Dictionaries 2016). In this definition, it is underlined that the prefix ‘post’ is meant to indicate not exactly the idea of the past in a temporal sense but the sense that truth has been eclipsed, therefore it is irrelevant. Fake news is the principal manifestation of the post-truth phenomenon. The Cambridge Dictionary defines fake news as “false stories that appear to be news, spread on the internet or using other media, usually created to influence political views or as a joke”; a similar definition of the term in the Collins Dictionary (which declared “fake news” its word of the year for 2017, a year later) holds that it is “false, often sensational, information disseminated under the guise of news reporting.” Moreover, in this paragraph, we analyze some of the most significant media phenomena that contribute to the strengthening and diffusion of post-truth through social media, such as echo chambers, filter bubbles, and the tendency towards political polarization within communicative exchanges through the activation of confirmatory bias on online platforms.

This phenomenon – strengthened by new media and their inherent viral cascading effect – no longer assuming the objectivity of information as a reference parameter, uses pragmatic discursive procedures, associated with the production of meanings, that represent alternative truths often used as a weapon of delegitimization in political discourse (Baldi 2018). The poly-semantic nature of the term post-truth inevitably widens the ground to analyze the phenomenon and the empirical data to be cataloged. Specifically, some significant meanings of post-truth are considered – being particularly functional for this research – such as the predominance of an emotional logic, the notion of post-truth as a pluralization from below of different versions of

the facts that tend to undermine the credibility of the institutions intended as holders of official information and, above all, the concept of post-truth as the rhetorical potential of communication also used for manipulative purposes. In today's era of instant information gratification, we have ready and unlimited access to opinions, rationalizations, and superficial descriptions which cause an information overload. As Baldi suggests:

We can see in fake news a symptom of the crisis of the cognitive universe, of the beliefs and shared values of social groups. A new medium aimed at contrasting what is felt like the cultural, political, and scientific structure underlying power. In Italy, recent examples concern immigration or the issue of vaccines and now, of course, the situation related to Coronavirus (Baldi 2020).

McIntyre (2017) argued that some may wonder whether the idea of post-truth is a new one. He tries to clarify that post-truth is not just synonymous with propaganda and that 'alternative facts' are not merely falsehoods. As the issue is still not that simple, he goes further:

While there is some historical precedent for our current situation it would be wrong to try to reduce post-truth to something else. To say that facts are less important than feelings in shaping our beliefs about empirical matters seems new, at least in American politics. In the past, we have faced serious challenges – even to the notion of truth itself – but never have such challenges been so openly embraced as a strategy for the political subordination of reality. Thus, what is striking about the idea of post-truth is not just that truth is being challenged, but that it is being challenged as a mechanism for asserting political dominance (McIntyre 2017: 6).

The first step in fighting post-truth is to understand its genesis. The idea of post-truth does not simply emerge forcefully onto the scene in 2016 – as a result of Brexit and the U.S. presidential election – but the phenomenon itself has deep roots that go back to the evolution of cognitive irrationalities that are shared by liberals and conservatives alike. McIntyre suggests that it also has roots in academic debates over the impossibility of objective truth that has been used to attack the authority of science. This formal attitude has been intensified by recent changes in the media landscape. Fueled by the rise of social media as a news source and a growing distrust of facts offered up by the establishment, post-truth as a concept has been finding its linguistic footing for some time. As a result, we assist daily to the explosion of science denials on-trend topics like climate change, vaccines, evolution, Flat Earth, and the origin of COVID-19. The dramatic change of perspective of this very debate is that now everyone (who has a smartphone) can challenge the factual reality by telling her/his truth. Fake news is frequently connected to politics and was famously thrust into the public eye in the run-up to the 2016 U.S. presidential elections, resulting in concerns about the influence of fake news on voters and elections in the United States. Furthermore, with the largely fact-free campaign over Brexit in Great Britain – where hundreds of buses advertised the bogus statistic that the UK was sending 350 million euros a week to the EU – and the growing use of disinformation campaigns by politicians against their people in Hungary, Russia, and Turkey, many see post-truth as part of a growing international trend where some feel emboldened to try to bend reality to fit their opinions. Moreover, the infinite power of the internet is amplified worryingly by the total availability of social networks, accessible to all, which act as a sounding board for any thought that once published, rises in the

collective imagination to the value of truth. We are living the progressive triumph of pseudo-intellectuals without qualification, unspecified or disqualified for their very structure.

Science denial, in general, is relevant to understanding the phenomenon of post-truth. According to McIntyre (2018), it can start from either an economic or an ideological agenda. He deepens our understanding of this link between economic interests and post-truth politics, by considering how corporate-funded lobbying on a range of topics has influenced political positions on climate change, guns, immigration, health care, the national debt, voter reform, abortion, and gay marriage – in the U.S. Global warming is perhaps the most egregious case of modern science denial. As noted, there are numerous book-length works on the charade of coordinated, manufactured skepticism to dispute the compelling scientific evidence for anthropogenic climate change. In a world where ideology trumps science, post-truth is the inevitable next step (McIntyre 2018).

According to the results of the online survey – conducted by Edelman between 2012 and 2020 – about the trust in news on a global level, for general news and information, what emerges here is very interesting.

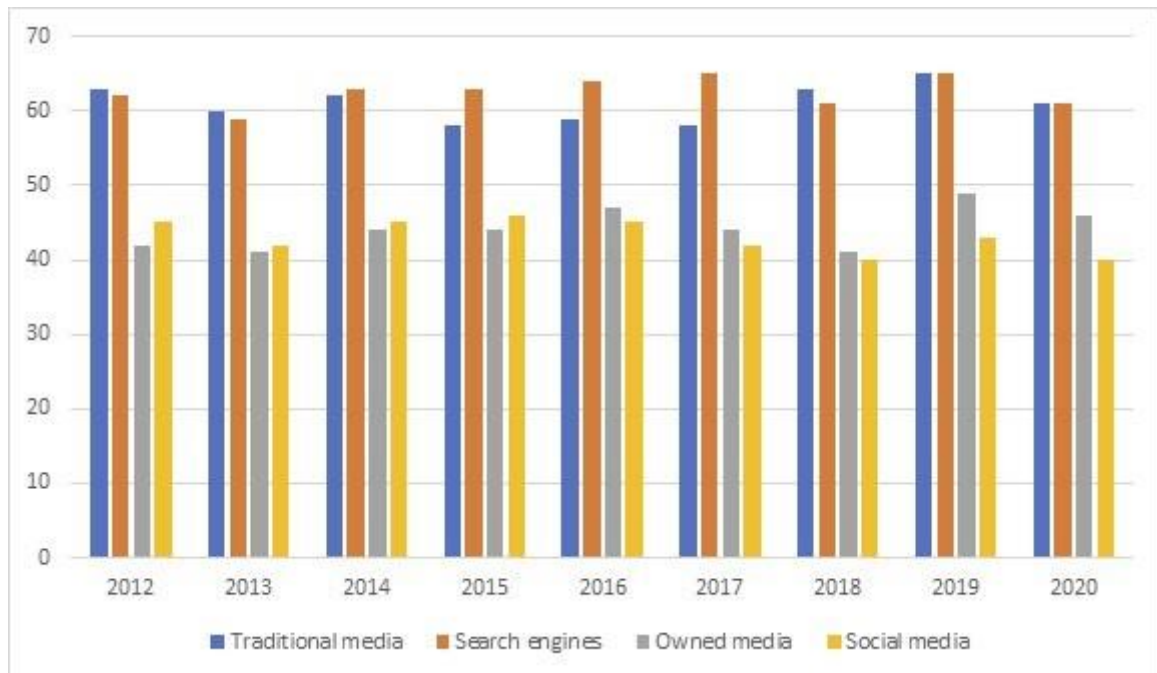


Table 5. Most trusted sources of general news and information worldwide from 2012 to 2020 (Statista 2020)

As of early 2020, 61 % of adults who responded to a global survey stated that they trusted traditional media and search engines, making the two different but popular outlets the most trusted sources of news and information in the world. The source considered the least trustworthy was social media, not only on an overall global level but also in each world region. Social media was by far the least trusted news source in Europe and North America, and a survey held in the United States revealed that most U.S. adults considered most of the news seen on social media to be biased. The reasons for news consumers' growing suspicions about the trustworthiness of media are multifaceted, but the onslaught of fake news is a major contributing factor. Adults in several countries worldwide have wrongly believed a news story was real until later realizing it was fake, and one of the top reasons for avoiding news was the inability to rely on its truthfulness. Conspiracy theories, tweets by politicians, and

poorly written or inaccurate news content often fall under the heading of fake news, and the term is also frequently used to describe news an individual disagrees with. As previously stated, fake news is not a recent phenomenon and has historically been used to defame individuals, garner support for corrupt movements, and negatively portray minority groups. This tactic of generating publicity by presenting false information as fact was utilized as a means of propaganda during the First and Second World Wars, and by the 21st century became a major problem.

3.2 Ideological Polarization and Echo Chambers, Filter Bubbles and Selective Exposure

Ideological polarization has dominated both popular and academic debates over the past two decades. The discussion around polarization has gained increased attention in the face of the 2016 Presidential Election in the U.S. and the 2016 E.U. Referendum in the U.K., as previously mentioned in this article. Gentzkow (2016) observed in a recent paper on polarization around the U.S. Presidential Election that clearly:

what divides them [Americans] politically is increasingly personal. We do not just disagree politely about what is the best way to reform the health care system. We believe that those on the other side are trying to destroy America.

It is important to note that while the examples of the U.S. and recently the UK have been most vividly studied and discussed, similar patterns can be observed in Europe as well. Ideological polarization poses a threat to the healthy functioning of democratic societies. The most relevant consequence of polarization is a loss of diversity of opinions and arguments. Numerous studies have indicated that in polarized settings, “the benefit that ought to come with having a variety of opinions is lost to the righteousness that is the special entitlement of homogenous groups” (Bishop 2008: 14). The consequences of this process are communities that effectively function as feedback loops or echo chambers, where we are “hearing our thoughts about what’s right and wrong bounced back to us by the television shows we watch,

the newspapers and books we read, the blogs we visit online [...] and the neighbourhoods we live in” (Bishop 2008: 39).

The functioning of the current news market and economics further perpetuates the polarization of news, but the area of popular concern has recently focused on exposure to the ideological difference in online media. Social networks and online communication have considerably transformed political communication and public discourse. Over the past two decades, changes in communication technologies have affected the very nature of how citizens relate to each other and their governments, shaping a new public sphere. As Brundidge notes, “the empirical support for increased exposure to political difference because of Internet use is somewhat limited and indirect” (Brundidge 2010: 686). The Internet and network platforms are especially likely to foster selective exposure behavior due to the inconceivably large amount of information that users are presented with all the time. Due to this information overload, platforms like Facebook are designed in a way that they facilitate consumers’ ability to attend to the information selectively.

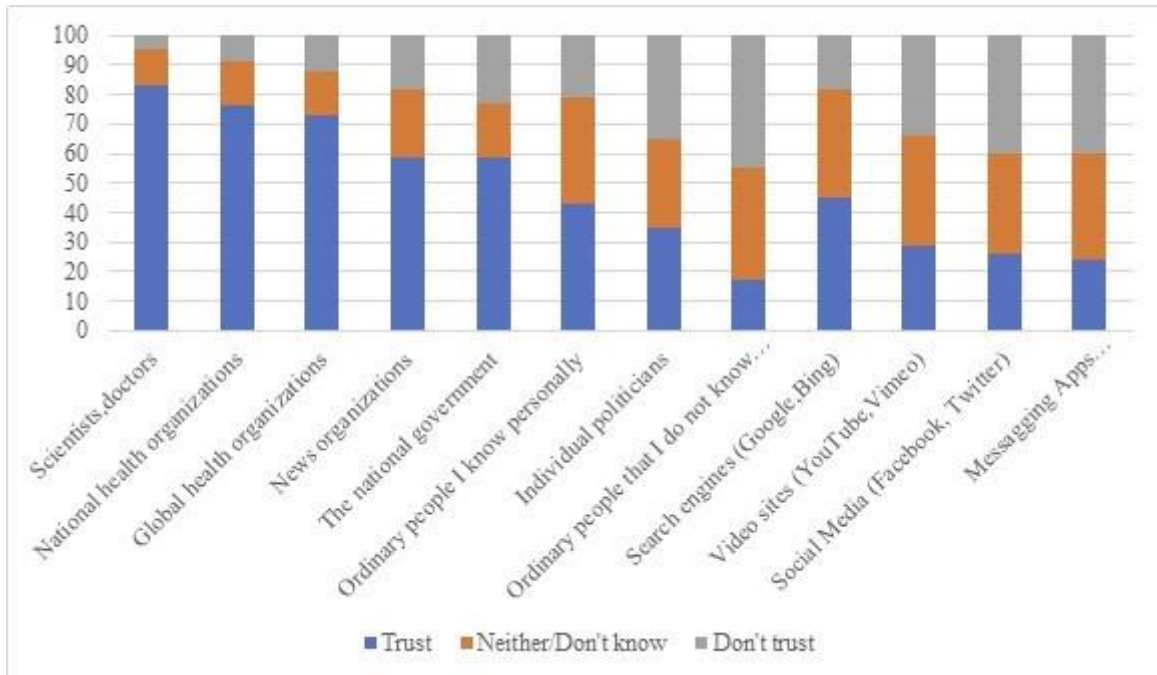
One of the two main arguments identifies the algorithms that curate online experiences as the source of the problem. Pariser (2011) has popularized the term filter bubble to illustrate this phenomenon of polarization on social media platforms like Facebook. He argues that algorithms that are intended to customize and personalize the user’s online experience place the user in a bubble where he or she is only presented with information that matches with previous consumption behavior. The aim and function of these algorithms are to connect people with the information they are likely to want to consume, by making some items easier to access than other

items, resulting in a personalized stream of content that fails to offer users a set of alternatives to choose from (Rader and Gray 2015: 175). Algorithmic curation and filters on Google or the Facebook News Feed are prediction engines, constantly creating and refining a theory of the identity of the users.

These engines create a unique universe of information for each of us which fundamentally alters the way we encounter ideas and information. A recent study of the effects of algorithmic curation on social networking services found empirical evidence that customizability technology increased ideologically driven selective exposure and the likelihood of echo chambers and filter bubbles in the modern media landscape. The study concludes that

due to its automatic and unobtrusive operation, customizability technology might be particularly effective at reducing cognitive dissonance associated with the avoidance of challenging information and, in contradiction with previous studies, showed that system-driven customizability (e.g. Facebook News Feed algorithm) had a stronger influence on selective exposure than user-driven customizability (Dylko et al. 2017: 188).

According to Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2020, an increasing number of users tend to get their news on social media and use the platform for news consumption. As social media plays an increasing role in the consumption of news and information, the effects of ideological polarization in information consumption become arguably more apparent. In recent years, social networks have displayed symptoms of ideological polarization and the formation of the so-called filter bubbles.



Tab.7 Trust in different sources of news and information about Coronavirus, April 2020 (Reuters Institute)

At around the peak of the lockdowns, trust in news organizations around COVID-19 was running at more than twice that for social media, video sites, and messaging applications where around four in ten see information as untrustworthy. By contrast, information found in search engines was more reliable. Of course, neither search nor social companies create content themselves, so trust in this context reflects the selection decisions they make. It is particularly striking that average levels of trust in the national government and news organizations are almost identical, perhaps reflecting the way that in the early stages of this crisis many media organizations focused on amplifying government messages about health and social distancing, including carrying extended government press conferences. As things return to normal, the media are likely to become more critical of the government and this may,

in turn, lead to a return of more partisan approaches to media trust (Reuters Institute, 2020).

McIntyre suggests that there are two opposing arguments about the source of this growing ideological polarization in online media consumption. Some theorists claim that the algorithmic curation that filters our online experiences effectively places us in echo chambers of our own beliefs and is the strongest cause of polarization (Pariser 2011; Rader and Grey 2015) and a critical factor in the growing importance of fake news. The other source of polarization discussed has been around for much longer and has its roots in psychology and behavioral economics. By this argument, selective exposure behavior, confirmation bias, and availability bias that make us more likely to interact with content that confirms our pre-existing views are assumably triggers of ideological polarization, both offline and online.

3.3 Psychological biases

The second hypothesis attempting to specify the source of ideological polarization online focuses on the psychological biases of the user. Specifically, the phenomenon is that individuals tend to consume media that aligns with their views and beliefs and avoid such content that is different in perspective or even challenges their position. This phenomenon is called selective exposure, or sometimes partisan selective exposure, and there is increasing evidence to support the argument that selective exposure has a significant influence on polarization and group homogeneity. One of the supporters of the concept argued early on that ‘the tendency of people to expose themselves to mass communications in accord with their existing opinions and interests and to avoid unsympathetic material, has been widely demonstrated’ (Klapper 1960: 19). The concept regains popularity today, as the present media landscape with its ever-growing variety of media outlets increases the potential for selective exposure. Recent research seems to support this argument. The psychological cause of selective exposure is a phenomenon that researchers call confirmation bias the ‘seeking or interpreting of evidence in ways that are partial to existing beliefs, expectations, or a hypothesis in hand’ (Nickerson 1998: 175). It is important to note that such psychological processes can, and often do, occur partially or entirely unaware. The human brain engages in the process of case-building as a result of its need for consistency and a desire to defend its beliefs, and this happens without a conscious intention of treating evidence from a biased perspective and individuals being somewhat unaware of this process (Nickerson, 1998). Numerous studies support this statement by finding that individuals tend to recall more

information that is in favor of their position and evidence that confirms their hypothesis so that they require less hypothesis confirming evidence to accept an idea than they need hypothesis-inconsistent information to reject it. Furthermore, they also tend to have unfounded overconfidence in their knowledge and beliefs.

In a study of selective exposure to information, according to Frey (1986), individuals can increase the chances of getting information that confirms their existing beliefs. Consequentially the possibilities of encountering information that is inconsistent with what they believe decrease. This point needs to be stressed more than ever because the ability to filter information on a platform like Facebook is pervasively strong. People – influenced by selective exposure – tend to organize their surroundings in a way that ensures selectivity. Scholars agree on the fact that how we encounter and process information are “first and foremost pragmatic, survival mechanisms and only secondarily truth detection strategies” (Friedrich 1993: 298) and that confirmation bias and belief perseverance, from a psychological and mental health perspective, might help protect the consistency of thought and reduce vulnerability to errors (Nickerson 1998: 208).

3.4 Discussion

It is important at this point to give at least a minimal definition of truth. So far the most famous is Aristotle's definition, who said: "to say of what is that it is not, or of what is not that it is, is false, while to say of what is that it is, and of what is not that it is not, is true" (Aristotle, trans.1981, Book 4, section 1011b). The idea of a single objective truth has never been free from controversy. The concept of truth in philosophy traces its roots back to Plato, who warned through Socrates of the dangers of false claims to knowledge. Ignorance, Socrates felt, was remediable; if one is ignorant, one can be taught. Nevertheless, the greater threat comes from those who have the hubris to think that they already know the truth, for then one might be impetuous enough to act on a falsehood. Epistemologically speaking, this sort of correspondence is correct, whereby we judge the truth of a statement only by how well it fits reality. Other prominent conceptions of truth reflect a diversity of opinion among philosophers about the proper theory of truth, even while – as a value – there seems little dispute that truth is important. As previously mentioned, ignorance can be remediable because it is intended as an unintentional act but when we tell a falsehood with intent to deceive, we are lying. Every lie has an audience and when we intend to manipulate someone into believing something that we know to be untrue, we have moved from the mere interpretation of facts into their falsification. McIntyre argues if that is what post-truth is about (McIntyre 2017: 21).

If we infer the intention to perpetrate falsification, the Gricean cooperative principles in pursuit of effective communication are deceived. Grice focuses his reflection on meaning starting from concrete conversational exchanges – which

typically occur between two subjects, face to face, intent to communicate intentionally. Communication is conceived as an intentional production of effects and it can be understood only within a general theory of intentional and rational action: “what words mean is a matter of what people mean by them” (Grice 1989: 340). The structural change of communication made possible by the very nature of the digital dimension of social media, and the narrative-subjective approach to the facts have undermined the epistemological basis of truth. The Coronavirus crisis has substantially increased news consumption for mainstream media before and after the pandemic had taken effect. Television news and online sources have seen significant upticks, and more people identify television as their main source of news, providing temporary respite from a picture of steady decline. Consumption of printed newspapers has fallen as lockdowns undermine physical distribution, almost certainly accelerating the shift to an all-digital future. At the same time, the use of online and social media substantially increased in most countries. Global concerns about misinformation remain high. Even before the coronavirus crisis hit, more than half of the global sample said they were concerned about what is true or false on the internet when it comes to news (Reuters Institute). Domestic politicians are the most frequently named source of misinformation, though in some countries people who self-identify as right-wing are more likely to blame the media – part of a ‘pick-your-side’ dynamic. Facebook is seen as the main channel for spreading false information almost everywhere. Political polarization linked to rising uncertainty seems to have undermined trust in public broadcasters, which are losing support from political partisans from both the right and the left.

3.5 Conclusions

At the end of this discussion, the main questions to focus on are: who is most exposed and vulnerable to its influence? Who is led or predisposed to believe in fake news? What are the possible defenses to the systemic alteration of truth? And, finally, is it still possible to talk about truth and reality? If so, how should we conceive of them? these questions summarize an extremely serious question raised by our analysis. It is worth noting that Grice's conversational maxims, which attempt to define the fundamental requirements for communicative cooperation, include: "do not say what you believe to be false" and "do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence" (Grice 1993: 46). Grice knows as well as we do that there are infinite ways to contravene the teaching of these maxims and that their intentional or unintentional violation is the norm rather than the exception. They are nonetheless pointing of reference without which communication could not exist. Credibility, which depends on interlocutors 'telling the truth,' is the necessary condition of every communicative relationship. No relationship is possible unless we trust the other to speak sensibly and tell the truth. This applies not only to quotidian relationships; for example, the credibility of a politician is based largely on whether he or she tells the truth (Maddalena and Gili, 2020). A significant portion of political rhetoric, both positive and negative, appeals to the trustworthiness of the speaker and to the related notion of 'sincerity,' which is the subjective dimension of credibility, the attitude others perceive in the person who 'wants' the truth. The credibility of journalism and the media is also tied to their telling the truth and conducting the research necessary to do so. So, in this epoch of the weakening of the concepts of truth and reality that we

have described, it is no wonder that counteroffensives have attempted to restore the idea of truth.

The paradox of the story we have told is that, after having progressively eviscerated the power of communication to refer to reality, we now want to eliminate the possibility of multiple meanings, a possibility that has been pursued so long, only to return to diminished and impoverished references to a merely numerical reality. After almost a hundred years, Lippmann's positivist diagnosis may be prevailing again: a reliable representation of social reality is only that which translates it into statistics of births, deaths, weddings, accidents, elections, and economic systems, consistent with the most reliable and definitive methods of knowledge known to science (Maddalena and Gili, 2020). When it comes to narrating and interpreting complex and controversial events, this diagnosis necessarily leads us to surrender to the fact that ideological prejudice, imperfections of language, and constraints in the information production process inexorably encase the real world in stereotypical visions which are to a greater or lesser extent deformed. This last example of negative consequences reverses the Nietzschean statement 'there are no more facts but only interpretations' to read: there are no interpretations, but only facts.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 Introduction

In terms of political communications, in the last twenty years, there have been many phenomena and changes that have been the subject of many cross-sectional types of research. The pervasive use of digital media has led to different dynamics and the birth of new approaches also in this area. Not only that, but the study of such a particular and multifaceted event as the pandemic caused by COVID-19 represents specifically a prolific and extremely interesting field from many points of view: media, political leaders, journalistic narrative, and the effects on the world population. In this chapter, we will therefore discuss some of these new dynamics in the broad frame of the narration of the pandemic investigating micro case studies.

In the first part of this chapter, we focus on institutional communication in a period of crisis. In particular, we are interested in the communications of the Italian and Finnish governments during the health emergency raised by the COVID-19 pandemic. We analyze and compare press releases given by the Italian and Finnish Prime Ministers at the very beginning and the end of the so-called first stage of the pandemic. The analysis aims at i) describing the effectiveness of the speeches applying six parameters that we previously identified as crucial for efficient

communication, and ii) exploring the lexical choice of the Prime Ministers in relation to it.⁷

In the second part of the chapter, we will take into consideration the communication strategy - both online and offline - adopted by Giuseppe Conte in the first phase of the first year of the pandemic, confronting it with the new definitions and new theoretical model capable of effectively describing the environment of contemporary political communication respectively developed by Manuel Castels and Andrew Chadwick.

⁷ Only the first part of the Chapter is based on the following original article: Crocchi, S.C., Dal Pozzo, L. (2021) Framing COVID-19: A comparative analysis between institutional and press communication in Finland and Italy in 2020. *Qualso* 7: pp. 317-343

4.1 Framing the study

The consequences triggered by the spread of the pandemic, unleashed following the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 virus, are still incalculable, after a year and a half from the first confirmed case in China. The initial impossibility and the general difficulty of stemming the spread of the disease in a highly globalized world have put the economy of most countries in crisis, without distinction. The pandemic has highlighted, in many cases, the weaknesses of government and health systems, it has shaken the foundations of corporate organizational systems and has redesigned the ways in which knowledge and information are used and provided. The spread of the epidemic and the attempts to remedy it have forced humanity, in essence, to question everything. No sector has therefore remained unscathed, immobile or equal to itself in recent months.

The areas most affected by this paradigmatic revolution are, above all, medicine, science and politics, but the element that stands out most strongly in this case analysis, as a whole, and for the aim of this chapter, is undoubtedly the communicative one. As in crisis situations in general, also in the COVID-19 pandemic communication has gained utmost importance. The kind of communication involved by the COVID-19 emergency can be considered crisis communication along the lines of Reynolds and Seeger (2005) who discuss the communication types during crisis and identify the crucial differences between crisis and emergency communication. In crisis communication due to a health emergency, health authorities generally track the origin of the disease, undertake actions to stop the contamination, issue warnings and recalls, and provide the public with information

about the symptoms, treatments and ways to avoid exposure (Fischhoff and Downs 2001; Ulmer and Sellnow 2000 as in Reynolds and Seeger 2005: 44).

The pervasive use and massive success of social media, starting from early 2000s, have led to the redefinition of the power relationships within communication exchanges and, despite the many benefits, have fuelled some trends and generated real informative disorders. In this chapter we focus on institutional and press communication in Italy and in Finland, and we leave aside the communication spread through social media and the related networks. It is well known that solid leadership, empathy, and alignment of science and politics are crucial factors for clear communication. Even though Finland and Italy can be considered as equally good representatives of good communication in the pandemic scenario with their frequent, truthful and clear institutional communications, we aim at describing here how the language of these communications may vary in terms of lexical choice and discourse structure and how and in which measure clearness, truthfulness, coherency, and empathy emerge. For this purpose, we focus on two talks of the prime ministers and on the day after communications in the main newspapers in two different moments in Italy and in Finland. It is well-known in current communication literature (Albu and Flyverbom 2019; Menon and Goh 2005) that effective institutional communication during a crisis necessarily involves a variety of elements. Two of the most common fallacies are communicating too less or too much to the selected audience (Casalegno and Civera 2016).

For the purpose of this study, we take into consideration the following parameters (adapted from Casalegno, et al. 2020) as crucial elements for efficient institutional communication:

1. Harm-reducing, honest and accurate information;
2. Simple and quick message;
3. Clear objectives and goals and how they are presented;
4. Provision of proof of tangible actions;
5. Coherency among institutional communications and media (press);
6. Communication strategies.

In this work we first present how the COVID-19 emergency has developed in Italy and in Finland and then we aim at investigating how the above mentioned six parameters emerge in four official communications given by the Italian (2) and the Finnish (2) governments in two different moments of the COVID-19 health emergency. In particular, we focus on the lexical choice and syntax of the discourses and report on what kind of differences, if any, can be observed in the communications of Italian and Finnish prime ministers. Finally, we observe the COVID-19-related headings in two national daily newspapers in Italy and in Finland (Corriere della Sera and Helsingin Sanomat, respectively) in order to check how many headings are on the governmental communication of the day before and if and how lexical choice and communicative strategies differ.

4.2 A brief history of COVID-19 worldwide spreading

Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus-2 (SARS-CoV-2) is the name given to the new coronavirus of 2019. COVID-19 is the name given to the disease associated with the virus. SARS-CoV-2 is a new coronavirus strain that has not previously been identified in humans. Coronaviruses are not new though, they are common in some animal species but through spillover, they can evolve and infect humans. The many deaths in the world due to the complications of the disease - and the related images disseminated by the media - have naturally contributed to making the fear concrete and making it perceive as a personal threat, beyond the specific situations of the contagion, very different from state to state and from region to region

On February 11th, 2020 the World Health Organization (WHO from now on) announced that the respiratory disease caused by the new coronavirus was named COVID-19. On January 30th, 2020 the Istituto Superiore di Sanità (ISS from now on) confirmed the first two cases of COVID-19 infection in Italy, and on February 21st, it confirmed the first autochthonous case in Italy. Finally, on 11th March 2020, the WHO declared COVID-19 to officially be a pandemic after 3 months when China broke out the first outbreak of coronavirus disease in December 2019 in Wuhan city⁸ (population 11 million). When the Chinese government quarantined the city of Wuhan in mid-January 2020 to prevent the spread of COVID-19, authorities in Europe had not imagined that the coronavirus would threaten them so invasively. While the first confirmed case of COVID-19 in Italy was on

⁸ <<https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019>>
<<https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/>>
<<https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/257243>>
<<https://www.populationpyramid.net/it/finlandia/2021/>>
<<https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/finland/>>

January 30th, 2020, and additional cases of COVID-19 infection emerged in Codogno (Milan), the Italian government imposed a quarantine a month later on February 21st, 2020 for infected people and their contacts and for those who came back from China. Subsequently, tighter measures were imposed for northern Italy, with the declaration of the so-called Red Zones on March 8th “Decreto Zone Rosse” ‘Decree on Red Zones’ and with the “Decreto #iorestoacasa” ‘#stayathome decree’ on March 11th, 2020 imposing a total lockdown of public life. Moreover, on March 22nd “Decreto Chiudi Italia” ‘Close Italy Decree’, it was forbidden to go to public parks, playground areas, and to play outside. Sports activities were allowed only near residences. In order to counter the spread of the pandemic and monitor its progress, the app ‘Immuni’ was launched in Italy in June 2020. The experimentation started in four regions at first and was then extended to the whole national territory. It has been quite contested and the number of downloads has been very low. At the beginning of the second wave in Italy, in autumn 2020, Giuseppe Conte and his staff did not mention the app once as part of their strategy confirming that it has been quite a failure. At the time of this writing ⁹(June 2021), about eighteen months have passed since the first confirmed case in Italy and there have been reports of over 182.209.207 COVID-19 cases worldwide and 3.945.829 million deaths globally, and 166.772.587 recovered. Specifically in Italy (population 59.258.000), there are 4.258.456 COVID-19 cases, 127.500 deaths and 4.076.274 recovered. At the time of this writing Italy is experiencing a White Zones phase in which movements are allowed and restrictions are very limited and people are not wearing masks outdoors.

⁹ For an updated version of the data (January 2022) At the time of this writing, about two years have passed since the first confirmed case in Italy and there have been reports of over 328.070.693 COVID-19 cases worldwide, 5.539.569 deaths globally, and 2.515.992.014 fully vaccinated.

At the time of this writing Italy is experiencing a White Zones phase in which movements are allowed and restrictions are very limited and people are not wearing masks outdoors.

In Finland (5,548,361 population), there are 95.168 COVID-19 cases, 969 deaths and 46.000 recovered. The first suspicions case that the virus had arrived in Finland were aroused on 24 January when a Chinese tourist visiting Inari, Lapland, was brought to the Ivalo Health Centre suffering from flu-like symptoms but the first coronavirus case in Finland was diagnosed for a Chinese tourist in a holiday resort in Lapland on January 29th 2020. On February 13th 2020 COVID-19 infection was included in the list of generally hazardous communicable diseases by amending the Government Decree on Communicable Diseases. However, the situation with the spread of COVID-19 in Finland started to evolve only in early March, boosted by travel to the Alps during the winter holidays in February. COVID-19 epidemic was considered to have started in Finland in mid-March soon after the WHO had announced the COVID-19 outbreak as a pandemic. On March 16th 2020 the Finnish Government announced a state of emergency due to the coronavirus outbreak and consequently it implemented several strategies in order to improve social and physical distancing which aimed at slowing the spread and protecting especially risk groups. So far, Finland has been successful in restraining the pandemic. Compared to many countries, the pandemic landed in Finland relatively late. This fact allowed early implementation of restrictive regulations and recommendations. However, these measures which have been obeyed well by the population have probably had several negative, unintended consequences (Tiirinki et al.2021) defined as changes brought by an intervention other than those it aims to achieve (Jabeen, 2016). They can be far-reaching and just as important as the intended consequences and they can affect all groups of the population as well as all

sectors of society (e.g. health, education, environment, economy, law). As stated in the study conducted by Turcotte, Gali and Ridde (2021) there is scientific evidence suggesting that COVID-19 mitigation measures can trigger a wide range of desirable and undesirable unintended consequences within and outside of healthcare systems.

The Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare (Terveyden ja hyvinvoinnin laitos, THL from now on) is the main national statistical and registry authority for the health and social sector, and it is also responsible for collecting the COVID-19 data. The COVID-19 data are released at the THL website. The collected data have been published daily from the start of the pandemic. However, THL has been criticized for not giving out detailed information on the deaths and patients treated in the hospitals. For instance, the breakdown of the cases according to age and sex was not initially reported. Detailed data on intensive care were only released weekly by the IC Coordinating Office. THL has also been criticized for not releasing the methodological details and assumptions used for modeling the epidemic. There is also no published data on contact tracing as there is no tracing in the successively developed app koronavilkku (downloadable since 31.8.2020) through which only the information that one could have been infected in the previous 14 days is provided. This is said to protect sensible information and the privacy of citizens.

4.3 Phases of the COVID-19 Pandemic and Measures of containment in Italy

In Italy, as the health system is regionally based, COVID-19 emergency actions are based on a general lockdown imposed by the national authority and then management at the local level by 21 regional authorities. Therefore, the pandemic response plan developed by each region led to different approaches. It is possible to identify three main waves since the beginning of the pandemic in Italy.

First wave - Lockdown and 3-phase split:

Phase 1: Lockdown (March 9 to May 3 2020)

Phase 2: Relaxation of containment measures (May 4 – June 14 2020)

Phase 3: Coexistence with COVID-19 (June 15 - October 7 2020).

Second wave - Resumption of the infection:

8 October - 5 November: new restrictive actions

From 6th November: containment for different scenarios (Curfew and establishment of yellow, orange and red zones), Measures for the holiday season (December 21 - January 15 2021), Establishment of white zones (from January 16 2021).

Third wave - The spread of variants:

Tightening of containment measures (6 March - 25 April 2021)

Relaxation of containment measures (from 26th April 2021)

Re-openings and Green Certification.

The first lockdown began around 21st February 2020, covering ten municipalities of the province of Lodi in Lombardy and one in the province of Padua in Veneto, and affecting around 50.000 people. The lockdown was initially meant to last until 6th March. Citizens

were permitted to leave their homes to look for supplies such as food and medicine, to go to workplaces or to schools was not allowed, and public gatherings were prohibited. Train services also bypassed the region. Early on Sunday 8th March 2020, Italian Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte announced the expansion of the quarantine zone to cover much of northern Italy, affecting over sixteen million people, restricting travel from, to or within the affected areas, banning funerals and cultural events, and requiring people to keep at least one metre of distance from one another in public locations such as restaurants, churches and supermarkets. Conte later clarified in a press conference that the decree was not an ‘absolute ban’, and that people would still be able to use trains and planes to and from the region for proven work needs, emergencies, or health reasons. Additionally, tourists from outside were still permitted to leave the area. Restaurants and cafes were permitted to open, but operations were limited to between 6:00 and 18:00, while many other public locations such as gyms, nightclubs, museums and swimming pools were closed altogether. Businesses were ordered to implement “remote working” to permit their employees to work from home. The decree, that was into force until 3rd April 2020, additionally cancelled any leave for medical workers, and allowed the government to impose fines or up to three months’ jail for people caught leaving or entering the affected zone without permission. The decree also implemented restrictions on public gatherings elsewhere across Italy. With this decree, the initial “Red Zone” was also abolished (though the municipalities were still within the quarantined area). The lockdown measures implemented by Italy were considered the most radical measures implemented against the outbreak outside of the lockdown measures implemented in China. At the time of the decree, over 5.800 cases of coronavirus had been confirmed in Italy and 233 deaths. A draft of the decree had been leaked to the media late on Saturday night before it went into effect and was published by

the newspaper Corriere della Sera, resulting in panic within the to-be-quarantined areas and prompting reactions from politicians in the region. The newspaper La Repubblica reported that hundreds of people in Milan rushed out to leave the city on the last trains on Saturday night, as a part of a general rush to leave the new expanded red zone. La Repubblica later reported that this was an exaggeration and that, through an analysis of telephone cells, less than 1.000 people had left Milan for the Southern regions on 7th March; by comparison, on 23rd February, about 9.000 people left Milan towards South Italy. However, within hours of the decree being signed, media outlets reported that relatively little had changed, with trains and planes still operating to and from the region, and restaurants and cafes operating normally. According to the Ministerial Decree of 26th April 2020 the masks had become mandatory in confined spaces or outdoors when the possibility of maintaining the necessary physical distance is not possible or guaranteed.

4.4 Phases of the COVID-19 Pandemic and Measures of containment in Finland

In Finland the action plan for implementing the Government's hybrid strategy divides the COVID-19 epidemic into three phases. This classification is used to assess the development of the epidemic and the need for recommendations and restrictions and to ensure that they are appropriately targeted in the state:

1. Perustaso "baseline" summer 2020 (June-beginning of September) The epidemic is at stable level, and incidence is low. Local and regional transmission chains occur only occasionally. Contamination chains are manageable, and the people exposed can be traced without delay. New cases are either random isolated cases or most of them are detected among people in quarantine.

2. Kiihtymistaso "increasing stage" (traceability of the contaminations, hospital situation under control). The epidemic is accelerating, and regional incidence is higher than at the stable level. This may mean that the %age of people testing positive is above one and that large-scale exposures occur.

Contact tracing manages to identify a significant proportion of the sources of infection. There are many local and regional transmission chains.

3. Leviämistaso "diffusion stage" (20-25 cases in 7 days; less than half of the contaminations can be traced; problems in the hospitals). The epidemic continues to accelerate. This may mean that the %age of people testing positive is above two and that the need for inpatient and intensive care is projected to increase. Cases are spreading at the regional level or more widely through the population. Contact tracing is becoming more difficult.

In Finland the first press release given by the government on the COVID-19 epidemic dates to 27th February 2020. This very first communication the prime minister Sanna Marin and the council of ministers want to reassure the population on the diffusion of COVID-19 in Finland. It is said that Finland is not involved in the pandemic, that the cases are sporadic and even in case of a wider diffusion Finland has well enough human resources and sanitary devices to face it. The epidemiological situation is being monitored at the regional and national levels. Regional and local authorities decide on introducing or lifting measures according to the epidemiological situation. On 6th May 2020, the Government adopted a resolution implementing a plan for a hybrid strategy to manage the COVID-19 crisis. The plan aims to prevent the spread of the virus in society, to safeguard the carrying capacity of the healthcare system and to protect people, especially those in risk groups. The action plan for implementing the hybrid strategy, adopted in autumn 2020, guides the authorities in managing the COVID-19 epidemic. It sets out the criteria used to determine the phase of the epidemic. The action plan has been updated for January-May 2021. The action plan was supplemented with the new tiers of prevention measures on 26th January 2021. In its resolution on 6th May 2021, the Government stated that the use of nationwide tiers of COVID-19 prevention measures could be discontinued. On 16th March, the Finnish Government, jointly with the President of Finland Sauli Niinistö, declared a state of emergency due to COVID-19. 272 laboratory-confirmed cases caused by COVID-19 had been diagnosed in Finland by 16th March 2020 at 2 PM. The head of THL, Markku Tervahauta, told MTV3 that the actual number of COVID-19 cases might be 20-30 times higher than what had been confirmed by testing, due to the fact that testing was limited to risk groups, the severely ill, and healthcare workers. On 16th March, the Government also announced they had decided to take the following measures by issuing a decree on

implementing the Emergency Powers Act. The measures were scheduled to be in place until 13th April, after approval by the Parliament of Finland, but were later extended to 13th May. The state of emergency was dismissed on 16th June 2020:

- all schools are closed, not including early education.
- Most government-run public facilities (theatres, libraries, museums etc.) are shut down.
- Critical personnel are exempted from the Working Hours Act and Annual Holidays Act, both in the private and public sector.
- At most 10 people can participate in a public meeting, and people over the age of 70 should avoid any human contact whenever possible.
- Outsiders are forbidden from entering healthcare facilities and hospitals, excluding relatives of critically ill people and children
- The capacity of social and healthcare will be increased in the private and public sector, while less critical activity will be decreased.
- Preparations for the shutdown of borders will start, and citizens or permanent residents returning to Finland will be placed under a two weeks quarantine.

The political and governmental systems differ in Finland and in Italy in many ways. In particular, in Italy every new set (or loosening) of restrictions was given through a decree while in Finland such kind of decrees do not exist and the government has provided (and is still providing) suggestions and recommendations instead of Italian-style imperatives. In Finland, in the worst moment the state of emergency (poikkeusolot, 13th March 2020) has been declared and consequently the Emergency Powers Act (valmiuslaki) came into force. Through it a series of restrictions and economic aids have become possible and have been implemented.

Since the beginning of the COVID-19 emergency both Italian and Finnish governments have released official communications on weekly basis (or even daily in some moments). Between the beginning of the health emergency and the present writing 122 official communications have been released by the government and 24 decrees by Giuseppe Conte.

4.5 Information pollution and most trusted source of information during the pandemic

The uniqueness of this unprecedented event prominently emerged in communicative responses as well. The COVID-19 pandemic has been and still is a problem that goes beyond the medical-epidemiological field. In fact, since its emergence, this issue has also contributed to, and has been accompanied by, a global spread of another type of pandemic phenomenon, but of an informative nature, equally dangerous and difficult to control. In mid-February, the World Health Organization announced that the new coronavirus pandemic was accompanied by an infodemic of misinformation (WHO, 2020).

In an information society like the current one, the very high media coverage and the diffusion of news, statistical data and live scientific results, have produced an unprecedented social, anthropological and communicative emergency on a worldwide scale. This information mode, made possible and strengthened by algorithms underlying the new media and their own design, conceived to maximize the dissemination of information with a virtual cascade effect, no longer taking into account the complexity of the information as a parameter of reference. Moreover, all the subjects (citizens, stakeholders, companies, scientists and politicians) are using the same communication tools sharing the same platforms which are all owned by private companies (e.g. Facebook, Twitter and Google), often with polarized outcomes. As suggested in Crocchi (2020), the functioning of the current news market perpetuates the polarization of news, but the area of popular concern has recently focused on exposure to ideological differences in online media. Social networks and online communication have considerably transformed political communication and public discourse. Over the past two decades, changes in

communication technologies have affected the very nature of how citizens relate to each other and to their governments, shaping a new public sphere.

At the time of COVID-19, understanding this information pollution is determining to more effectively manage the practical and concrete interventions that the emergency requires. Information pollution in its broader sense implies a large spectrum of phenomena which may affect communication at various levels, manifesting themselves as a unicum or simultaneously with others. The direct and indirect impacts of information pollution are difficult to quantify but there is undoubtedly much evidence of it in the narrative of the COVID-19 so far. For the aim of our discussion, we consider the conceptual framework for examining information disorder introduced by Wardle and Derakhshan (2017) where they identify three types of information disorders (Dis-information, Mis-information and Mal-information) distinguishing elements (agent, message and interpreter), phases (creation, production and distribution) and purposes among them. Much of the discourse on fake news, for instance, conflates three notions: mis-information, disinformation and mal-information.

Today the complexity of communication is so manifold that it is unrealistic to attempt to describe it in an exhaustive way. Among all the possible perspectives, at least two seem significant for the aim of this paper. The first is the perspective of the sender. In this context, it seems legitimate to distinguish between institutional figures, communication professionals (e.g. journalists and opinion leaders) and a third macro-category 'other' that does not fall within the previous two and include all non-official channels of information. The second perspective inevitably concerns the media used. Nevertheless, there are at least three possibilities: institutional media (the website of the Government, the Ministry of Health, etc.), media outlets (newspapers, television broadcasts, etc.), social media (in the

broader meaning: Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, etc.). Social media represent great novelty compared with the previous global emergencies as they also play the crucial role of filters (e.g. filter bubbles) or echo chambers (Pariser 2011; Bakshy 2015). These two perspectives are inevitably intertwined, although in different ways. For example, a speech by the Prime Minister can be disseminated both from the institutional website of the Government, and from the press, and from social media and social networks. On the contrary, a post on Facebook by a non-institutional or professional figure will hardly go beyond the confines of social networks. But that doesn't mean it will have a lower spread.

The development of e-Government and the availability of online information for citizens varies considerably across the EU Member States. According to a 2020 Eurostat survey, the %age of regular web users who refer primarily to institutional communication channels in Italy, is significantly lower than that of other European countries, such as Finland, Germany or France.

People increasingly use the internet to carry out their daily tasks. Over the past years, the use of e-Government has also gained popularity as it enables citizens to obtain information at any moment or carry out administrative tasks remotely. In 2020, 47% of people in the EU aged 16-74 had obtained information from the websites of public authorities during the last 12 months prior to the survey. This share increased substantially compared with 2008 (33%). Citizens of all ages use public authorities' websites to obtain information. The share of people that reported to have done this in the last 12 months was highest among the 25-34 years old (59%), followed closely by those 35-44 years old (56%). Although older citizens were less likely to use public authorities' websites to get information, more than a quarter (26%) of citizens aged 65-74 had used government websites for this purpose in the last 12 months. In 2020, the highest shares of people that used the websites of public

authorities to obtain information in the last 12 months were recorded in Denmark (89%), Finland (85%), the Netherlands (81%) and Sweden (79%). In contrast, only 10% of citizens in Romania had obtained information from public authorities through their websites. This was also not common in Italy and Bulgaria (both 19%).

Many surveys have been conducted after the spread of the pandemic and the global experience of lockdown and restrictions, and at the time of writing, some significant data regarding media consumption and trusted sources of news emerge. According to a survey from April 2020, Italian people considered TV newscasts the most reliable news source regarding the coronavirus (COVID-19). The Government followed in the ranking with 48 % of individuals seeing it as a reliable news source. News shared by friends and family were perceived as more reliable (20%) than radio (17%).

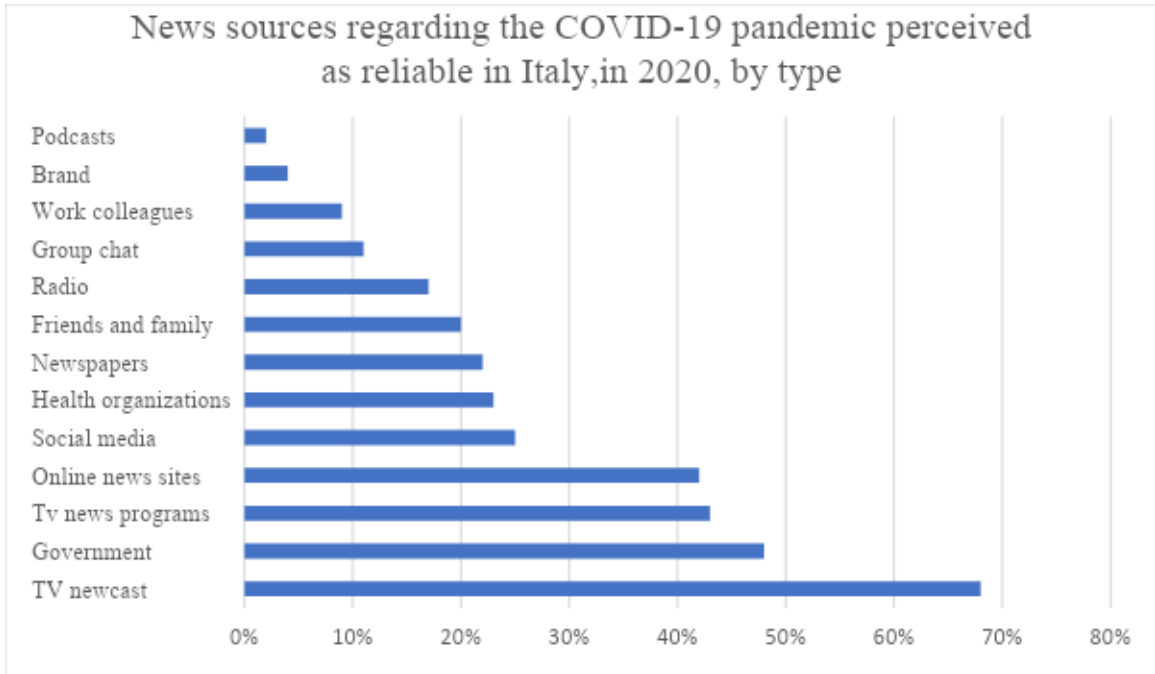


Table 6. News sources regarding the COVID-19 pandemic perceived as reliable in Italy, in 2020, by type (Statista 2020)

As for the most trusted sources of coronavirus news in Finland in the same year, television news and newspapers were considered the most trusted sources for information about the coronavirus (COVID-19). For around 70% of Finns, TV news was the most trusted news source, followed by newspapers with a share of 60%. One third of the respondents had the highest confidence in radio news, while other news sources, especially online, were not considered as trustworthy.

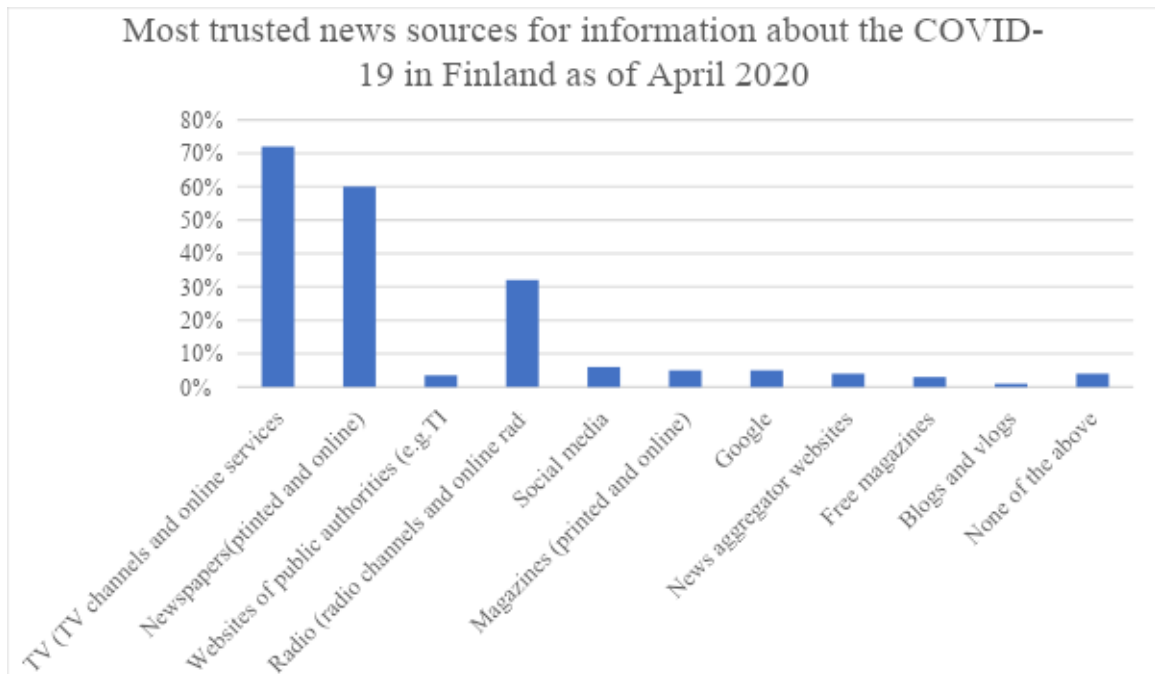


Table 7. Most trusted news sources for information about the COVID-19 in Finland as of April 2020 (Statista, 2020)

The most significant element that emerges from these surveys is that the audience (intended as recipients of the message) perceives social media as less reliable for receiving truthful information on the progress of the pandemic; in fact, within the broad spectrum of information disorders, it is possible to trace the greatest responsibility of spreading fake news to social media (and its users). The pervasive use of social media

and the spread of misinformation among them forced some governments, such as the Italian one, to adopt hybrid communication strategies where, for instance, the official statements of the prime minister were announced and posted on his official Facebook profile (see section 4.6). For the aim of this study, we analyze the institutional communication intended as communication realized in an organized manner by an institution or its representatives with the main aim of setting a good relationship between the institution and its potential public (Lever et al. 2002). It aims to establish quality relationships between the institution and the public with which it relates, to achieve social notoriety and adequate public image for the purposes and activities of the institution itself in terms of Public communication (La Porte, 2021). Institutional communication, as mentioned before in the paragraph, is not immune to certain information pollution as well. For instance, at the beginning of March 2020, the Italian government was involved in a serious episode of *Mal-information*, defined as the genuine information that is shared to cause harm. This includes private or revealing information that is spread to harm a person or reputation (Wardle and Derakshan, 2017). The draft of the government decree of the 8th March 2020 with the new strict measures to fight the coronavirus ended up in the main online newspapers - in Italy and in the world. According to the CNN online newspaper, that document was provided to them by the press office of the Lombardy Region who denied any involvement. This serious episode of news leaks caused a real crisis communication example within the broader emergency scenario caused by the pandemic.

4.6 Lexical choice in the discourse of the Italian and Finnish governments: extracts of two speeches.

In what follows two communications of the Italian and Finnish governments and the day-after headings on two national newspapers are analyzed. The speeches are given by the then-Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte (2018-2021) for Italy and by Prime Minister Sanna Marin (2019-present) for Finland and are representatives of two crucial moments in the COVID-19 pandemic during 2020. The first one is the first available official communication on the spread of COVID-19, and the second one is representative of the second stage when the ‘cohabitation with the virus’ -period started. In the discourses, we paid attention in particular to the lexical choice of verbs, nominals, adjectives, and adverbs and in how the discourse is overall construed taking into account the six factors presented in section 4.1.

On the basis of the audience to which it is addressed, the genre of these discourses can be considered as both informative and persuasive: informative about the ongoing health emergency and persuasive as they aim at convincing people to comply with the restrictions and recommendations provided by the prime ministers.

	Date	Approximate word count
Italy	22.2.2020	863
	26.4.2020	3.479
Finland	27.2.2020	2.093
	4.5.2020	304

Table 8. Government communications and word count

We then observe coronavirus-related headings on the day-after newspaper (one for each country) to check how many of them concern the official communication. We aim at comparing the language, namely whether the lexical choice is similar or not, whether words with a greater impact are used or not, whether other kinds of strategies, such as the choice of verbal forms, are adopted. We focus on the news headings in particular as we consider them to represent on the one side the core of the article and on the other hand an invitation to further reading and thus having necessarily a persuasive impact on the readers (Santulli, 2015).

Both Italian and Finnish governments have provided communications on the evolving situation on a regular basis since the end of February 2020. The communications are given by representatives of the governmental and/or sanitary authorities and during every communication more than one person speaks and presents the situation of her/his competence. In the present paper we restrict our analysis on the discourse of the prime ministers Giuseppe Conte and Sanna Marin.

4. 6. 1 Italy: Communication 1, 22.2.2020

The first official communication of the Italian government regarding coronavirus was released on 22nd February 2020 and it is followed by other two talks, respectively, from Roberto Speranza (Minister of Health) and Angelo Borrelli (Head of the Civil Protection Department). The talk is divided into three parts.

In the first part, Conte stressed the importance of the efforts of all the parties involved, the use of the language is shaped around the concept of the meticulousness of the commitment carried out by everyone. It is noticeable how he wants to highlight the teamwork and the scrupulousness of every step taken by the Italian government by some lexical choices such as the verb *impegnarsi* ‘to commit’ and the corresponding nominalized form *impegno* ‘commitment’ and the repetition of the verb *lavorare* ‘to work’ and *tutelare* ‘to protect’. In the second part Giuseppe Conte spends some minutes thanking many institutional figures stating very clearly that all of them are involved in the containment of the virus. The element that emerged mostly is the desire to make people perceive that the work was capillary and that it was carried out with the utmost caution. The president emphasizes the actions taken by Italy underlining the caution, the methodological rigor and the timeliness of certain choices (Italy was in fact the first country to block air traffic to and from China) through the use and the repetition along the talk of superlative adjectives as *massimo* ‘best, utmost’ (6 times). In the third part he accentuates the urgency of take imminent actions in the near future stressing the importance of moral rigour of the citizens by lexical choices such as: *autoresponsabilità* ‘self-responsibility’, *auto censura* ‘self-censorship’, *comportamenti* ‘behaviors’(x 3) . The use of adverbs are pretty noticeable: *sicuramente* (x 2) ‘surely’, *costituzionalmente*

‘constitutionally’, *ovviamente* (x 2) ‘obviously’, *assolutamente* (x 2) ‘absolutely’ and *sempre* (x 4) ‘always’. In this first intervention there is only one direct reference to the *Coronavirus*, instead the noun *emergency* is used twice. What stands out the most along the talk is the massive usage of the first plural form of every verb to convey this sense of unity that we mentioned before. In the bipartition of inclusive (me + you) and exclusive (me + s/he or them) “we” (Filimonova, 2005) the Italian prime minister uses mostly the exclusive “we” which gives a stronger leadership flavour to the whole speech and we can see behind it a willingness to increase trust to the action of the government. However, exclusive and inclusive “we” can appear even in the same sentence as in 3) below in which we have an esortative use *non dimentichiamo* ‘let’s not forget’ and an exclusive “we” where the subject refer to the cabinet. The examples in Table 9 are directly drawn from the speech.

1) Abbiamo lavorato sino ad ora, è tutta la giornata che siamo impegnati per una riunione [...] abbiamo convocato [...]	We have worked until now, we have been busy the whole day for a meeting [...] we have summoned [...]
2) [...] abbiamo adottato un decreto legge [...]	[...] we have adopted a decree [...]
3) [...] non dimentichiamo che stiamo parlando [...]	[...] let’s not forget that we are talking [...]

Table 9. Clusivity of “we” in Conte’s communication 1

In relation to the six factors presented in Section 1., the predominant ones are n.1 and 4:

- 1) *Harm-reducing, honest and accurate information*, which is explicitly stated by Giuseppe Conte during the talk. Lexical choices also contribute to reassuring the audience since he avoids fear inducing words (e.g. *disease, pandemic, epidemic*); the choice of using positive and constructive words and the constant use of first person plural for verbs also convey the sense of community and unity;

4) *The provision of proof of tangible actions* also is fulfilled by the explanation of what is possible to do in case of emergency, in fact Conte and his ministers are presenting the ten rules to avoid the spread of the virus and, moreover, he wants to underline the efficiency of the Italian health system. He clarifies the reason why Italy presents a high number of infected, and what is going to be done through the new decree.

4.6.2 Press in Italy 24.2.2020

In the eight COVID-19 related main headings of the day-after newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, one of the most widespread newspapers in Italy, no one explicitly refers to the speech of Giuseppe Conte the day before. The headings refer to many socio-economic aspects caused by the COVID-19 emergency. In 1) and 3) the titles focus on the restrictions and closures in Northern Italy. In 2) there is a short title addressing the food issue in supermarkets. The title in 4) expresses with very few words the most urgent aspect of the emergency: the need for intensive care units. This simple and short title conveys all the dramaticity of the situation. In 7) the topic is one of the points stated by Giuseppe Conte the day before during his talk, Italy (at that time) has the highest number of cases and there is an objective necessity to explain why.

During the pandemic there has been a large use of war metaphors and military jargon both in political communications and among the media, in general. The metaphorical presentation of the COVID-19 emergency as a war is not a new invention. There are several examples and studies in scientific literature that indicate how war metaphors are employed in everyday life (e.g. in politics, business, sport, love and moreover, disease). As stated in a recent study conducted by Panzeri, Di Paola and Domaneschi:

The use of war metaphors is a widespread strategy in public speech for framing and representing the challenges to be faced. U.S. Presidents declared war against poverty (Johnson, 1964), crime (Johnson, 1965), drugs (Nixon, 1971), cancer (Nixon, 1971), inflation (Ford, 1977); but this metaphor is so ubiquitous that it can also involve apparently not belligerent enemies such as traffic jams, sunshine and even salad [9]. A study examined all articles published on three magazines (*TIME*, *Newsweek* and the

Canadian Maclean) over a period of twenty years (1981–2000) and found that war/battle metaphors occurred in 15% of the articles (Panzeri, Di Paola, Domaneschi 2021: 2).

This powerfully evocative association might be dangerous because it could affect the way people conceptualize the pandemic and react to it, leading citizens to endorse authoritarianism and strict limitations to civil liberties. The idea that conceptual metaphors actually influence reasoning has been corroborated by Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011), who showed that, when crime is metaphorically presented as a beast, readers become more enforcement-oriented than when crime is metaphorically framed as a virus. Recently, Steen, Reijnders and Burgers replied that this metaphorical framing effect does not seem to occur and suggested that the question should be rephrased about the conditions under which metaphors do or do not influence reasoning (2013). Nevertheless, the relationship between metaphor and interpretation is very close, especially in political communication. What defines the metaphorical use is therefore the connection between two lexical semantic contents and the context in relation to which they activate the search for further information, in particular in relation to the speaker. As stated in Baldi (2021), in political discourse the function of metaphor can be decisive: since it draws on two domains that correlate abstract notions to our experience of concrete realities, it is an effective way of making an abstract ideology accessible as an affective one.

Although we have not found in our analysis this type of use in the speeches of Conte and Marin, in the Italian news headings we can trace at least these words belonging to the semantic field of war: *sorvegliato speciale* ‘special surveillance’, *coprifuoco* ‘curfew’, *campo minato* ‘minefield’, *prigionieri* ‘prisoners’, *check point* and *nemico* ‘enemy’. Also,

in 1) words such as chiusure ‘closures’, *blocchi* ‘blocks’, *stop* and *no* contributes to convey a deep sense of anxiety which therefore clashes with the parameter 1) *Harm-reducing, honest and accurate information*, which instead, emerges from the institutional strategy in the speech of Giuseppe Conte the day before. Beside these lexical choices which are part of a clear communicative strategy used to convey a sense of anguish and emergence, the tone of the titles is pretty neutral except for 5) *La forza di reagire* ‘the strength of react which is more dramatic.

<p>1) Virus al Nord, chiusure e blocchi. L'emergenza: oltre 150 casi in 5 regioni. A Crema la terza vittima. Il nostro paese diventa "sorvegliato speciale", raddoppio di contagi in un giorno. Stop a scuole, musei, cinema e pub. No ai turisti in Duomo. E l'Austria ferma per ore un treno dall'Italia.</p>	<p>1) Viruses in the North, closures and blocks. The emergency: over 150 cases in 5 regions. The third victim is in Crema. Our country becomes “under special surveillance”, doubling infections in one day. Stop at schools, museums, cinemas and pubs. No tourists in the Cathedral. And Austria stops a train from Italy for hours.</p>
<p>2) Corsa alle scorte. Gli scaffali vuoti nei supermercati.</p>	<p>2) Stock rush. Empty shelves in supermarkets.</p>
<p>3) E a Venezia addio Carnevale.</p>	<p>3) And in Venice goodbye Carnival.</p>
<p>4) Pronti 3.500 posti letto.</p>	<p>4) 3.500 beds ready.</p>
<p>5) La forza di reagire Milano che chiude e annuncia il coprifuoco è l'immagine rovesciata di sé stessa, la città che appartiene alla gente si ferma nell'anticamera della paura, smarrita, quasi rassegnata, accettando una prova che mette a rischio la tenuta di un sistema. Il coronavirus è un campo minato da attraversare con prudenza e con ogni precauzione, ma i divieti alzano barriere mai viste e sperimentate in tempo di pace.</p>	<p>5) The strength to react Milan that closes and announces the curfew is the inverted image of itself, the city that belongs to the people stops in the antechamber of fear, lost, almost resigned, accepting a test that jeopardizes the stability of a system. The coronavirus is a minefield to be crossed with caution and with every precaution, but the bans raise barriers never seen and experienced in peacetime</p>
<p>6) Cibo a domicilio e check point. Vita da isolati. La zona rossa del Lodigiano. Le forze che presidiano. Palette e divise. All'interno ci sono circa 47 mila persone alle quali è stato consigliato di rimanere in casa, ma che volendo possono uscire per le vie del proprio comune o raggiungere gli altri paesi della zona rossa. Tutti 'prigionieri' della quarantena.</p>	<p>6) Food delivery and check point. Life in isolation. The red zone of the Lodi area. The presiding forces. Palettes and uniforms. Inside, there are about 47,000 people who have been advised to stay at home, but who, if they want, can go out through the streets of their own municipality or reach other towns in the red zone. all 'prisoners' of the quarantine.</p>
<p>7) Milano. Un caso al Policlinico e molti uffici: lavorate da casa Perché da noi così tanti malati?</p>	<p>7) Milan. A case at the Polyclinic and many offices: you work from home Why are there so many sick with us?</p>

<p>8)Le ricette globali Abbiamo visto con piacere il ministro della Salute e il presidente della Regione Lombardia annunciare insieme i dolorosi provvedimenti diretti ad evitare l'estensione del contagio. E letto con soddisfazione che anche il presidente della regione Veneto ha firmato insieme con il ministro la relativa ordinanza (la legge del 1978 sul Servizio sanitario nazionale richiede solo la firma del ministro). Ma, per affrontare questo nemico non basta la cooperazione nazionale.</p>	<p>8) The global recipes We were pleased to see the Minister of Health and the President of the Lombardy Region jointly announce the painful measures aimed at avoiding the spread of the infection. It is read with satisfaction that the president of the Veneto region has also signed the relative ordinance together with the minister (the 1978 law on the National Health Service requires only the signature of the minister). But national cooperation is not enough to face this enemy.</p>
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Table 10. COVID-19 related headings on CdS, 24.2.2020

4.6.3 Italy: Communication 2, 26.4.2020

The second communication under analysis was released on 26th April 2020 at the beginning of a second stage of the emergency due to coronavirus. Italy is now moving to the so-called *Fase due* ‘Second stage’. This a long talk made by Giuseppe Conte only, crucially there is no intervention of other institutional representatives. The state of emergency is still valid even if the spread of the virus is more under control. The length of the talk is mainly due to the complexity of the new norms which will be valid from 4th May 2020 on. In the first part of the talk, he underlines the complexity of the situation praising the efforts made by the citizens to contain the virus. There is a pervasive use of the verbs: *monitorare* ‘to monitor’, *controllare* ‘to control’, *verificare* ‘to verify’, the explicit subject of all these verbs is the Italian Government. In the first part of this talk, Conte makes a sort of claim (intended as in marketing and commercial sense) saying: *Se ami l'Italia, mantieni le distanze* ‘if you love Italy, keep the distances. This is quite unusual in the context of oral institutional communication but it may be connected to the pervasive use of (personal) social media and the tendency to homologate the syntactic choices in all his communicative channels. As we are going to analyse later in the paper, the communication strategies adopted by Giuseppe Conte and his staff are different from the one of the Finnish Government and this specific choice may also affect his language. There are not significant recurrences in lexical choices except for some nouns such as *salute* ‘health’ (x 6), *protocollo di sicurezza* ‘security protocol’ (x 4) and *comitato tecnico-scientifico* ‘technical-scientific committee’ (x 4). The pervasive use of many modal verbs with the form *dobbiamo* ‘we must’ (x13) is what stands out the most, the Prime Minister uses *dobbiamo essere consapevoli* ‘we must be aware’, *dobbiamo*

rendercene conto ‘we must realize’, *dobbiamo rimboccarci le maniche* ‘we must roll up the sleeves’, *dobbiamo assumerci* ‘we must take on’, *dobbiamo rispettare* ‘we must respect’, *dobbiamo approfittare* ‘we must take advantage’, *dobbiamo continuare* ‘we must continue’, *dobbiamo sbloccare* ‘we must unblock’, *dobbiamo essere orgogliosi* ‘we must be proud’. All of these verbs are used with the first plural form with the clear goal to convey a sense of unity and common civil effort that must be committed by everyone. Hence, in this speech we can observe a clearly predominant use of inclusive “we”. Whereas in the first speech the prime minister placed himself among the authorities, being the utmost authority speaking to the country, now he is a citizen among the others, “one of us”. In 4) below we can clearly see this dislocation: *bisogna rispettare* ‘it must be respected/we must respect’ is an impersonal form that includes the speaker as well his audience, as well as the expression “teniamo conto” ‘let’s take into consideration’ an esortative first person plural, and the scientists and experts are a third part, ‘they’. In 5) the inclusive “we” is even more stressed by the pronoun *tutti* ‘all’.

4) [...] bisogna rispettare questa precauzione teniamo conto che gli scienziati e gli esperti ci dicono [...]	[...] this precaution must be respected, let’s take into consideration that the scientists and experts tell us [...]
5) vogliamo tutti che il paese riparta [...]	We all want the country to restart again.
6) potremmo affidarci a risentimento [...] potremmo prendercela con chiunque capiti a tiro [...]	we could rely on resentment [...] we could go after anyone who happens within range [...]

Table 11. Clusivity of “we” in Conte’s communication 2

As for the second talk of Giuseppe Conte, the main points are n.1, n.4 and, above all, n.3:

1) *Harm-reducing, honest and accurate information*; As for this point in this speech made by the Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte emerges, above all, the honesty with which he describes the efforts made by the Italian people during the first phase.

3) *Clear objectives and goals and how they are presented*; The main purpose of this talk, in fact, is the presentation of the second phase goals and new rules. The Prime Minister is very clear about the risks that this new phase may cause. He expresses his desire to grant to everyone a few days of preparation in view of the effective entry into force of the second phase's rule which are anticipated by a clear 4) *provision of proof of tangible actions*.

4.6.4 Press in Italy 28.4.2020

As for the communication given on 27.4.2020 and the related day-after newspaper there is only one mention of the Prime Minister's speech in title 1) The tone is neutral and it is just a statement on the new rules and prohibitions mentioned in the speech the day before. The sense of objectivity is given by the use of reported speech. Interestingly, in the subheading the quoted part is the last one after a brief list of the changes in the restrictions and it contains the exhortation to continue to be cautious. The fact of being quoted highlights this part and it is thus stressed as the most important information (Antelmi, 2012 among others).

Four headings out of eight are related to economic matters such as financial help, funds, cuts and worries. The economic situation is the predominant theme over the whole narrative. The Chinese case is mentioned twice on the front page of the newspaper in two headings and the tone of the discussion in 2) and 8) is pretty polemic and controversial. In 2) there are clear allegations against Chinese government alluding directly to a disinformation campaign perpetrated by Chinese authorities. In 8) the tone of the title and the discussion is both polemic and, for the first time here, personal. The author adds personal information and consideration to his piece; he also adds parenthetically a sort of request in the title: *per favore* 'please'. There are no explicit elements that allude to war related language.

<p>1) Si riapre con regole e divieti. Annuncio di Conte: i negozi riaprono il 18 maggio. Niente messe: l'ira dei vescovi. Bar, ristoranti e parrucchieri: via libera il primo giugno. Esame di maturità in presenza. "Contagi ancora alti, serve cautela".</p>	<p>1) We reopen with rules and prohibitions. Conte's announcement: shops will reopen on May 18th. No masses: the anger of the bishops. Bars, restaurants and hairdressers: green light on 1st June. Graduation exams in presence. "Contaminations still high, caution is needed".</p>
<p>2) Sulla Cina troppe ambiguità. Scrive il New York Times, uno dei quotidiani più ostili a Trump dell'intero pianeta, che la Commissione europea avrebbe attenuato, su pressione dell'autorità di Pechino, un rapporto ufficiale sulle mistificazioni cinesi in tema di diffusione del Coronavirus. In questo rapporto si scriveva che "la Cina continua a condurre una campagna di disinformazione globale per sviare le accuse legate allo scoppio della pandemia".</p>	<p>2) Too many ambiguities about China. The New York Times, one of the most hostile newspapers to Trump on the entire planet, writes that the European Commission allegedly attenuated, under pressure from the Beijing authorities, an official report on Chinese mystifications regarding the spread of Coronavirus. In this report it was written that "China continues to conduct a global disinformation campaign to deflect allegations related to the outbreak of the pandemic".</p>
<p>3) Il decreto in arrivo per le partite IVA. Il bonus salirà a 800 euro. Bonus per gli autonomi che sale a 800 euro e di 600 per le babysitter. Un piano di circa 55 miliardi.</p>	<p>3) The incoming decree for VAT owners. The bonus will rise to 800 euros. Bonus for the self-employed which rises to € 800 and € 600 for babysitters. A plan of about 55 billion.</p>
<p>4) Fondi diretti alle imprese. Maurizio Casasco, presidente di Confapi: "Ora più risorse, ma i fondi vanno versati direttamente alle imprese".</p>	<p>4) Direct funds to businesses. Maurizio Casasco, president of Confapi: "Now more resources, but the funds must be paid directly to businesses".</p>
<p>5) Tagli, infezioni e pochi tamponi: i medici passano alle denunce. Mascherine inadatte, pochi tamponi, tagli: l'accusa di non aver tutelato chi lavora in ospedale. L'Italia è il Paese dove da anni la probabilità di prendersi un'infezione negli ospedali è la più alta: il 6 per cento. Oggi il personale sanitario - che conta 19.942 contagiati e 185 morti - attraverso i sindacati ha presentato un esposto ai Nas oltre che alle Procure di dieci regioni: contestano alle aziende ospedaliere di non aver tutelato medici e infermieri come dovuto.</p>	<p>5) Cuts, infections and a few swabs: doctors move on to complaints. Unsuitable masks, few swabs, cuts: the accusation of not having protected those who work in the hospital. Italy is the country where the probability of catching an infection in hospitals has been the highest for years: 6%. Today the health personnel - which counts 19,942 infected and 185 dead - through the trade unions presented a complaint to the Nas as well as to the prosecutors of ten regions: they criticize the hospitals for not having protected doctors and nurses as necessary.</p>
<p>6) Mascherine, quando usarle. Fissato il prezzo: 0,50 euro. Ci sarà un po' di allentamento sull'uso delle mascherine, anche se resteranno obbligatorie tutte le volte che non si riuscirà a rispettare un metro di distanza. E inoltre, sui mezzi pubblici, dal parrucchiere e nei negozi. Il prezzo? 50 centesimi.</p>	<p>6) Masks, when to use them. Fixed price: 0.50 euros. There will be some slack in the use of the masks, although they will remain mandatory whenever it is not possible to respect a distance of one meter. And also, on public transport, at the hairdresser and in shops. The price? 50 cents.</p>

<p>7) Vittime in calo, la Lombardia torna al 7 marzo. Ieri i morti in Italia sono stati 260. In Lombardia 56, il dato più basso dal 7 marzo. Spero che questo sia il segnale che da giorni gli esperti si aspettavano di vedere. Ma nella regione che ha registrato ad oggi il maggior numero di decessi tornano però a crescere i contagi dopo sei giorni in discesa: l'incremento maggiore nell'area di Milano, più 463. Continua invece il calo di chi viene curato in terapia intensiva.</p>	<p>7) Victims in decline, Lombardy returns to 7 March. Yesterday there were 260 deaths in Italy, in Lombardy 56, the lowest figure since March 7, hoping that this is the signal that experts had expected to see for days. But in the region that has recorded the highest number of deaths to date, they return however, infections are growing after six days in decline: the greatest increase in Milan area, plus 463, while the decline in those who are treated in intensive care continues</p>
<p>8) La verità (per favore) su di noi. Alla vigilia dell'8 aprile, quando è stato revocato il lockdown di Wuhan - un lockdown molto più rigido del nostro -, la Cina intera dichiarava 62 nuovi casi, la maggior parte dei quali importati. Il giorno precedente 32. Ieri, in Piemonte, la mia regione che non ho mai sentito così geograficamente lontana, i nuovi infetti confermati erano 394. Nella Lombardia limitrofa erano 920. Però apriamo. O meglio, iniziamo ad aprire, perché lo fanno anche gli altri, perché si avvicina l'estate e sotto sotto speriamo che il caldo ci dia una mano.</p>	<p>8) The truth (please) about us. On the eve of April 8, when the Wuhan lockdown - a much more rigid lockdown than ours - was lifted, the whole of China declared 62 new cases, most of them imported. The previous day 32. Yesterday, in Piedmont, my region that I have never felt so geographically distant, the new confirmed infected were 394. In neighbouring Lombardy there were 920. But let's open. Deep down we hope that the heat will give us a hand.</p>

Table 12. COVID-19 related headings on CdS 27.4.2020.

4.6.5 Finland: Communication 1, 27.2.2020

The first official communication of the Finnish government regarding coronavirus was released on 27th February 2020. The first talk is by the Prime Minister Sanna Marin and it is followed by other two Ministers' talks. The communication is built around the core concept of being prepared to face the arrival of COVID-19 virus in Finland. Moreover, the ministers aim at reassuring citizens on the fact that in any case Finland is prepared to face the diffusion of COVID-19 in terms of medical competence and equipment, and for the moment there is no worry at all as the attested cases are just few and under control.

The core concepts of the discourse stand out from the lexical choice as can be inferred by the repeated use of the verb *varautua* 'to be prepared' and of the corresponding nominalized form *varautuminen* 'anticipation, the being prepared to'. As can be expected, the noun *koronavirus* 'coronavirus' is highly occurring even though it is not related to the word pandemic or emergency, which are never used. Also, nouns related to authorities such as *hallitus* 'government', *valtionneuvosto* 'cabinet' and *ministeriö* 'ministry' are frequent. However, the most used noun is *Suomi* 'Finland' with six occurrences. This, together with the use of first person plural for verbs, as in 7) creates a common ground, a sense of community based on the opposition of two entities: on the one side 'we, Finland' that is well-prepared to face something challenging and potentially dangerous, on the other side 'the other', which is not yet defined as an enemy but just as threat that is still far from the Finnish reality, together with 'the others', that is other European countries compared to which Finland has excellent medical and sanitary resources. The Finnish prime minister uses an inclusive "we" that refers to the country in its entirety. Hence, even if obviously who can raise the preparation of the country consist of the health and institutional authorities, it also includes the citizens who are called to respect the indications. In addition, we also find use of exclusive "we" that refers to the prime minister + other representatives of the cabinet and of the health authorities, as exemplified in 8). The examples in Table 13 are directly drawn from the speech.

7) [...] <i>pystymme kohottaa valmiuttamme nopeasti</i> [...]	[...] we can raise our preparation quickly [...]
8) [...] olemme halunneet asiassa noudattaa [...]	[...] in this thing we wanted to obey [...]

Table 13. Clusivity of “we” in Marin’s communication 1

In addition, it is explicitly said that the official communications of the Finnish authorities are completely reliable. This again aims at creating a general sense of trust among citizens. Some adverbs in particular *tehokkaasti* ‘efficiently’, *tiivisti* ‘tightly’, *nopeasti* ‘quickly’, *jatkuvasti* ‘continuously’ can be semantically related to highlight the proper reaction of the government to something serious and unexpected (the spread of coronavirus) happening in a sudden and fast way but to which the government is reacting overall in an efficient way in addition to being in close collaboration with other entities and being continuously updated on the situation.

In relation to the six factors presented in Section 1. we can observe that:

- 1) *Harm-reducing, honest and accurate information*: this is explicitly stated by the Prime Minister and also emerges from the lexical choice in particular on two levels: on the one side by the avoidance of fear-creating words such as pandemic, epidemic, on the other side by the use of trust-creating words and use of first person plural for verbs.
- 2) *Simple and quick message*: this is clearly satisfied as both the speech itself and the sentences in it are quick and complex sentences (e.g. subordinate clauses, participial or infinitive phrases) are avoided. This is also in line with the recommendations of clear language to be used by the government.
- 3) *Clear objectives and goals and how they are presented*, and
- 4) *The provision of proofs of tangible actions* also are fulfilled by the explanation of both what is possible to do in case of worsening of the general health situation and of what is

going to be done right now (e.g. the setting up of a COVID-19 coordination group formed by ministers and health authorities).

4.6.6 Press in Finland 28.2.2020

In the seven COVID-19 related main headings of the day-after newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, the national and most widespread newspaper in Finland, only one title refers to the speech of the prime minister Sanna Marin (n. 4 below). The headings report through the mean of indirect speech what is considered the core idea of the day before speech. Indirect or reported speech is generally used not only to vehiculate neutrality but also to give a scent of authority to the information, as discussed in Antelmi (2012) among others. In this title both the verb *varautua* ‘to be prepared’ and the corresponding nominalized form *varautuminen* ‘anticipation, the (fact of) being prepared to’ are used, which are exactly the same words used by the Prime Minister in her discourse. This also shows coherence between the institutional communication given on 27.2.2020 and the day-after news on the newspaper and thus fulfils factor 5) *Coherency among institutional communications and media (press)*. The other titles refer to chronicle (n. 1, 5, 7) or are comments or deepenings on the topic (n. 2, 3, 6). All the headings make use of present tense.

<p>1) Käsidesi käy kaupaksi juuri nyt, apteekista kerrotaan: “Pitää vain toivoa, että ihmiset käyttävät sitä myös” Yliopiston Apteekin arjessa koronavirus näkyy vain vähän: suusuojainhylly on tyhjillään, ja osa asiakkaista haluaa jutella aiheesta. Ihmiset eivät vaikuta erityisen huolestuneilta, kertoo apteekinhoitaja Elina Lammi.</p>	<p>Hand sanitizer sells like hot cakes right now. From the pharmacy is said: “We have just to hope that people will also use it” In the ordinary day of the University Pharmacy coronavirus is barely seen: the mask shelter is empty and some of the customers want to talk about it. People don’t seem particularly worried, says Elina Lammi.</p>
<p>2) Voisiko koronavirus tarttua vierustoverilta 10 minuutin metromatkalla? Professori kertoo, miten lähikontakti määritellään Lähikontakti on THL:n mukaan henkilö, joka on ollut koronavirustartunnan saaneen kanssa tekemisissä kasvojen tai samassa huoneessa yli 15 minuuttia. Määritelmä perustuu todennäköisyyksiin, sanoo epidemiologian professori Pekka Nuorti.</p>	<p>Can coronavirus be transmitted from the person sitting nearby in a 10 minutes subway trip? A professor tells how close contact is defined. [...]</p>
<p>3) Hyvä käsihygienia torjuu koronavirusta, paniikki ei</p>	<p>A good hand hygiene defends from coronavirus, panic doesn’t</p>
<p>4) Pääministeri: Koronavirukseen tärkeää varautua huolellisesti, mutta samalla välttää ylimitoitettuja toimia</p>	<p>The prime minister: It is important to be prepared carefully for coronavirus but at the same time to avoid overscale actions.</p>

Sanna Marin antoi eduskunnalle pääministerin ilmoituksen Suomen varautumisesta koronavirukseen.	Sanna Marin gave the prime minister's announcement to the Finnish parliament on the anticipation of Finland to coronavirus.
<p>5) Ylilääkäri: Helsingin koronaviruspotilas voi hyvin, THL selvitti naisen lähikontaktit matkareitiltä</p> <p>Tartunnan saaneeseen suomalaisnaiseen matkareitillä lähikontaktissa olleet henkilöt ovat eri maiden viranomaisten tiedossa. Viranomaiset ovat heihin yhteydessä. THL ei erittele tarkemmin, mistä maista henkilöt ovat kotoisin.</p>	<p>The medical superintendent: The coronavirus patient in Helsinki is good, THL examined the contacts of the woman on the trip</p> <p>The persons that the infected Finnish woman met on her trip are known by the authorities of the different countries. The authorities are in contact with them. THL does not give details on the countries of origin of these persons.</p>
<p>6) Voiko koronavirus tyhjentää kauppojen hyllyjä Suomessa? Tietyistä älypuhelimista voi tulla pulaa jo lähiviikkoina, arvioi S-ryhmä</p> <p>Elintarvikkeisiin ja käyttötavaroiden tuontiin virus ei näytä vaikuttavan tänä keväänä juuri lainkaan, suurostajat arvioivat.</p>	<p>Can coronavirus empty shops' shelves in Finland? Some smartphones can be missing in next weeks, estimates the S-group</p> <p>The virus does not seem to have an impact on food availability and import this spring</p>
<p>7) Ensimmäistä koronavirusrokotetta aletaan testata huhtikuussa</p> <p>Rokotteet valmistuvat aikaisintaan vuoden päästä. Lääkettä tautiin pitää odottaa kauemmin. Nykyisistä lääkkeistä on jo saatu lupaavia tuloksia.</p>	<p>The first coronavirus vaccine will be tested in April [...]</p>

Table 14. COVID-19 related headings on HS, 28.2.2020.

4.6.6 Finland: Communication 2, 4.5.2020

The second communication under analysis was released on 4th May 2020, when the beginning of a second stage of the health emergency due to coronavirus is identifiable also in Finland. The country is now moving towards the adoption of the so-called hybrid strategy which is based on four key actions: *testaa-jäljitä-eristä-hoida* ‘test-track-isolate-cure’.

The spread of coronavirus is better under control and even if the state of emergency is still valid some of the restrictions can be now dismissed. This is evident in particular in the use of nominalized forms such as: *jatkaminen* ‘continuation’, *purkaminen* ‘dismissal’. The dismissal of the more restrictive indications should be done in a restrained and gradual way in order to control the diffusion of the virus and this is emphasized by the very frequent use of manner adverbials such as *hallitusti* ‘restrainedly’, *asteittain* ‘gradually’, *porrastetusti* ‘step by step’, and by nominalized forms such as *hillitseminen* ‘control’. Interestingly, different from the first communication, in this one no use of first-person plural is made. However, the passive is widely used. This form can be used both with as an impersonal form (in Finnish in fact the agent cannot be expressed in this construction), as in 9), or for first person plural especially in colloquial Finnish, as in 10).

9) Kun rajoitustoimia [...] poistetaan, epidemian kehittymistä ja terveydenhuollon kuormittumista seurataan ja arvioidaan tarkasti	As restrictions are dismissed [...] the development of the epidemic as well as the overload of the health system are followed and evaluated carefully.
10) [...] voidaan asettaa rajoituksia [...] julkotiloja voidaan avata hallitusti [...]	[...] it is possible/we can set restrictions [...] outdoor spaces can be opened restrainedly [...]

Table 15. Clusivity of “we” in Marin’s communication 2

As for the factors presented in Section 1. we can observe that:

- 1) *Harm-reducing, honest and accurate information*: information is honest and accurate and it is in fact reported on the consultations of the cabinet and on what are the future indications of the government (a detailed list is given).
- 3) *Clear objectives and goals and how they are presented*: Goals are presented clearly, as evident from explicit statements such as *Hallituksen tavoitteena on...* ‘The goal of the government is ...’.
- 4) *Provision of proof of tangible actions* is visible from the statements about the intention to constantly control and evaluate the development of the epidemic and the related possible (over)load of health care. Moreover, it is also stated that *epidemian hillitsemisessä on onnistuttu Suomessa toistaiseksi hyvin* ‘the control of the epidemic has been for the moment successful in Finland’ a piece of information that instils self-confidence (and confidence towards the *modus operandi* of the government) in the population.

At the time of this speech, it is already clear that it’s not ‘just’ a health emergency but it is a serious worldwide epidemic emergency that has now attained Finland, too. The reality is not diminished nor trivialized (accomplishing again to factor 1) and coherently the word *epidemia* ‘epidemic’ is used.

The general sense of the discourse is ‘we have done good, now we can *gradually* dismiss some restrictions. Again, the message is quick and simple (factor 2), the core idea of ‘gradually re-opening’ is repeated and, as in communication 1, language is clear and complex structures are avoided.

4.6.7 Finland: newspaper 5.5.2020

As for the communication given on 4.5.2020, we find seven headings related to coronavirus in the day-after newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*. Among them three titles are directly related to the communication given by the Government the day before (n. 1, 2, 6). Only title 1) contains reported speech. This gives a tone of authority to the reported information, as was the case for the reported speech in Table (16). The others are comments (n. 4) or a deepening of the current health emergency (n. 3, 5, 7). Overall, all the news related to the government's communication are coherent with it (factor 5) and no emphatic tone is used to exaggerate the information provided by the Prime Minister. Only in title 2 the sentence *hallitus ripustaa nyt Suomen neljän sanan varaan* 'the government hang up Finland on four words', which hints at the hybrid strategy put in place by the government and based on test-track-isolate-cure, can be interpreted as slightly ironic and sceptic. Finally, we interpret the choice of neutral and non-dramatic lexical items as being in line with a general approach of Finnish media based on reliability, transparency and clear communication that is coherent with the official channels.

<p>1) Suomi avautuu merkittävästi kesäkuusta lähtien – Pääministeri Marin varoittaa, että tilanteen muuttuessa rajoituksia pohditaan uudestaan</p> <p>Hallituksen johtoviisikko kertoi päätöksistä rajoitustoimien purkamiseksi tiedotustilaisuudessa maanantai-iltana.</p>	<p>1)Finland will open significantly from June on - the Prime Minister Marin warns that in case the situation changes restrictions will be re-thought</p> <p>The five guiding the government told about the dismissal of the restrictions in the communication on Monday evening.</p>
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<p>2) Kesäkuussa alkaa koronakriisin suuri käänne, ja hallitus ripustaa nyt Suomen neljän sanan varaan</p> <p>Suomen päätavoite ei ole hävittää koronavirusta vaan hallitus rakentaa omaa suhteellisen avointa reittiään, kirjoittaa HS:n talouden ja politiikan toimituksen esimies Jussi Pullinen.</p>	<p>2) In June the big twist of coronacrisis will start and the government hang up Finland on four words</p> <p>The main objective of Finland is not to cancel coronavirus but to build a relatively open way out, writes Jussi Pullinen.</p>
<p>3) Koronakriisi teki epidemiologeista ja virologeista planeetan tunnetuimpia ihmisiä – HS esittelee viisi julkistutkijaa, joiden päätökset voivat sulkea valtioita</p> <p>Tutkijoiden suositukset sulkevat nyt valtakuntia. Koronakriisi on repäissyt epidemiologit ja virustutkijat tutkijankammioistaan valokeilaan.</p>	<p>3) Coronacrisis puts epidemiologists and virologists among the most famous persons in the world. HS presents five famous researchers whose decisions can close states</p> <p>The recommendations of researchers are now closing states. Coronacrisis has ripped epidemiologists and virologists from their offices in the beam of light</p>
<p>4) Yksittäisten päivämäärien sijaan on tärkeämpää kuvata rajoitustoimien muutosten logikka, koska se luo uskoa tulevaan</p> <p>Jos tartuntatautilaki ei riitä epidemian tehokkaaseen torjuntaan, voisi olla parempi korjata tartuntatautilakia kuin turvautua uudelleen valmiuslain pykäliin.</p>	<p>4) Instead of single dates it is more important to describe the logic of the restrictions because it gives trust in the future</p> <p>If the law on contagious disease is not sufficient it could be better to modify that law than to use the Emergency Powers Act</p>
<p>5) Kirjastojen ja museoiden avaamislupaus oli helsinkiläisten toiveissa jo etukäteen: “Askel kerrallaan kohti normaalia”</p> <p>HS:n maanantaina haastattelemat kansalaiset antoivat tukensa esimerkiksi kirjastojen ja museoiden hallitulle avaamiselle.</p>	<p>5) The re-opening of libraries and museums was already on the wish list of people in Helsinki: “One step at time towards normality”</p> <p>The readers of HS that were interviewed on Monday supported the controlled re-opening of libraries and museums.</p>
<p>6) Lue kattava lista siitä, miten rajoituksia nyt puretaan: ravintolat avautuvat asteittain, yli 70-vuotiaiden eristyssuositusta jatketaan</p> <p>Suomi avaa yhteiskuntaansa asteittain kesäkuun alusta alkaen.</p>	<p>6) Read a complete list of how restrictions are dismissed: restaurants reopen gradually, the isolation recommendation for over 70-years old is maintained</p> <p>Finland re-opens its society gradually starting from June</p>

<p>7) Kaikki janoavat nyt tietoa siitä, miten epidemia etenee – THL:n mallinnukset ovat päätöksenteon ytimessä, mutta mihin ne perustuvat?</p> <p>Epidemian mallintaminen ei ole matemaattisesti mahdoton tehtävä. Uuden viruksen kohdalla joudutaan kuitenkin tekemään paljon oletuksia. Se lisää ennustamisen epävarmuutta.</p>	<p>7)Everybody is eager to know how the epidemic will go on: the simulations of THL are the key for decisions but on what they are based on?</p> <p>The simulation of the epidemic is not mathematically impossible. However, many suppositions need to be put forth. This increases the uncertainty of the prediction.</p>
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Table 16. COVID-19 related headings on HS, 5.5.2020.

The Italian Prime Minister uses the noun *emergenza* ‘emergency’ whereas the Finnish Prime Minister never uses it and generally the communicative choice is centred on a more reassuring tone. Nonetheless, the noun ‘coronavirus’ is used in both discourses marking the clearness and aiming at truthfulness and reliability. One striking difference is in the length of the communications: short and quick (but not less complete) as for the Finnish prime minister and longer and more articulated as for the Italian prime minister.

Comparing the day-after newspapers of the first communications, one Finnish newspaper’s title refers to Marin’s communication and in the Italian newspaper there is no explicit reference to Conte’s communication even if one title concerns one of the main points faced by the Prime Minister the day before the official announcement. What overall stands out from the comparison of the Italian and Finnish newspapers’ titles is the strikingly different tone that emerge in particular in the lexical choice: in the Italian ones there is recurring use of military or war terms (4 out of 8 titles) whereas in the Finnish ones the tone is much more neutral and less alarmist. Finally, only in two Finnish titles, one of which refers to the day-before speech, we observe reported speech whereas this mean of neutrality and objectivity (Antelmi, 2012) is not used in the Italian titles, which on the contrary have in general a more dramatic tone.

The two communications are very different in length. This is mainly because of a different communicative strategy of the two governments. In fact, the Finnish prime minister basically resumes what will be explained in more detail by the ministers and health authorities afterwards, whereas the Italian prime minister is the one who carries out widely and in depth the whole communication of the government. Moreover, he makes use of repetitions and has a rhetorical tone speaking as he was alone the guide of the country in contrast with the first communication in which the facts, decisions and guidelines were presented as the result of a choral decision.

As for the day-after newspapers, in the Italian headings only one out of eight refers to Conte's speech, in the Finnish newspaper three headings out of seven. Interestingly, no war or military terms are now used. The attention is focused on the health emergency at a worldwide level and the lexical choice is more controlled and neutral. Only one title has a polemic flavour (title n.8) being a critical comment on the alleged lack of complete information on the pandemic.

The Finnish titles have a neutral tone as for the first set of titles. One title differs in this sense (n. 2), in which the tone is somehow sceptical of the hybrid strategy adopted by the government. In the Italian headings three out of eight use reported speech as a means of further authority and neutrality whereas in the Finnish ones only in one heading this strategy is adopted.

As a final note on the headings of the Italian and Finnish newspapers, we did not observe use of foreignism (excluded 'lockdown' in Italian) even if this is a commonly used strategy in newspaper headings.

4.7 Discussion

In this first part of the chapter, we reported on the COVID-19 situation in Italy and in Finland with specific attention to institutional risk communication. In particular, after reviewing the respective national situations so far, we analyzed four official communications of the Italian and Finnish governments, and specifically, the speeches of the two prime ministers, in two important moments of the health emergency started in 2020: the very beginning and the end of the first stage when there is a gradual loosening of the previous restrictions. We compared the Italian and Finnish discourses and the day-after headings on two major newspapers from a communicative perspective grounding our observations on six parameters that we identified as crucial for efficient institutional crisis communication. The analysis indicates that both prime ministers seem to have had reliable and efficient institutional communication, even if communicative strategies differ for some aspects: the Italian prime minister Giuseppe Conte had much longer, articulated and rhetoric talks compared to the Finnish prime minister Sanna Marin. As for the day-after newspapers, the Finnish headings maintain a much more neutral and factual tone whereas the Italian ones sometimes use war and military jargon.

The element that emerges most significantly from the comparison of the communication strategy used by the two premieres is the different use of social media which helps shape the general communication strategy. Over the last decade, political communication has developed heavily on social media to implement strategies to increase consensus. The use of social networks by international and local politicians is crucial for both practical and strategic reasons. Social networks allow them to have direct contact with the electorate, being able to address different groups of voters simultaneously and

with a number of diversified messages (according to the platforms used) is certainly one of the main advantages of political social media marketing. During the greatest spread of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the communication plan has assumed an even more crucial value. World leaders had to manage an unprecedented situation that generated a sense of bewilderment among the citizens. During international crises, trust in government is expected to increase irrespective of the wisdom of the policies it pursues. This phenomenon has been called a *rally-round-the-flag* effect (Muller, 1970). It explains the natural tendency of citizens to increase their trust in the political leader during times of crisis. This tendency was noted in moments of high tension such as the Cuban missile crisis or the attacks of 11th September 2001. Despite the different nature of this pandemic, the emergence of this tendency is -firstly- still noticeable and -secondly- amplified by a massive use of social media by political leaders. As for Italy, Giuseppe Conte has definitely focused on a communicative style emphatically centred on his figure: his press conferences were held at evening news time and they took place mainly on social media where he maintained his paternal and warm tone of voice. Some of the statements he pronounced sounded like commercial claims e.g. *Rimaniamo distanti oggi per riabbracciarci con più calore domani* and the above-mentioned *Se ami l'Italia, mantieni le distanze*. He used these phrases in the press conferences at first, and then they widely echoed from one social platform to another. Contrastingly, the choice to rely exclusively on institutional channels and leave to her Facebook profile a different role in the management of the crisis is perpetrated by Sanna Marin, despite the spread of the health emergency.

4.8 Mass self-communication in a hybrid system

Political communication is simultaneously the subject of study by sociologists, political scientists, mass media scientists, linguists, anthropologists, semiologists, historians, and philosophers. For this reason, the science of political communication cannot be said to be owned by a single academic perspective, but it carries multidisciplinary nature and has acquired its own scientific identity, which in recent decades has become increasingly defined thanks to the exponential growth of the analytical and empirical contributions of cross-national comparative research. In the last two decades, the world of media and politics has changed profoundly because of economic globalization, incalculable changes in lifestyles, and, last but not least, the pandemic.

Many of today's political-media phenomena are the result of processes started years ago, certainly with different speeds and modalities from one country to another, but scholars of the past have reflected upon it and tried to explain which research and theories are still largely useful today. In this regard, for instance, Bennett and Iyengar recall how this need to adapt our tools of knowledge was felt even at the time of the transition to mass society and mass communication, approximately a century ago. Today “the transition to the personally mediated society requires us to observe where old and new situations mark the processes of political communication” (Bennett, Iyengar 2008).

It is therefore essential to take a look at the identification of who are the actors on the ground, that is, the media institutions, political institutions, and citizens. Their

interactions produce effects on systems, cognitions, behaviors, around which many theories have been developed over the years. Crucial in this development of the concept of political communication is the origin and transformation of the model of the *public space* or *public realm* as Arendt calls it, and of the liberal model of the *bourgeois public sphere*, as Habermas prefers to call it. These models see in the public of citizens the depository of the structures and processes of democracy: the control and management of power, the representation of the popular will, discussion and public opinion and, publicity. In the face of an evident weakening of traditional political communication, the potential of interactive and digital media to improve communication between all actors and enrich democracy appears evident (Coleman and Blumler, 2009).

We are facing a paradigm shift, from mass communication to disintermediated communication, which takes the form of a digital public sphere in which the public space for discussion is enlarged and includes all three actors of political communication, engaged in an equal game of influences, in which politicians and the media have lost much of their top-down power and traditional gatekeeping. As Mazzoleni stated, in the digital and interactive public sphere, as the asymmetry of mass communication and the centrality of the political actor diminish, the Habermasian model of public discussion comes to better represent the political-media ecosystem that characterizes the current phase of political communication (Mazzoleni, 2015).

Amongst all three actors involved, considered in the sense of real systems: the political system, the media system, and the citizen-voter system, we can recognize

that the concept linked to the media has undergone the most profound transformation in recent decades. In fact, for a long time, it has been associated with the set of media institutions that carry out activities of production and distribution of knowledge, that is the large mass media: television, radio, the press, books, films. The revolutionary network has made the notion of the *medium*, intended as a set of technological resources that connect and provide a channel for circulating symbolic content, even more complex. The word 'media' as a matter of fact now includes networks, platforms, and mobile applications which do not only mediate the production, distribution, and consumption of content, but - above all - they produce data. As many scholars of the field underline, we all must be aware of the fact that digital platforms and large groups that own social media today play a decisive role in the worlds of communication and information as they capture an enormous volume of public attention globally.

First and foremost political actors and political institutions are obliged to acknowledge and confront the capacity of mobilization and dialogue that digital citizens, online and offline, possess and manage themselves. For this purpose, we will consider two interesting reflections that are grafted on this new configuration of the media: firstly, the one proposed by Manuel Castells on '*mass self-communication*' (2009) and, secondly, the one developed by Andrew Chadwick on a '*hybrid system*' (2013; 2017).

Castells uses the concept of '*mass self-communication*' in a networked society to define a new form of communication, distinct from both interpersonal and mass communication and capable of reaching global audiences, where the message is self-

generated, the definition of the potential receivers is self-directed, and the retrieval of specific messages or content is self-selected (Castells, 2009: 55). The author stressed, however, that the spread of these horizontal networks did not erase the importance of vertical communication flows typical of mass communications, and how the economic, media and political elites were reorganizing themselves to maintain power even in the digital space, as we see later in the chapter.

In a networked society, it is important to note that the novel products of mass self-communicating nodes – which composed it – are not necessarily healthy to overall network functioning, nor intentionally in service to any grander process or vision (Cooley et al., 2021). Further, once novel products are introduced within the network, their artifacts can reoccur, be reinterpreted, and be re-introduced irrespective of spatial time and distance through the process of mass self-communication. Thus, the increases in information processing required by mass self-communication can create societal fractures by reinforcing biased interpretations of the environment.

Mass self-communication blurs the distinction between sender(s) and receiver(s), it often mimics the design functionality of the media platform. As a consequence, messaging often resembles the branding/advertising techniques allowable within the platform rather than a conversation. Mass self-communication renders message control impossible, as the number of access points and participatory nodes exercising agency disperses and democratizes system power. An enabling aspect of mass self-communication is that available media content can be reformatted in almost any form and transmitted across the entire network at essentially the speed of thought.

The theoretical model capable of effectively describing the environment of contemporary political communication is the one developed by Andrew Chadwick in 2013. According to the concept of a “hybrid media system” the arenas and actors of political communication must be considered as part of a single system where that older media and newer actors interact. This system is characterized by cycles of political information that give rise to multiple mixtures of actors, practices, genres, and technologies typical of both the digital and mass media environments (Mazzoleni, 2020). At the center of the conceptualization of this hybrid system, there is the intervention of multiple actors at various stages in the production, dissemination, and contestation of political information; in addition, they are not only politicians and journalists but also ordinary citizens and a wide range of subjects of various kind. All these actors act, directly and indirectly, through multiple media spaces and create an intrinsically hybrid information cycle. Chadwick's hybrid media system must therefore be understood in the relationship between technologies and social actors and is characterized by greater heterogeneity, instability, and also a more chaotic nature than in the past (McNair, 2006). This complexity and conflict, but the need for all the actors in the system to engage in a constant process of readjustment, configure the relationship between media, politics, and citizens is no longer an "ordered system", but rather an ecosystem of political communication (Esser; Pfetsch 2020).

Before the success of social media, the actors of the media system were media institutions or organizations that professionally dedicated themselves to the production and distribution of content, according to a *top-down* modality typical of

mass communication. Now, on the contrary, we no longer have a system characterized by a single axis (journalists-political elites) but a multi-axial dynamic emerges that offers opportunities for new media and political actors to exert influence in the dynamics of political communication, often with worrying implications.

In conclusion, both the concept of "hybrid media system" and the proposal to use the expression "media ecosystem", suggest how the internet and digital platforms have imposed a series of significant transformations in the logic and practices of political communication that they have determined greater fluidity, interdependence and the possibility for a wider and more heterogeneous set of subjects to exert influence on others and on the balance of power that runs through the whole environment. In this turbulent theoretical context in which traditional media intertwine with new ones, actors and spectators share the same stage, economic and also political power is based on the quantity of data acquired and exchanged on big tech platforms, the world has been shaken by such an event caused by the COVID19 pandemic with a gigantic communicative range that is contributing to change everyone's life and to accelerate, often even exacerbating, many dynamics and processes already underway. In the following pages, we will describe these dynamics and their consequences concerning some case studies.

4.9 Depoliticization and *rally around the flag* effect

The personalization of leadership has been going through Western democracies for three decades, but the experience of the pandemic has undoubtedly strengthened the visibility of the institutional figures in charge of managing the health crisis also from a communicative point of view. In Italy, the Prime Minister and the Presidents of the regions most involved (during the first wave, Attilio Fontana and Luca Zaia, presidents of the Lombardy and Veneto regions) did not hesitate to address the population directly, using tools that in several cases limited the rights of the opposition and the balance of information with a clear tendency to achieve more political communication outcomes. In the period 1-31 March 2020, the Agcom data on institutional political pluralism highlights a constant trend towards personalization of leadership, strongly exacerbated by the health crisis. Institutional figures - in particular, the Prime Minister - have monopolized television information within the news and the extra-Tg programs. As for the *speaking time*, that is the time in which the political-institutional subject speaks directly, Giuseppe Conte is the institutional subject who has intervened most during the news. This is true for the Rai channels (TG1: 32.85%; TG2: 11.22%; TG3: 15, 24%), for the Mediaset channels (TG4: 20.03%; TG5: 31.70%; StudioAperto: 20.93%), as well as for La7 (TGLa7: 32.75%), with a permanently higher presence in the news programs of RaiUno, Canale 5, and La7 which are the flagship networks of each television group¹⁰. The indications from

¹⁰ <https://www.agcom.it/documents/10179/18706755/Dati+monitoraggio+20-05-2020/76ed5ee1-e123-44e3-8800-ab98161b406c?version=1.0>

the All News channels (RaiNews, Tgcom24, and SkyTG24) that undoubtedly reflect the greater attention paid to the area most affected by the pandemic are quite different. Conte (26.72%), Gallera (7.34%), and Fontana (6.47%) are the institutional figures most present on RaiNews screens; on TGCom24 Gallera (19.55%) slightly exceeds Conte (18.13%), while in the third position is Fontana (7.40%). The latter figure is in line with that of SkyTG24 (Gallera: 28.39%; Conte: 19.01%; Fontana: 10.66%). In the extra-TG in-depth programs, the data relating to speaking time are much less homogeneous because here other governors and members of the opposition are given more visibility.

The spread of the Coronavirus was also accompanied by a progressive depoliticization of institutional communication. Technical authorities, scientists, and experts have massively entered within the government or regional task forces. They have also assumed a central role in the communication strategy of the institutions, being a constant presence in millions of Italian homes through the television medium which maintains its predominance as the most trusted news source for information about the COVID-19 in Italy (as we will see later in this chapter). Following rather different registers, the legion of experts has attained a specific space within the news and in the numerous programs on COVID-19.

Although many conspiracy theories on the origin and causes of the diffusion of the contagion have spread and are still spread through social media, the presence of scientists on television or in newspapers has certainly contributed to re-evaluate the role and trust in science, changing not only the relationship between experts and

citizens but also that between competence and political decision (Castellin, Palano 2020).

Similar dynamics - especially as regards personalization - have also characterized other political systems. Especially at the beginning of the crisis, there was an increase in the consensus for the leaders in the office of the respective countries. During international crises, support for the government is expected to increase even regardless of the wisdom of the policies it pursues (Kritzinger, Foucault et. al, 2021). This effect is commonly called the '*rally-round-the-flag*' effect¹¹. As international crises create unexpected and profound challenges to the status quo, such an increase in support for the government helps politicians in objectively bad times to enact specific emergency policies (Davis and Silver 2004). While political support is critical for society's functioning even under normal circumstances (Zmerli and van der Meer 2017), trust in the government in times of crisis becomes ever more important as it may serve as a resource for compliance with potentially life-saving measures (ibidem p. 1206).

In moments of serious crisis, such as terrorist attacks or natural disasters, it is quite common for citizens to strengthen their trust in the institutions that most represent the feeling of national unity hoping that they will be able to quickly lead the country outside the crisis. The global emergency generated by COVID-19 has caused a double crisis: the epidemiological and health crisis on the one hand, and the economic one generated by the restrictive impositions of governments to limit the spread of the

¹¹For a deeper discussion see Mueller, John E. (1970). 'Presidential Popularity from Truman to Johnson', *American Political Science Review* , 64:1, 18–34, and Mueller, John E. (1973). *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* . New York: John Wiley & Sons.

virus which consequentially have limited the freedom of movement of people and goods.

According to a Financial Times analysis of polling data, the coronavirus pandemic has boosted the poll ratings of almost every leading democratic leader around the world. The approval rating for the leaders of 10 of the biggest democracies has risen on average by nine points, according to an analysis of data from pollster Morning Consult¹².

Between 11 March (the day when the WHO declared a state of emergency) and 28 March, the approval of Boris Johnson (+ 18%), Justin Trudeau (+ 16%), Angela Merkel (+ 14%), Emmanuel Macron (+ 8%) grew sharply in the first phase of the fight against the Coronavirus. A figure that is much lower for Donald Trump (+ 3%). As evidenced by many surveys, and in particular the one conducted by Demos for the Political Atlas (published every month in Repubblica), the Conte 2 government has broken a new record in terms of a positive evaluation by Italians. An incredible 71% of respondents express a positive opinion on the government, a figure never recorded by the political Atlas in the last 10 years. Giuseppe Conte, therefore, have gained almost 30 %age points between February and March, going from 44% to 71% of positive opinions in the polls¹³.

In the last twenty years, western democracies have been confronted with many challenges, some deriving from long-lasting trends of change and some developing from a critical time in history. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the process of

¹² <https://www.ft.com/content/c7f5a8bc-eb0e-45e5-a080-bbfd6d317def>

¹³ <https://www.youtrend.it/2020/03/20/sondaggio-demos-gradimento-per-conte-alle-stelle/>

democratization has undergone serious moments of crisis; but at the same time, a neoliberal hegemony has constrained the welfare state and pushed advanced democracies toward processes of ‘depoliticization’(Fawcett et al., 2017). The insurgence of far-right populist parties and the authoritarian backlash have further complicated the road toward democratization (Crouch, 2020). As we have seen earlier in this chapter, in those years, some trends have consolidated. For our discussion, we will take into consideration, especially, two of them. As stated in De Blasio and Selva (2021): first, the dissolution of political parties as a means for organizing social demands, confronting collective interests, and recruiting government executives has led to a “partyless democracy” (intended as in the definition of Mair, 2000)¹⁴. Second, personalization of politics begins with the individualization of political power in the hands of a single individual and necessitates the search for a direct relationship between the leader and his electorate (Viviani, 2015).

In this new scenario, elements such as the personality of the leader and the performative/communicative dimension of the process of consensus-building acquire more importance than ever (De Blasio et al. 2012, 2021). In critical times, in particular, the personality of the leader, his performance and discourse, can modify how the State is organized and – moreover – perceived. In this sense, crises not only open the possibility for a restructuring of social and political institutions but the narrativity emerging during such crises coincides often with the structural transformation of the state (Hay 1999; Jessop, 2016). As observed in De Blasio and

¹⁴ <https://newleftreview.org/issues/ii2/articles/peter-mair-partyless-democracy>

Selva, during the pandemic communicative acts have reacquired their capacity to shape the reality and ways of living as maybe happens in time of war only, in fact, what the government has announced during these crucial months have constituted the “new normality” of the COVID era in real-time.

In the next paragraphs, we will study the communication choices undertaken by Giuseppe Conte during the first wave of the pandemic in Italy then, we will analyze the structures, the discursive strategies, the lexical choices, the narrative frames and, the role of emotive communication. As in terms of discourse analysis, we will consider two definitions of discourse:

- 1) discourse as social action and interaction;
- 2) discourse as a social construction of reality, a form of knowledge¹⁵.

¹⁵ According to Halliday model (1978).

4.10 Conte: the man in charge

From February 2020, the choices made by Conte II Government and the Prime Minister's role during the COVID-19 emergency have profoundly shaken the stability of the Italian political system. A big difference has to be noted to fully understand the deep political transformation within the pandemic emergency in Italy.

Giuseppe Conte, in the course of the experience of the yellow-green Government (Conte I), has assumed a marginal role in the choices of the executive which he led. While the role of the Prime Minister during the first Government of the XVIII legislative term was mainly that of arbiter and moderator between the Government parties; in the Conte II executive, instead, the Premier has assumed a central role in Italian politics, to the extent of verticalizing to himself all the choices made by the cabinet and assuming the role of *de facto* holder of executive power.

One of the main turning points of Giuseppe Conte's prime ministerial experience has been the outbreak of the pandemic, a situation that has forced the executive to assume a greater and more permeating role in the life of the nation (La Spina, 2021).

The expansion of the role and prerogatives experienced by the Italian Prime Minister is embedded in the personalization of politics, as we have seen previously in this chapter, an element that has led the Prime Minister to not simply be a *primus inter pares* within the cabinet (Calise, 2006) but to become the most prominent figure within the executive (Musella, 2018) and the catalyst for mass media attention (Calise and Musella 2019). These dynamics were so accentuated by the outbreak of the pandemic that the Italian Parliamentary system ended up operating according to the

typical logic of a presidential regime (Rullo, 2020). From the very beginning of the pandemic specifically, Giuseppe Conte and his executive had to deal with the consequences of this health emergency, managing to attract to himself both the entirety of the executive and, above all, legislative power¹⁶. Thus, we have chosen to privilege communication by Giuseppe Conte as the main institutional source for many reasons.

First and foremost, Italy was the first Western and European country to be hit by the coronavirus emergency, it was also one of the most affected countries during the first phase. Given the gravity of the situation and the exposure of our country (unlike China, which has handled the matter differently), Italy was the first Western democracy to have to introduce restrictive regulations and a hard lockdown and manage the crisis in front of the entire worried world that was watching (and judging). Another element that makes the study of Giuseppe Conte's communication strategy even more interesting is represented by the fact that he is not a professional politician but was chosen - at first - also for his different origin (he is a lawyer and university full professor) and his lack of previous political experience. In the first speech presented to Parliament to gain trust, Conte himself declares that he never had political experience before his appointment and proclaims himself as “a lawyer for the protection of the interests of the Italian people”, a role that he will not claim in

¹⁶ The absence in our Constitution of norms which specifically and explicitly regulate situations of emergency (as in art. 116 of the Spanish Constitution, art. 48 of the Hungarian Constitution, art. 19 of the Portuguese Constitution, art. 16 of the French Constitution) has made it necessary to adapt the existing discipline to these new unforeseen events (La Spina).

his second programmatic speech. delivered in the Chamber of Deputies on 9th September 2019.

Giuseppe Conte, in his institutional role, represents the highest political point of reference for emergency management and has the task to inform and communicate with the nation and, at the same time, to represent the Italian management model to the world. In this particular case of the pandemic, as stated in Fardini (2020):

[...] the role of politics is to apply the knowledge of science: acting on the life of Italians, changing it, to ensure the protection of public health represents the fullest level of the pragmatic function of politics in an emergency. Political action must be exercised along different dimensions: identifying the best strategies by balancing them with the demands and needs of a defenseless and fearful population in the face of the advance of the pandemic; evaluating the costs and benefits of the choices made, calculating the economic consequences of the lockdown and, to maintain the credibility of solid know-how (ibidem p.65).

All this also implies the use of an additional skill: communication. It is a matter of language, timing, and media used to transmit decisions, aimed at strengthening the sense of trust in institutional actions. In Conte's communication, some elements characterize the rhetoric adopted during phase 1 to support his credibility as Commander in Chief of the health emergency.

First of all, the hiring of an institutional register to speak to the nation: the first appearances from the civil protection headquarters have been soon replaced to declarations to the nation from the Sala dei Galeoni of Palazzo Chigi in compliance

with an institutional image sanctioned by the Italian and European flags always visible in the background.

Through specific lexical and morphosyntax choices applied within his speeches, especially in the first phase, he tries to underline the emergency state in which Italy finds itself. This precise condition of emergency, although caused by an objective and unknown external event (especially in the first phase), allows the Prime Minister to ensure that his choices and the imposition of certain prohibitions are perceived by the public as legitimized by the emergency and, above all from, his role. In particular, by the controversial use of the D.P.C.M. (*decree of the presidente del consiglio dei ministri*), and their systematical implementation during the emergency state, Conte manages to dominate the situation and obscure, at least for a while, all the other characters of the Italian political and institutional scene. It is explanatory, for instance, that from the declaration of the state of emergency on January 31 to May 18, the Premier signed 16 d.P.C.M. completely bypassing the legislative role of the Parliament. This situation attracted not a few criticisms also from the various local autonomies that complained of having been completely deprived of all their constitutional attributions (Musella, 2020). As mentioned in Baldi (2021), the protracted use until - July 2020 - of these D.P.C.M. which have to be considered acts of “uncertain legal nature” (Brunelli, 2020), has been widely criticized also by constitutionalists (Cassese, 2020), however, Conte found the support of the main media, newspapers and national televisions (Castellin, Palano, 2020).

Conte’s language reiterates his approach to the emergency: his responsibility and the responsibility of citizens (‘respect the efforts required’), his strong sense of

solidarity towards citizens ('nobody saves himself alone'), and especially towards health workers and doctors on the front line (he opens a press conference by declaring his admiration towards doctors and nurses and openly thanking them)¹⁷, the repetitive affirmations of transparency regarding data and the application of provisions ("This government does not work with the favor of darkness")¹⁸.

The element that stands out the most is the recurring lexical choices involving the word '*emergency*' ("coping with the emergency", "epidemiological emergency from COVID-19", "Covid emergency", "health emergency", "duration of the emergency", "dealing with coronavirus emergencies", "emergency phase", "This emergency", "emergency state"), the repeated use of the term also imposed a specific narrative and interpretative frame.¹⁹

According to social psychology (Cusano, 2002), an emergency appears as a threat that suddenly becomes concrete from being perceived; it is a situation that ontologically requires a quick and urgent response here and now (in the present).²⁰ It is accompanied by the feeling of not being adequately prepared to face it, not only in the exceptionality of the case but also structurally; as a phenomenon that can present itself in different degrees or levels, which depend on the context; as an emotional response characterized by anxiety and fear.

¹⁷ 11th March 2020

¹⁸ The original 'Questo governo non lavora con il favore delle tenebre'.10th April 2020

¹⁹ The original Italian:"fronteggiare l'emergenza", "emergenza epidemiologica da COVID-19", "emergenza Covid", "emergenza sanitaria", "durata dell'emergenza", "affrontare le emergenze del coronavirus", "fase emergenziale", "questa emergenza", "stato emergenziale").

²⁰ Cusano,M. 2002 President of the SIPEM (Società Italiana di Psicologia delle Emergenze) psicologia

By encompassing all these elements, emergence offers not only a very precise frame of interpretation of the facts, but a series of implications that the sender of the message asks the recipient to accept, not infrequently uncritically, also due to the speed and effectiveness required by the interventions. Thanks to the construction of this narrative frame (understood in the sense of Goffman²¹) based on emergency and fear which is counterbalanced by the tone of voice of his rhetoric that is sometimes paternalistic, proud, and almost pitiful, Conte manages to gain points in the appreciation of the public. From being ‘the puppet’ of Italy’s two deputy prime ministers, Matteo Salvini and Luigi Di Maio as the MEP Guy Verhofstadt - who leads the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe party addressed him in 2019²² - he becomes the skilled ‘puppeteer’²³.

The insistence on the first person plural is worthy of mention both in verbal inflection and in the use of possessives. One of the most frequent words in his speeches is the verbal form ‘we must’, meaningful not only as an expression of the deontic modality (the state of affairs on which the utterance relates is presented as necessary, obligatory) but also for empathy expressed by the inflection in the first person plural, with which Conte is placed on the same level (indeed, ‘in the same boat’, as he mentioned in one of his speech) of the fellow citizens he is addressing (and not surprisingly the majority of verbs inflected in his discourses is precisely in the first person plural: we are, we have, we leave, we can, we sneeze, etc...). Conte uses the repetition of the possessive of our first-person plural (‘our DNA’, ‘our country’, ‘our

²¹ Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.

²² <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/13/mep-guy-verhofstadt-calls-italian-premier-giuseppe-conte-puppet-sparking-angry-exchange>

²³ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/COVID-19-relevance-l-italie-de-giuseppe-conte-se-releve-20200802>

goal', 'our effort', 'our value' etc...), reaffirming his solidarity with his fellow citizens.

The overall tone of voice in his discourse is that of a caring, reassuring commander, in solidarity with the citizens, he is human, even paternalistic, as his tweet of March 19, 2020, on the occasion of Father's Day clearly expresses: "The value of a hug, the importance of looking into each other's eyes, the warmth of a handshake. My best wishes to all the fathers of Italy, especially those who are now distant from their children. Soon we will be back to hug each other tighter than before. Happy Father's Day"²⁴. According to Baldi, in general, governments have fostered intense media coverage of the dangers at the base of restrictive political choices, while people have concretized in acts and behaviors a strongly repressed frustration of anxiety and fear in all this communication has played a crucial role. The case of the COVID-19 pandemic introduces the theme of fear into a national and global framework in which the governing bodies, the media, and the population are the space for the communication process (Baldi, 2021).

According to the survey of AGI (2020), in the premier's comforting communication the most used union of words is "*emergency together*", but we can find also the word "facebook" with repeated invitations to follow his Facebook live feeds (as a common influencer). The elements that weaken Conte's institutional credibility have precisely to do with the times and places of communication, crucial choices in terms of the effectiveness of his messages. The DCPM #IoRestoaCasa (on 10 March 2020) that

²⁴ The original tweet in Italian: "Del valore di un abbraccio, dell'importanza di guardarsi negli occhi, del calore di una stretta di mano. Il mio augurio a tutti i papà d'Italia, in particolare a quelli che oggi sono distanti dai propri figli. Presto torneremo a stringerci più forte di prima. Buona festa del papà".

extends the red regions to the whole of Italy is the beginning of a succession of measures, adjustments, extensions that commit Conte in an excess of press conferences, away from a more controlled and moderate institutional communication model, capable of predicting and preventing the panic reactions of the population in the face of sudden restrictions such as traffic bans. The basic appeal of the slogan #iorestoacasa is convincing on a cognitive level for reasons drawn from the medical-scientific discourse, on the other hand, it struggles to have an effective grip on the patemic one, compromising its pragmatic effectiveness in the medium-long term.

On 21 March, the announcement of an upcoming speech by the Prime Minister initiates a long wait from journalists and citizens, up to the live broadcast from his Facebook profile, which began at 10.30 pm. Conte's emotional anticipation of the new closure measures (DCPM of 22 March 2020), without a press conference and therefore clarifications on the sectors to be closed, generates disorientation and confusion in the citizenry. A strong protest reaction arises from various fronts to denounce the loss of that timeliness and completeness that should be typical of institutional information. On April 26, President Conte returns to speak to the nation to illustrate the new DCPM that takes Italy to phase 2 of emergency management: this time the communication correctly assumes the institutional role of the main television news organizations, among which the first network of the public service. What is clouded, however, is the language penalized by the uncertainty in defining limits to the restart of the Italian phase 2, of which the semantic (and affective) uncertainty of the term “congiunti”²⁵ is emblematic expression.

²⁵ Closed ones

Institutional communication has not proved capable of meeting a heterogeneous degree of linguistic and digital competence. The use of complex, unclear, and often inaccurate formulas has generated exclusion and the aforementioned confusion; the reading of the indices used to analyze the level of comprehensibility of a given message confirmed the scarce or difficult intelligibility of the key information for the enjoyment of the economic, social and cultural rights of citizens. Many individuals have not been able to understand what their rights are and how to exercise them. moreover, the continuous introduction of changes to the restrictive measures has generated general disorientation in the attempt to understand what were the lawful or appropriate behaviors to adopt. Essential information that, however, could reach the recipients with difficulty due to the communication choices adopted.

4.11 Social media strategy during the pandemic

As we have already seen in this discussion, the Internet and social media platforms have changed political communication and brought the personalization process to its peak, with the advent of social media, politics has entered a new era where traditional actors - parties, trade unions, and elites - are replaced by unpredictable protagonists and networks of relations. With the massive use of the web and social media, political leaders not only gain corporeality but personally conquer a media space, creating an individual personal brand linked to one's personality and political character, which reaches the attention of millions of potential voters. Social networks have transformed the political reality into a perennial electoral campaign, where every post, tweet, comment related to political issues potentially becomes an attempt to obtain consensus. In this regard, a recent phenomenon is that of the political consensus built through the use of big data. It is common for most contemporary politicians to use and analyze large amounts of data extracted from social media to establish political strategies.²⁶

According to this process of 'humanization of politics' (Pombeni, 2020), around the world leaders can present themselves as ordinary men thanks to the private use of social platforms. The opportunity offered to the political leader to be able to communicate personally at any time of the day with the population, showing even the most intimate sides of his life, completely excludes the participation of the party

²⁶ The 2008 scandal of Cambridge Analytica, the British consultancy that operated in data management to influence election campaigns, led to a great deal of public and media attention.

which merely remains in the background and does not intervene in the direct relationship between the leader and his electorate.

Giuseppe Conte, originally known for his low profile, both offline and online, has considerably increased his use of digital platforms in a successful attempt to establish direct contact with citizens. He has even strengthened his strategy on social media, managing the emergency he gained the opportunity to expose himself centralizing all the visibility to strengthen his public image and amplify the consensus. All the announcements and information are disseminated not by press releases, not by institutional websites, and not even by the social channels of Palazzo Chigi, but directly from Giuseppe Conte's personal Facebook page. This communicational strategy seemed to be efficient at first, as the premier's social channels grew enormously: 1,196,000 more followers on Facebook, 398,000 more on Instagram, and 118,000 more on Twitter in a week. As regards Twitter, for instance, Conte published 129 tweets in March alone, with 71 thousand shares, reaching a peak in retweets on March 22.

This type of hypertrophic communication strategy has given good results in the short term but has proved counterproductive in the long term. The Italian Prime Minister seems to choose to put his personal communication strategy before the institutional role he holds. One had the impression that a kind of delusion of communicative omnipotence pervaded the person of the premier when, for instance, he decided to announce the decrees that he has not yet signed announcing very delicate measures logging on to Facebook late at night.

In conclusion, the communication from President Giuseppe Conte was characterized by an ambivalent emotional repertoire: on the one hand, the issues of preparing the health system and the effectiveness of containment measures were addressed with a mitigation strategy aimed at inducing trust and tranquility. On the other hand, the issue of economic support for businesses and families have been much more dramatized (De Blasio, Selva 2021). Conte tries to build a relationship of empathy with citizens, showing that he understands and shares their difficulties and their sacrifices. He is always at the center of the scene to explain, in the most direct and disintermediate way possible, the actions taken and how the decision was reached. The dramatization of a relationship of empathy between the government and the citizens is functional to the legitimation strategies for the policies adopted; in this way, anyone who criticizes the leader or his decisions would appear to be insensitive to the suffering suffered by citizens.

Moreover, in the relationship with local authorities, regions, and opposition forces, a sort of emotional mitigation is preferred, aimed at attenuating the political conflict (according to the aforementioned mechanism known as rally round the flag): appeals to national unity, collaboration, dialogue, and transparency are used, or rather exhibited, frequently. It is in the relationship with international partners, especially European ones, that Conte's communication acquires greater drama. Negotiations with the European Union and with the heads of state of the various member countries are the real challenge that Italy must face. On this issue, we found a complete symbolic overlap between the success of the leader in the negotiations and the

salvation of Italy: the personal qualities exhibited by the leader (determination, pride, ability to see) are indicated as decisive.

In the short term, the former prime minister's popularity has benefited from this communication strategy. However, the medium to long-term consequences that can be glimpsed concern the affirmation of an emotional paradigm detached from the context of the crisis, which affects not only political leaders but also those anchoring structures that hold democratic institutions firmly. In particular, within the traditional methods used in political communication to strengthen accountability, the use of an emotional register is becoming increasingly central, to the detriment of the transparency of decision-making procedures. Furthermore, as this trend is coherently placed in a highly polarized and fragmented public sphere.

Conclusions

In the first part of this dissertation, we tried to highlight the effectiveness of storytelling as a powerful and persuasive communication tool in different contexts. We have seen how this kind of communicative approach allows the creation of a symbolic universe potentially shared by the public, with which not only can it recognize itself, but with which it can interact. In the first chapter the fundamental theories of narration and their evolution is taken into consideration, as well as the evolution of the consumer into prosumer and the sociological and economic consequences that emerged. We have seen how narrative content can be exploited using different mediums and the massive potential of social networks. Today storytelling is successfully used in the economic and pedagogical sciences as well as in political communication, as we have seen later in the discussion: it is a form of discourse that is imposed in all sectors of society and transcends political, cultural, and professional boundaries. In the second chapter, we have seen how the disruptive revolution brought by the internet and social media platforms has had major repercussions in the conceptualization of the world of information and many of its dynamics. In the last decade, we have had remarkable studies focused on digital media environments and, consequently, many new fields of application and research studies have spread. In this chapter, we have seen how the accessible democratic nature of social media platforms opens to everyone the territories once lead by the mass media, official sources of political parties, organizations, and governmental institutions. Furthermore, we have explored some of these unique dynamics and phenomena examining how social media have been involved by and

have contributed to constructing the theoretical frame of the global pandemic caused by Coronavirus. In terms of Communication Crisis Theories and Communication Management, we have then considered five main aspects of the nature of the pandemic that has shaped the communicative dimension, considering two traditional approaches to formal validity in terms of semantic clauses and truth preservation, and syntactic organization, in terms of rules of inference and the availability of proofs. In the third chapter, the aspects that we have considered are the primary role of social media in the construction of meaning and topics about the virus, the changes in media consumption during the pandemic, the changes in crises communication management brought by digital media, the spread of information disorders fostered by the new information environment and some of the communicative framings emerged during the pandemic. After having exposed some of the phenomena related to the spread of the internet and social media that have contributed to the creation of a pervasive and immaterial narrative universe, in this chapter we have dealt closely with the concept of mediated reality. Then, we have looked at those phenomena identified under the label of *information disorders* which are partly the result of these technological transformations.

In the fourth chapter we have analysed many phenomena and changes in terms of political communications that have been the subject of many cross-sectional types of research. As we have seen, the pervasive use of digital media has led to different dynamics and the birth of new approaches also in this area. Not only that, but the study of such a particular and multifaceted event as the pandemic caused by COVID-19 represents specifically a prolific and extremely interesting field from

many points of view: media, political leaders, journalistic narrative, and the effects on the world population. In this chapter, we will therefore discuss some of these new dynamics in the broad frame of the narration of the pandemic investigating micro case studies.

In the first part of the fourth chapter, we have focused on institutional communication in a period of crisis. In particular, we were interested in the communications of the Italian and Finnish governments during the health emergency raised by the COVID-19 pandemic. We analyzed and compared press releases given by the Italian and Finnish Prime Ministers at the very beginning and the end of the so-called first stage of the pandemic. The analysis aims at describing the effectiveness of the speeches applying six parameters that we previously identified as crucial for efficient communication, and exploring the lexical choice of the Prime Ministers in relation to it. In the second part of the chapter, we have taken into consideration the communication strategy - both online and offline - adopted by Giuseppe Conte in the first phase of the first year of the pandemic, confronting it with the new definitions and new theoretical model capable of effectively describing the environment of contemporary political communication respectively developed by Manuel Castels and Andrew Chadwick.

The experience of the global crisis we are still facing will leave deep traces on our societies, on operating methods of governments, and the dynamics of communication and politics. With the ambitious aim of predicting future directions - as far as possible - it is, therefore, useful to reconsider the communication strategies adopted by government authorities (and in particular by the Italian

executive) in the first stage, as well as the response of the citizens in the first months of the emergency.

Considering retrospectively the dynamics of Italian political communication in the first two months following the outbreak of the epidemic, the emergency would therefore seem to have strengthened, also from a communicative point of view, that tendency towards personalization of leadership which for many years - for a multiplicity of factors previously analyzed - marks the Western democracies.

At the same time, to a much greater extent than in other contexts (even concerning Finland, for example), the Italian government has however focused on a strategy of depoliticization of institutional communication, which it has assigned to technical authorities - scientists and experts - a non-secondary role. Words and, in general, symbolic devices produce an emotionally strong response only in those who are sensitive to certain solicitations by belonging to the group or by social role. After all, the political language operates the selection of morphosyntactic and semantic modules, identifies figures of words and argumentative systems, it employs intonational traits and pragmatic mechanisms to attract the attention of recipients and to encourage their adherence to selected opinions and programs (Baldi, 2020).

In the last decade, it has often been heard - with even different meanings - of populism intended here as the immediate and direct relationship between the charismatic leader and the people that is privileged as opposed to representative democracies. This tendency finds a natural landing in the network which, due to its characteristics, makes communication dialogic and fast. The use of technological tools directs towards a more detached, cold, and rational communication, but the

grammar of the medium largely modifies also the content conveyed. If in the past, television has redesigned the language, the model, and role of the politician, now the Internet has the primary role to impose ways and tones, forms and, contents underling the emotional element through the evocation of symbolic universes through language.

In this regard, the health emergency and the need to be understood have directed the language on Conte's social networks towards a simple lexicon, an immediate syntax built around short periods and sparing use of subordinates. In the speeches, instead, extensive use is made of repetition with anaphoras and, anadiplosis to mark the gravity, the solemnity, and the emotional suggestion of the moment.

In the very first phase of the emergency (February-March 2020), the response of citizens was largely positive, with a significant increase in trust in political authorities but also in technicians, while the gradual change in the climate of opinion, starting in April 2020, seemed to herald a gradual return to pre-Covid confidence levels.

For this reason, it is unlikely to expect from the post-pandemic scenario a clear reversal of the consolidated trend concerning the crisis of legitimacy and confidence that has been wearing down parties and institutions for about thirty years.

Thus, it is plausible that the experience of the pandemic will give a further acceleration to the transition towards a 'hybrid democracy' (Diamanti, 2014).

Even in this case, the indications offered by the first months of the crisis are conflicting. In front of the emergency, while the fear of contagion exploded among

the public opinion, Italians in search of reliable news turned mainly to generalist television, confirming the centrality of the public service.

At the same time, the measures of social distancing, the use of remote working, teaching, and distance learning began to give a decisive acceleration to the use of social media and the mechanisms of even stronger individualization of the media diet. After the analysis of multiple social, technological, political, and communicative aspects along with this dissertation, we can easily assume that these transformations tend to become structural and consolidate even after the end of the emergency. Moreover, these transformations are also deeply affecting – maybe definitely - the logic and expressions of political communication.

The penetration of technology into the lives of Western citizens could indeed lead us towards a hybrid communicative context (as we have discussed earlier in the chapter), similar to a sort of *bubble democracy* as Palano defined it (2020)²⁷. According to the author, the context of the bubble democracy is very different from the one identified by Manin as *audience democracy*²⁸ (1997). In the context of the bubble democracy, the mistrust in the political class deepens, the communication scenario is above all modified by the weakness of the political parties and, the fragmentation of the public - as a result of the structural changes in the media - offers and individual strategies for managing the information overload.

Social distancing has in many ways forced a part of the Western population to a sort of accelerated (digital) literacy, concerning new ways of entertainment and

²⁷ Palano, D. 2020. *Bubble democracy. La fine del pubblico e la nuova polarizzazione*, Morcelliana, Brescia.

²⁸ Manin, B. 1997. *The Principles of Representative Government*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

information – exacerbating the tendency to the *infotainment* phenomenon – which is almost certainly destined to contribute to that fragmentation of the audience into a myriad of bubbles. And, as far as the more strictly political implications are concerned, it cannot be excluded that the proliferation of self-referential niches will end up favoring dynamics of political polarization since closure in the bubble would seem to reinforce radicalization and centrifugal forces.

During the crisis deriving from the COVID-19 pandemic - indeed a meta-crisis, as it has been defined for its ability to contain and generate many others - Italy has been a forerunner for other European countries, inaugurating new practices of governance and emergency communication. Beyond words, communication is also made up of emotional exchange; moreover, in the context of ideological fragmentation typical of the post-public sphere, emotions themselves become a necessary vehicle for building a relationship between citizens and institutions. It is no coincidence that many authors have supported the need to replace or combine the concept of *public opinion* with that of *public emotion*.

Appendix ²⁹

Transcription of Giuseppe Conte extracted from his speeches

22.02.2020

Scusate per l'orario. Ci rendiamo conto di aver finito molto tardi quindi ci scusiamo anche per l'attesa. Abbiamo lavorato sino ad ora, è tutta la giornata che siamo impegnati per una riunione qui nella sede della Protezione Civile per aggiornarci costantemente su quelli che sono i dati, le informazioni sulla diffusione del coronavirus e all'esito di questa giornata, di questo pomeriggio di confronto poi abbiamo convocato un Consiglio straordinario dei Ministri, che abbiamo tenuto qui in questa sede per ragioni pratiche, all'esito del quale abbiamo adottato un decreto legge contenente delle misure in materia di contenimento e gestione di questa emergenza epidemiologica. Lo scopo è quello di tutelare il bene della salute degli italiani, il bene che ci sta più a cuore, quello che nella gerarchia dei valori costituzionali è sicuramente al primo posto, poi ci sono tanti altri interessi, beni costituzionalmente tutelati, ma non c'è dubbio che questo all'integrità psico fisica e alla salute sia al primo posto in una ideale gerarchia di valori. Io, prima di illustrare in dettaglio i contenuti di questo provvedimento, voglio rivolgere un grato ringraziamento non solo ai Ministri, con i quali ovviamente abbiamo un già consolidato affiatamento e qui in particolare con il ministro Speranza che tanto si sta prodigando in questi ultimi giorni, in queste ultime settimane, ma rivolgo anche un sentito ringraziamento agli operatori sanitari di sicurezza direttamente coinvolti in questa emergenza, alle donne agli uomini della Protezione civile, qui c'è il dottor Borrelli, alle autorità sanitarie e alla mia sinistra c'è il presidente Brusaferrò dell'Istituto Superiore di Sanità, medici, infermieri, ricercatori, personale, ripeto, delle Forze armate e della Protezione Civile, che sta lavorando, è ovviamente molto impegnato per garantire le condizioni di massima sicurezza e impedire che vi possa essere da questi contagi già accertati un'ulteriore diffusione di questo virus. C'è un filo diretto di confronto, di dialogo che unisce il Governo, il particolare il Ministero della Salute e il suo comitato tecnico scientifico, poi i territori regionali, quindi il governo regionale, e ringrazio in particolare i Presidenti delle Regioni più direttamente interessate: il presidente

²⁹ In this appendix you will find the transcripts of Giuseppe Conte's speeches used to conduct part of the analysis in this study; you will also find the headlines of some Italian newspapers that served the same purpose. I reserve the right to use material that will be used to conduct further research in the near future.

Fontana della Regione Lombardia e il presidente Zaia della Regione Veneto, perché con loro c'è un'intensa collaborazione e abbiamo lavorato sino all'ultimo per concordare anche le misure, gli strumenti più efficaci. Prima di addentrarmi vorrei anch'io, anche se qui ci sono esperti, e sono tecnici che sono ben più informati e competenti di me, però vorrei solo dare un segnale e un'informazione generale ai cittadini, alla popolazione. In questo momento molti, come anche il sottoscritto, si sono chiesti: come mai in Italia così tanti casi che vengono scoperti peraltro tutti d'un tratto? Noi abbiamo adottato, l'abbiamo sempre detto e lo confermo, una linea di massima precauzione. Siamo nell'ambito dei paesi occidentali dove ovviamente gli standard delle prestazioni sanitarie, della tutela della salute sono più elevate, siamo il paese che ha adottato le misure più garantiste, più efficaci e di massima sicurezza. Ricorderete che siamo il paese che ha disposto la interdizione del traffico aereo da e per la Cina; il giorno dopo, siamo agli inizi di febbraio, abbiamo disposto una dichiarazione con decreto al Consiglio dei Ministri dell'emergenza nazionale e da allora abbiamo effettuato una serie di rigorosi controlli. Questi rigorosi controlli quindi nascondono un lavoro certosino, un lavoro puntiglioso, meticoloso di verifiche e di controlli a cura, ovviamente, del personale sanitario che da noi è assolutamente eccellente. E anche sono questi controlli, questa linea di rigore, di massima cautela che oggi ci consente di disvelare questi casi di contagi e quindi l'accuratezza di questi controlli che ci spinge oggi a registrare questi numeri. perché non dimentichiamo che stiamo parlando di una sintomatologia che facilmente si confonde con quella che può essere considerata addirittura una banale influenza, semmai particolarmente debilitante, o con un principio di polmonite che è assimilabile, è solo quindi un controllo effettuato col tampone che ci consente di accertare e di riscontrare se la persona sia positiva al coronavirus e noi, vi assicuro, che stiamo effettuando centinaia e centinaia di controlli coi tamponi. Di qui il numero elevato nel nostro paese di casi. Però oggi, scoperti questi casi, ci siamo resi conto che dobbiamo anche adottare delle misure di contenimento. Il Decreto Legge ci consentirà di intervenire, laddove già delle misure di cautela sono state adottate dal ministro Speranza e dal governatore interessato, Fontana o Zaia della Lombardia e del Veneto, ci consentirà anche di disporre delle misure ulteriori di contenimento per impedire l'allontanamento dal comune, dall'area interessata da parte degli individui che sono individuati come nelle aree in questo momento che possiamo considerare di focolaio, mi riferisco in particolare all'area del lodigiano, dove ci sono dieci comuni specifici interessati, e poi mi riferisco al comune di Vo' Euganeo in provincia di Padova nel Veneto, dove, come sapete, abbiamo accertato alcuni casi in questo piccolo comune. Al momento queste sono misure di contenimento degli spostamenti che riteniamo adeguate. Sembrerebbe proprio in queste ultime ore che una famiglia sottoposta in quarantena si sia allontanata per trasferirsi nel meridione. Ecco sono misure che dovrebbero impedire proprio questo, perché al di là del senso di auto responsabilità, al di là dei comportamenti di auto censura che si impongono agli individui, è bene che ci siano comunque delle misure impositive, che impediscano comportamenti che non sono assolutamente raccomandabili ai fini del contenimento del contagio. Non voglio, immagino che poi ci saranno anche delle domande, ma un'altra osservazione: le nostre misure di cautela sono sempre nel segno dell'adeguatezza della proporzionalità. Il dibattito politico sicuramente ci solleciterà a rispondere a come e perché avete adottato adesso queste misure, come e perché non le avete adottate prima, perché avete adottato queste e non altre? Noi le nostre valutazioni

le assumiamo su una base tecnico scientifica, non lavoriamo da soli, non riteniamo di essere depositari in questo campo, in questo settore di nessuna verità, c'è un comitato tecnico scientifico che ci offre le basi scientifiche di valutazione, su quelle basi noi ci assumiamo le conseguenti responsabilità per una decisione politica contemperando gli interessi della collettività e gli interessi di tutti, ma avendo sempre quale obiettivo, lo ripeto, la tutela della salute dei cittadini e per questo che oggi siamo in condizione, quindi, con questo Decreto Legge, di innalzare la soglia di tutela, intervenendo per circoscrivere meglio e poter tutelare le comunità direttamente interessate da questi focolai, poterle quindi accompagnare meglio anche nell'assistenza sanitaria. Credo di aver detto anche troppo, quindi, saremo sempre vigili, costanti, vi assicuriamo il massimo impegno, la massima determinazione, il massimo coraggio anche nell'adozione delle misure necessarie, sempre però considerando che è una situazione in continua evoluzione, quindi noi dobbiamo essere sempre pronti, nel segno dell'adeguatezza della proporzionalità delle misure, ad adottare, intervenire con nuove misure o rivedere quelle che già abbiamo previsto.

Grazie, ministro Speranza, ci dici anche tu qualcosa?

9.3.2020

Buonasera a tutti, vi comunico che abbiamo adottato una nuova decisione come governo su un presupposto. Siamo ben consapevoli di quanto sia difficile cambiare tutte le nostre abitudini, io stesso lo sto sperimentando per me con la massima comprensione quindi a questo punto di vista per tutti gli italiani, capisco le famiglie, i giovani, che nel tempo libero sono soliti andare nei centri commerciali e frequentare i propri coetanei e riempire i bar, ritrovarsi a gustare un aperitivo, un momento di socialità. Sono abitudini che ragionevolmente con il tempo alla luce delle nostre raccomandazioni potranno essere modificate, anche adattate alle esigenze, ma purtroppo tempo non ce n'è. I numeri ci dicono che stiamo avendo una crescita importante, dei contagi, delle persone ricoverate in terapia intensiva e sub intensiva e anche, ahimè, delle persone decedute in particolare ai loro cari va tutta la vicinanza del governo e, penso di poter interpretare, di tutti gli italiani. Le nostre abitudini, quindi, vanno cambiate, vanno cambiate ora, dobbiamo rinunciare tutti a qualcosa per il bene dell'Italia e quando parlo dell'Italia parlo dei nostri cari, dei nostri genitori, dei nostri nonni. Lo dobbiamo fare subito e ci riusciremo solo se tutti collaboreremo e ci adatteremo subito a queste norme più stringenti e per questo che ho deciso d'accordo con gli altri componenti al governo di adottare misure ancora più forti, ancora più stringenti per riuscire a contenere il più possibile, l'avanzata del Coronavirus e tutelare così la salute di tutti i cittadini, che vorrei ricordare è il nostro obiettivo primario, pur contemperando, cercando di contemperare, fin quando possibile anche altri interessi che meritano di essere tutelati, ma se la salute dei cittadini, la salute pubblica è un bene che è messo a repentaglio, noi siamo costretti a scegliere, a imporre dei sacrifici per quanto riguarda gli altri interessi pur meritevoli di tutela e per questo che sto per firmare un provvedimento che possiamo sintetizzare con l'espressione "io resto a casa". Non ci sarà più una

zona rossa, non ci sarà più la zona uno e la zona due della penisola, ci sarà l'Italia, un'Italia zona protetta. Saranno quindi da evitare su tutto il territorio della penisola, gli spostamenti, a meno che non siano motivati da tre specifiche circostanze: comprovate ragioni di lavoro, da casi di necessità o anche per motivi di salute. Aggiungiamo in questo provvedimento anche un divieto degli assembramenti all'aperto e in locali aperti al pubblico. Abbiamo e comprendiamo la voglia di socialità anche dei giovani, abbiamo visto tutti episodi, fotografie anche dove la movida, molto divertimento, si consumano anche delle bevande al di fuori dei locali dei bar. Non ci possiamo più permettere queste occasioni di aggregazione che diventano occasioni di contagio. Credetemi, non è facile, sono pienamente consapevole della responsabilità e anche della gravità nell'adottare queste misure per tutta la penisola, ma sono costretto ad intervenire in modo più deciso per proteggere tutti noi e soprattutto le persone più fragili e più vulnerabili. Viviamo in un sistema in cui noi garantiamo la sanità e il diritto alle cure, alla salute a tutti. È un fondamento, un pilastro e direi la caratteristica del nostro sistema di civiltà, non possiamo quindi permetterci su questo di abbassare la guardia. Oggi è il momento della responsabilità, noi tutti abbiamo una grande responsabilità. E voi cittadini tutti con me. Penso anche a tutti i medici, gli infermieri che sono in trincea in queste settimane, che lavorano senza sosta, stanno facendo di tutto, con turni molto impegnativi per assistere, curare le persone contagiate dal Coronavirus. Oggi nel prendere queste misure dobbiamo pensare anche a loro che rischiano, pensate con grande gesto di solidarietà, alla propria salute per curare la salute del prossimo. La decisione giusta oggi è quella di stare a casa, il futuro nostro dell'Italia è nelle nostre mani e queste mani devono essere mani responsabili, oggi più che mai. Ognuno deve fare la propria parte. Ed è per questo, quindi che da oggi varranno su tutto il territorio della penisola queste misure che noi abbiamo già predisposto per la parte settentrionale, come sapete Lombardia più province giusto qualche giorno fa. Abbiamo anche adottato in aggiunta un'altra misura per quanto riguarda le manifestazioni sportive a questo punto in questo contesto non c'è ragione per cui proseguano le manifestazioni, le gare e le manifestazioni sportive, penso al campionato di calcio. Quindi, dispiace dirlo, ma tutti anche tifosi, devono prenderne atto e non consentiremo neppure che possano essere utilizzate le palestre per ovviamente lo svolgimento di attività sportive.

11.3.2020

Vorrei cominciare ringraziando prima di tutto, ancora una volta, i medici, gli operatori sanitari, i ricercatori che, mentre vi parlo, stanno lavorando senza sosta negli ospedali per combattere l'emergenza sanitaria, per curare i nostri malati. Il mio grazie va anche a tutti voi, che state rispettando le misure che il Governo ha adottato per contrastare la diffusione del virus. Vi ringrazio perché so che state cambiando le abitudini di vita, state compiendo dei sacrifici, so che non è facile, ma sappiate che queste vostre rinunce – piccole o grandi – stanno offrendo grande contributo prezioso al Paese. L'Italia, possiamo dirlo forte, con orgoglio, sta dando prova di essere una grande nazione, una grande comunità, unita e responsabile. In questo momento

tutto il mondo ci guarda: certamente ci guardano per i numeri del contagio, vedono un Paese in difficoltà. Ma ci apprezzano anche perché stiamo dando prova di grande vigore, di grande resistenza. E io ho una profonda convinzione – e vorrei condividerla con voi – domani non solo ci guarderanno ancora, e ci ammireranno, ci prenderanno come esempio positivo di un Paese che, grazie al proprio senso di comunità è riuscito a vincere la sua battaglia contro questa pandemia. Siamo, lo ricordo, il Paese che per primo, in Europa, è stato colpito più duramente dal Coronavirus, ma siamo anche quelli che stanno reagendo con la maggior forza e con la massima precauzione, diventando giorno dopo giorno un modello anche per tutti gli altri. Governare significa avere una visione a 360 gradi: questa sfida, ormai lo sappiamo bene, riguarda la salute dei cittadini, è una sfida che mette a dura prova il nostro sistema sanitario nazionale, ma riguarda anche la tenuta della nostra economia, del nostro tessuto produttivo fatto di piccole e medie imprese. Nelle scelte che ho fin qui assunto abbiamo tenuto conto, insieme a tutti i ministri, di tutti gli interessi, di tutti i valori in gioco. Ho fatto un patto con la mia coscienza. Al primo posto c'è e ci sarà sempre la salute degli italiani. Soli pochi giorni fa vi ho chiesto di cambiare le vostre radicate abitudini di vita, rimanendo a casa il più possibile, uscendo solo lo stretto necessario. La stragrande maggioranza di voi italiani ha risposto in modo straordinario. 68 Quando ho adottato queste misure – che limitano anche alcune delle nostre amate libertà - ero consapevole che si trattava di un primo passo e ragionevolmente non sarebbe stato l'ultimo. che a breve sarebbe stato necessario un passo ulteriore. Oggi, è chiaro, siamo consapevoli che in un Paese grande, moderno, complesso, come il nostro, bisogna procedere gradualmente affinché tutti possano comprendere il difficile momento che stiamo vivendo e anche predisporre per accettare i cambiamenti richiesti. Ora, questo è il momento di compiere un passo in più. Quello più importante. L'Italia rimarrà sempre una zona unica. L'Italia protetta. Ma ora disponiamo anche la chiusura di tutte le attività commerciali, di vendita al dettaglio, ad eccezione dei negozi di generi alimentari, di prima necessità, delle farmacie e delle parafarmacie. Nessuna corsa, attenzione, non è necessario fare nessuna corsa quindi per acquistare cibo nei supermercati. Chiudiamo però negozi, bar, pub, ristoranti, lasciando la possibilità di fare consegne a domicilio. Chiudono anche parrucchieri, centri estetici, chiudono i servizi di mensa che non garantiscono la distanza di 1 metro di sicurezza. Per quanto riguarda le attività produttive e professionali, va attuata il più possibile la modalità del lavoro agile, vanno incentivate le ferie, i congedi retribuiti per i dipendenti. Restano chiusi i reparti aziendali non sono indispensabili per la produzione. Industrie, fabbriche, potranno ovviamente continuare a svolgere la propria attività produttiva a condizione che assumano protocolli di sicurezza adeguati a proteggere i propri lavoratori al fine di evitare il contagio. Sono incentivate le fabbriche e le industrie a predisporre misure che siano adeguate per reggere questo momento. Quindi regolazione dei turni di lavoro, ferie anticipate, chiusura dei reparti non indispensabili. Resta ovviamente garantito lo svolgimento dei servizi pubblici essenziali tra cui i trasporti, dei servizi di pubblica utilità dei servizi bancari, postali, finanziari, assicurativi nonché di tutte quelle attività necessarie, comunque accessorie, rispetto al corretto funzionamento dei settori rimasti in attività. Saranno garantite le attività del settore agricolo, zootecnico, di trasformazione agroalimentare, comprese le filiere che offrono beni e servizi rispetto a queste attività, quindi continueranno le loro attività nel rispetto ovviamente della normativa igienico-sanitaria. La regola madre rimane la stessa: dobbiamo limitare gli spostamenti alle

attività lavorative, per motivi di salute, o per motivi di necessità come il caso di fare la spesa. 69 È importante essere consapevoli che abbiamo cominciato da poco a cambiare le nostre abitudini, l'effetto di questo nostro grande sforzo potremo vederlo solo tra poche settimane, un paio di settimane. Nessuno quindi deve pensare che già domani, nei prossimi giorni, potremo misurare l'impatto di queste misure. Per avere un riscontro dovremo attendere un paio di settimane. E questo è molto importante, quindi lo voglio dire: se i numeri dovessero continuare a crescere – cosa niente affatto improbabile - non significa che dovremo affrettarci a varare subito nuove misure. Non dobbiamo fare una corsa cieca verso il baratro, dobbiamo essere lucidi, misurati, rigorosi, responsabili. A breve nominerò un commissario delegato per potenziare la risposta delle strutture ospedaliere a quest'emergenza sanitaria. Sarà un commissario che avrà ampi poteri di deroga, che lavorerà per rafforzare soprattutto la produzione, la distribuzione di attrezzature per terapie intensive e subintensive, avrà anche il potere di creare nuovi stabilimenti, di impiantare nuovi stabilimenti per la produzione di queste attrezzature e per sopperire alle carenze fin qui riscontrate. La persona che nominerò sarà il Dott. Domenico Arcuri, che è amministratore delegato di Invitalia, e si avverrà di questa struttura già consolidata, già esperta nel settore industriale. Si coordinerà con il dott. Borrelli e con la struttura attuale della Protezione Civile. Permettetemi di aprire una parentesi e di ringraziare tutte le donne e gli uomini della Protezione Civile, il dott. Borrelli per l'incredibile lavoro che stanno fin qui facendo. E voglio dirvi un'ultima cosa: se saremo tutti a rispettare queste regole, usciremo più in fretta da questa emergenza. Il Paese ha bisogno della responsabilità di ciascuno di noi, della responsabilità di 60 milioni di italiani che quotidianamente compiono piccoli grandi sacrifici. Per tutta la durata di questa emergenza. Siamo parte di una medesima comunità. Ogni individuo si sta giovando dei propri ma anche degli altrui sacrifici. Questa è la forza del nostro Paese, una "comunità di individui" come direbbe Norbert Elias. Rimaniamo distanti oggi per abbracciarci con più calore, per correre più veloci domani. Tutti insieme ce la faremo.

16.3.2020

Buongiorno a tutti, abbiamo appena concluso i lavori del Consiglio dei Ministri e questo è un passaggio importante, quello che c'è stato oggi, perché abbiamo approvato il decreto-legge contenente le misure economiche. Il Governo è vicino alle tante imprese, ai commercianti, ai liberi professionisti, alle famiglie, ai nonni e alle mamme, ai papà, anche ai giovani, che stanno facendo tutti enormi sacrifici per il bene comune, per il bene più alto che è quello della salute: la salute dei cittadini, la salute pubblica. Nessuno deve sentirsi abbandonato. È stato questo il nostro obiettivo fin dall'inizio e oggi questa deliberazione, questa approvazione del decreto-legge lo dimostra. Lo Stato è qui, le misure di sostegno e di spinta che sono state inserite in questo decreto ne sono concreta testimonianza. Concreta testimonianza della presenza dello Stato. Stiamo offrendo una nostra risposta anche sul terreno economico, possiamo quindi parlare di modello italiano non solo per quanto riguarda la strategia di contrasto alla diffusione del contagio, ma possiamo iniziare a

parlare anche di un modello italiano anche per quanto riguarda la strategia, la politica economica per far fronte a questa grande emergenza economica e sociale. Siamo stati i primi a mettere in campo qualcosa come 25 miliardi di euro di denaro fresco a beneficio del sistema economico italiano, a beneficio delle imprese, a beneficio delle famiglie. E attiviamo flussi, attenzione, per complessivi 350 miliardi. Questa è una manovra economica poderosa. Permettetemi di sottolinearlo: non abbiamo mai pensato e dimostriamo di non pensare di poter combattere un'alluvione con gli stracci, con i secchi, noi stiamo cercando di costruire, pienamente partecipi degli sforzi che tutti gli italiani stanno facendo, una vera e propria diga per proteggere imprese, famiglie e lavoratori. Su questa strada vogliamo che l'Europa ci segua. I segnali, i primi pronunciamenti sono importanti ma è chiaro che l'Italia è promotrice di un messaggio che si estende a tutte le istituzioni europee. Il ministro Gualtieri tra un po' – adesso lascerò la parola a lui – entrerà nell'Eurogruppo e io fra qualche minuto avrò una videoconferenza con il G7. L'Italia è in prima fila. Dobbiamo agevolare e sostenere gli Stati in questa fase facendo tutto quello che serve per aiutare i nostri cittadini. È una partita europea che va giocata a viso aperto con spirito 76 di collaborazione e una strategia condivisa di aiuto, di solidarietà vera ed effettiva che noi vogliamo mettere in campo. E confidiamo che tutti gli altri Stati membri ci seguiranno. Ancora, e concludo lasciando la parola al ministro Gualtieri, con questo decreto, forte e deciso nei numeri delle misure, noi non esauriamo il nostro compito per quanto riguarda gli interventi in campo economico. Siamo consapevoli che questo decreto non basterà ma voglio dire ai lavoratori, alle imprese e alle famiglie che oggi il governo risponde presente e risponderà presente anche domani. Domani ovviamente dovremo già predisporre nuove misure perché dovremo anche ricostruire un tessuto economico-sociale che viene fortemente intaccato da questa emergenza. Come? Con un piano di ingenti investimenti che dovremo ovviamente promuovere con una rapidità che il nostro Paese non ha mai conosciuto prima. Quindi semplificazione, innovazione, alleggerimento delle tasse. Concludo dicendo che sono davvero orgoglioso perché sono partecipe di questa grandiosa comunità che addirittura ho l'onore di guidare in questo frangente così complesso, così delicato per la nostra storia. Tanti italiani sono direttamente in trincea negli ospedali, nelle fabbriche, nelle farmacie, dietro le casse di un supermercato. Tanti rimangono a casa ma non rimangono inerti. Li sostengono da un balcone, da una finestra, cantano con loro, cantano l'inno nazionale. Possiamo essere davvero orgogliosi di essere italiani. Insieme ce la faremo.

26.4.2020

Buonasera a tutti inizia la fase 2 grazie ai sacrifici fin qui fatti stiamo riuscendo a contenere la diffusione della pandemia e questo è un grande risultato se consideriamo che nella fase più acuta addirittura sono stati dei momenti in cui l'epidemia ci sembrava sfuggire a ogni controllo avete manifestato tutti da nord e sud forza coraggio senso di responsabilità di comunità adesso inizia per tutti la fase di convivenza con il virus e dobbiamo essere consapevoli che in questa nuova fase la fase due la curva del contagio potrà risalire in alcune aree del paese dobbiamo dircelo chiaramente questo rischio c'è e dobbiamo assumerci lo dobbiamo

affrontarlo però con metodo e con rigore nella fase ii quindi sarà ancora più importante mantenere le distanze di sicurezza sarà fondamentale è il comportamento responsabile di ciascuno di noi segue se vuoi bene all'Italia devi evitare il rischio che il contagio si diffonda come lo puoi fare non bisogna mai avvicinarsi bisogna rispettare distanze in sicurezza almeno un metro questo è fondamentale e guardate anche nelle relazioni familiari con i parenti bisogna stare attenti perché bisogna rispettare questa precauzione teniamo conto che gli scienziati e gli esperti ci dicono che almeno un contagiato su quattro la causa di questo contagio e nelle relazioni familiari vogliamo tutti che il paese riparta ma l'unico modo per convivere in questa nuova fase con il virus e non ammalarci e la distanza sociale se non rispettiamo quindi la distanza se non rispettiamo le precauzioni la curva risalirà e poter andare fuori controllo aumenteranno i nostri morti i nostri defunti e avremo danni veramente a quel punto irreversibili per la nostra economia se ami l'Italia permettetemi di dirlo mantieni le distanze anche il governo ovviamente un compito specifico in questa nuova fase dovremo vigilare monitorare costantemente affinché questa curva si mantenga sotto controllo non risalga e dovremo essere pronti per intervenire in modo rapido efficace e tempestivo laddove l'andamento della curva epidemiologica dovesse diventare critico abbiamo predisposto un meccanismo adesso ve lo racconterò per tenere sotto controllo questa curva e per consentirci di intervenire laddove dovesse sfiorare momenti critici siamo tutti affrontando una prova molto dura anche nei prossimi mesi ci aspetta una sfida molto complessa e mi rendo conto che molti di voi dopo varie settimane di rinunce di privazioni vorrebbero un definitivo a allentamento delle misure delle restrizioni delle varie raccomandazioni possiamo quindi anche reagire negativamente in questa fase potremmo affidarci a risentimento perché no alla rabbia a ricercare un colpevole potremmo prendercela con chiunque gli capiti a tiro in famiglia con i familiari con l'europa con il governo con i politici con le regioni con la stampa non mancano le occasioni non manca l'elenco oppure invece possiamo operare un'altra scelta scacciare via rabbia risentimento pensare a cosa ciascuno di noi può fare per risollevare questa nostra comunità per consentire una più rapida ripresa dipende da noi dal compito che ciascuno di noi si sentirà di svolgere ciascuno di noi tutti indistintamente nelle prossime settimane nei prossimi mesi dobbiamo gettare le basi della ripartenza del paese dobbiamo rispettare quindi le raccomandazioni dobbiamo rimboccare l'arci le maniche e vi assicuro che il governo farà la sua parte serve una stagione intensa di riforme deve essere questa l'occasione per cambiare radicalmente tutte quelle cose che nel nostro paese non vanno e non vanno da tempo io la squadra insieme a tutta la squadra dei ministri noi non ci tiriamo indietro non ci tireremo indietro avete visto ci battiamo siamo già battuti e continueremo a batterci in europa ma anche in italia per cambiare tutte le cose che non vanno questo piano che adesso illustro parte dal 4 maggio quindi ve lo anticipiamo con una certa con molti giorni perché è ben strutturato ben articolato ben pensato e deve anche essere da voi maturato in modo da poterlo come dire mettere a frutto nel migliore dei modi devo ringraziare ovviamente la nostra squadra di esperti e degli scienziati la squadra di esperti coordinati come sapete dal dottor colao e il comitato tecnico scientifico che ormai lavora da da con noi da tempo ci qua di una da parecchio tempo per quanto riguarda un passaggio importante nella convivenza con il virus conviveremo ovviamente con e dovremo adottare tutte le precauzioni anche i dispositivi di protezione individuale a questo fine abbiamo già sollecitato il commissario alcuni il quale con ordinanza interviene a calmierare e fissare i

prezzi di mercato delle mascherine non vogliamo che ci siano distorsioni speculazioni di mercato su questo fronte quindi avremo un pezzo che assolutamente giusto equo per remunerare le imprese che lavorano in questo settore dei loro costi di produzione anche un piccolo margine di guadagno ma non consentiremo altro e in più mi dico c'è il forte impegno del governo a eliminare completamente l'iva con un prossimo provvedimento normativo in modo che non ci siano pur da pagare l'iva il prezzo l'ordinanza del commissario alcuni dovrebbe essere intorno a 0 c 50 per le mascherine chirurgiche poi ancora avete ormai è storia nota all'ultimo consiglio europeo abbiamo fatto un passo importante avanti che appariva impensabile se solo risaliamo a qualche settimana fa il recovery fund in europa è stato informato è stato affermato un principio molto importante la reazione a questa emergenza deve essere comune rapida e deve essere coraggiosa il ventaglio delle varie iniziative che devo dire verità le varie istituzioni europee hanno già assunto nelle settimane scorse si è arricchito questo ventaglio questo recovery fund è uno strumento innovativo che offrirà ai paesi più colpiti e tra questi ovviamente purtroppo c'è l'italia di percorrere una strada più rapida per la ripresa nel segno della solidarietà e questo è stato possibile grazie a un lavoro di squadra che abbiamo fatto con vari paesi europei e alla convergenza all'unanimità che si è creata in seno all'ultimo consiglio europeo è innegabile che se l'italia non avesse per opposto queste condizioni sin dall'inizio con forza già lo scorso nel corso del dello scorso consiglio europeo di marzo non avremmo mai ottenuto questo risultato è un risultato storico fondamentale un punto a nostro favore e dobbiamo essere tutti orgogliosi perché i risultati quando si consegue al suo così importanti questo lavoro di squadra e sistema italia che ha sollecitato questa risposta il sistema italia che ha ottenuto questa risposta io l'ho potuto fare sicuramente sono la punta di questo sistema ma vi assicuro che se non avessimo dato a livello non solo europeo ma internazionale questa prova di orgoglio di dignità di forza di carattere questo risultato non credo l'avrei mai conseguito ora sia chiaro e lo voglio ripetere abbiamo conseguito un importante passo avanti adesso dobbiamo andare a traguardo il traguardo finale significa tradurre poi questo principio politico che è stato affermato tradurre la volontà chiara politica di introdurre questo nuovo strumento in confermarlo in termini di lavoro tecnico è un lavoro che tecnicamente significherà riempire di consistenza economica questo strumento bilanciarlo bene evitare che attraverso questo strumento si crei più debito per i paesi il debito pubblico per i paesi già indebitati come l'italia e soprattutto offrendo subito nella disponibilità dei paesi colpiti e prima di passare al ahly a illustrare un po i contenuti del decreto voglio anche dirvi che noi stiamo ovviamente lavorando per le misure economiche qui ci tengo a dire alcuni di voi sono ancora insoddisfatti ne siamo consapevoli però vorrei dire che lo sforzo 5 è stato straordinario tra gennaio e marzo l'INPS ha accolto 109 mila domande in più di legge o di cittadinanza di pensieri cittadinanza sono arrivate pensato solo per il bonus baby sitting se bevi setting scusate 78 mila domande per quanto riguarda i congedi straordinari per le famiglie 237 mila concedi richieste e ancora abbiamo già liquidato quasi tre milioni e mezzo di bonus da 600 euro per autonomi professionisti co.co.co agricoltori e lavoratori nello spettacolo alcuni attendono ancora ci sono dei ritardi di questi ritardi personalmente mi scuso ma ora è anche ricordarvi attenzione stiamo parlando di 11 mila domande compresa la cassa integrazione è una situazione senza precedenti pensate che questa mole di domande veniva trattata mediamente dall'INPS in cinque anni è stata trattata e buona parte di queste sono state già i was in un solo

meze ci sono quindi i ritardi anche nella cassa nelle erogazioni a cassa integrazione in deroga però qui vorrei anche sottolineare che necessario assolutamente il contributo delle regioni alcune regioni devono ancora affrettarsi a far pervenire i flussi e quindi ad adottare i relativi decreti alcune hanno fatto pervenire questi flussi ma solo parzialmente attendiamo di completare il patrimonio informativo che permetterà un attimo dopo all'Inps di erogare quanto dovuto e ancora le imprese questo paese non riparte se non punteremo sulle imprese siamo quindi allo studio e nei prossimi giorni saranno veramente momenti molto intensi per poter intervenire innanzitutto abbiamo modo abbiamo col nuovo decreto quello da 55 miliardi abbiamo più fondi per gli autonomi aiuti concreti a fasce categorie sociali più fragili penso alle colf o badanti che erano rimaste fuori che ha avuto già il bonus da 600 euro stiamo sperimentando la possibilità di rinnovarli lo automaticamente senza richiesta basterà un semplice click e quindi potremo recuperare anche alcuni ritardi nel prossimo provvedimento poi avremo più aiuti alle imprese questo governo pone una particolare attenzione la nostra ripresa parte da un sospetto un sostegno poderoso all'attività di impresa perché il nostro obiettivo non è avere più sussidiati ma preoccupati ci saranno quindi finanziamento anche a fondo perduto per le imprese con meno di 10 dipendenti parliamo di oltre un milione di imprese un sostegno diretto delle varie imprese con contributi vari per affitti commerciali taglio al costo delle bollette poi non dimentichiamo anche settori particolarmente colpiti penso al turismo stiamo parlando di un settore che non riuscirà certo a recuperare a a recuperare a rimediare ai danni ai pregiudizi che sta subendo non li lasceremo gli operatori da soli è un settore che produce dalle 13 anche al 15 per cento del Pil se parliamo di tutto l'indotto e sicuramente avrà bisogno di una robusta iniezione di fiducia e di sostegno economico da parte del governo dobbiamo lavorare questa direzione c'è tanto da fare e oltre al decreto che stanno preparando per le missioni economiche stiamo preparando anche un parallelo decreto che io dico sblocca paese qui non è più sufficiente sbloccare i singoli cantieri dobbiamo sbloccare questo paese ci stanno guardando ci stanno guardando a livello europeo a livello internazionale ci stanno guardando perché mostrano solidarietà mostrano sostegno anche morale nei nostri confronti e diciamo anche con orgoglio anche ammirazione per molti dei provvedimenti che abbiamo preso io confido che anche questo nuovo provvedimento possa essere un provvedimento regole studiate e già si stanno chiedendo una copia di questo provvedimento e io confido dice dicevo che anche nella ripresa l'Italia potrà essere ammirata dobbiamo approfittare anche dei finanziamenti che arriveranno per far correre il paese ma veniamo al provvedimento al nuovo DPCM le misure entreranno per lo più in vigore dal 4 maggio cosa succederà dal 4 maggio per le due settimane successive quindi fino al 18 maggio avremo una conferma generalizzata per quanto riguarda le misure di distanziamento gli spostamenti quindi rimarranno per quanto riguarda gli spostamenti all'interno della regione le motivazioni comprovate esigenze lavorative e situazioni di necessità motivi di salute all'interno delle regioni sono questi gli spostamenti soltanto aggiungiamo anche la possibilità di spostamenti mirati per far visita a congiunti siamo consapevoli che molte famiglie sono state separate molti nuclei familiari genitori con figli figli e nipoti con nonni vogliamo quindi consentire loro delle vite ma attenzione saranno visite mirate fatte nel rispetto delle distanze con l'adozione delle mascherine e quindi con divieto di assembramento non stiamo dicendo che sono d'ora in poi consentiti al 4 maggio party privati militari ritrovi di famiglia ancora all'interno delle regioni sono consentiti gli spostamenti così come

sono adesso quindi è fatto divieto a tutte le persone di trasferta spostarsi con mezzi di trasporto pubblici o privati in una regione diversa dicevo rispetto a quelli in cui attualmente si trovano a tra regioni è consentito solo un trasferimento per esigenze lavorative per assoluta urgenza o motivi di salute consentiamo naipaul rientro presso il proprio domicilio abitazioni o residenza ancora in introduciamo una regola più stringente per coloro che presentano una sintomatologia da infezione respiratoria e febbre maggiore di 37 gradi e mezzo a questo punto non è più raccomandato devono rimanere presso il proprio domicilio limitare al massimo i contatti sociali avvertire e paolo medico curante ancora i divieti di assembramenti rimarranno luoghi pubblici ma anche privati non con siamo parti non consentiamo party privati a giovani a persone adulte il sindaco può anche disporre la temporanea chiusura di specificare in cui non sia possibile assicurare altrimenti il rispetto di questi vincoli consentiamo l'accesso a parchi a ville e giardini pubblici ma condizionato al rigoroso rispetto delle distanze e al fatto che siano state misure per contingentare gli ingressi anche qui i sindaci potranno disporre la chiusura di queste aree laddove non ci sia possibilità di assicurare queste questi controlli in rispetto di queste prescrizioni ancora per quanto riguarda cosa cambia attività sportiva e motoria sin qui e là possibile svolgere un'attività motoria e anche sportiva nei pressi e le immediate vicinanze della propria abitazione invece adesso ci si potrà allontanare anche ma attenzione se attività sportiva che quella più dinamica rispettando il la distanza di almeno due metri dall'uno all'altro mentre invece se semplice attività motoria basterà un metodo anche un ulteriore passaggio per quanto riguarda delle attività sportive proprio per consentire una graduale ripresa delle attività sportive nel rispetto anche nell'esigenza di tutelare prontamente la salute saranno consentite dal 4 maggio alle sessioni di allenamento degli atleti professionisti e non professionisti ma riconosciuti di interesse nazionale al dal coni e dalle rispettive federazioni però attenzione saranno sempre consentite queste questi allenamenti saranno consentiti nel rispetto delle norme di distanziamento sociale e senza alcun assembramento a porte chiuse per gli atleti di discipline sportive individuali adesso vi dico invece per quelle belle atleti che praticano discipline collettive per quanto riguarda le cerimonie funebri c'è stata una fitta interlocuzione serate traduzione comitato tecnico scientifico è apparso molto rigido su questo fronte c'è stata però una apertura per quanto riguarda le cerimonie funebri e quindi devo aprire una parentesi credo abbia addolorato tutti non solo me il fatto di aver assistito a tanti decessi in questo periodo senza neppure la possibilità di un ultimo gesto di raccoglimento ad una preghiera nell'occasione di una cerimonia funebre quindi saranno consentite al 4 le cerimonie funebri con l'esclusiva però partecipazione di congiunti sino a un massimo di 15 persone possibilmente con funzione celebrarsi all'aperto indossando maschere rispettando rigorosamente le misure di distanziamento sociale io voglio ringraziare anche la cei e tutte le persone che hanno una particolare sensibilità religiosa perché chiaramente stiamo parlando anche qui di un diritto fondamentale della persona la libertà di culto la libertà di svolgere una pratica religiosa comprendo perfettamente la sofferenza che tutto questo sta procurando però per eventuali ulteriori aperture alle altre cerimonie religiose dobbiamo continuare interloquire col comitato tecnico scientifico confido di poter confezionare con loro un rigoroso pacchetto di prescrizioni che nelle prossime settimane ci permetterà di allargare anche la riapertura ad altre cerimonie religiose consentiamo anche dal 4 maggio una maggiore attività adesso sapete che bar e ristoranti possono far consegna a domicilio

d'ora in poi dal 4 maggio sarà consentita anche attività di ristorazione con asporto attenzione però che nessuno pensi che davanti a un bar al ristorante ci possa essere un assembramento bisognerà rispettare rigorosamente mettersi in fila rispettare le distanze si entra uno alla volta e il cibo si consumerà a casa in ufficio dove consentito ma non davanti al posto di ristoro e veniamo un attimo alle attività invece produttive abbiamo qui operato una svolta che è stata ho visto anche ormai anticipata nei vari organi di stampa noi riapriamo dal 4 maggio riapre tutta la manifattura tutto il settore delle costruzioni e tutto il settore del commercio all'ingrosso funzionale alla manifattura funzionale alle costruzioni e un passaggio molto importante lo facciamo però con un piano ben articolato ben strutturato che potrete leggere questo decreto in questo nuovo decreto è consentita questa riapertura sul presupposto che tutte queste aziende interessate rispetteranno rigorosamente i protocolli di sicurezza protocolli di sicurezza sui luoghi di lavoro ne abbiamo sottoscritto un altro ancora più sofisticato ancora più rigoroso e perfezionato il 24 aprile l'altro giorno ringrazio i ministri che hanno lavorato a questo ringrazio tutte le parti sociali che si sono prestati ancora una volta con grande senso di responsabilità per questa sottoscrizione quindi il messaggio da dare subito tutte queste aziende attenzione recuperate subito questo nuovo protocollo iniziate a lavorare perché anche prima del 4 maggio nei prossimi giorni vi verranno consentiti attività per mettere per predisporre tutti i locali di lavoro i luoghi di lavoro in conformità con le prescrizioni di questo protocollo di sicurezza ancora un passaggio molto critico è quello dei flussi di lavoratori che si sposteranno di qui quindi un protocollo di sicurezza anche per le aziende di trasporto dovranno è stato sottoscritto e il 20 marzo 2020 e la mista de micheli e anche qui bisognerà che tutte si predispongano le aziende al rispetto assoluto delle prescrizioni contenute in questo protocollo di sicurezza e poi abbiamo un ultimo protocollo di sicurezza per garantire la tutela della salute dei lavoratori sui cantieri questo è stato sottoscritto anche questo per l'altro e 24 aprile ecco allora con questa somma di protocolli con queste prescrizioni e rigorose noi ci avviamo ad allentare un lock down per il 4 maggio attenzione però attenzione perché noi vogliamo tenere la situazione sotto controllo quindi abbiamo predisposto un meccanismo volto elaborato in cui le regioni con con le quali la collaborazione doveva essere ancora più integrata se mi permettete rispetto al passato dovranno costantemente con cadenza giornali era fornirci informarsi sull'andamento della curva epidemiologica dei propri territori e anche sulle situazioni di adeguatezza del sistema sanitario regionale avendo tutti questi dati per venendo tutti questi dati al ministero della salute all'istituto superiore di sanità al comitato tecnico scientifico con solo saranno nella condizione di poter elaborare le situazioni critiche a tre giorni dall'adozione di questo decreto il ministro della salute indicherà quelle che sono delle soglie sentinella vale a dire sulla base in questi parametri e del lavoro egregio che ha fatto il comitato tecnico scientifico non avremo la possibilità di intervenire quando vedremo delle situazioni critiche e circoscritte territorialmente e di chiudere il rubinetto noi non ci possiamo permettere una curva del contagio un andamento che ci sfugga sotto ci sfugga di mano vada fuori controllo è per questo che in questo con questo sistema ci assumiamo il rischio della riapertura ma ovviamente con tutte le precauzioni del caso direi che da questo punto di vista o all come dire ho dato i dettagli più importanti di più rilevanti delle nuove prescrizioni mi permetto solo di anticipare che abbiamo già un indirizzo chiaro del governo c'è vogliamo anticipare un poco alcuni dettagli del piano che abbiamo messo a punto e che continueremo a mettere a punto

nei prossimi giorni il 18 maggio abbiamo in programma una riapertura anche nel commercio al dettaglio quello che servente accessorio rispetto alle attività manifatturiere a manifatturiere che riapriamo il 4 maggio e alle costruzioni quindi attenzione da subito il 4 maggio parte al commercio all'ingrosso ma è evidente che uno sfogo commerciale sarà necessario abbiamo previsto per il 18 maggio del commercio al dettaglio ancora abbiamo in animo di riaprire con tutte le dovute precauzioni cautele sempre il 18 maggio musei mostre biblioteche e anche parlavo degli allenamenti a spa squadre in campo sportivo e poi il 18 giugno vi anticipiamo e la data e scusate il primo giugno il primo giugno è la data per cui vorremmo poi riaprire più ampiamente le attività dei bar delle ristorazioni per parrucchieri centri estetici barbieri e centri massaggio quindi quelle attività di cura della persona ovviamente è una diciamo un programma come vedete differito a tappe perché alcune attività immaginate quelle di quella della persona richiede un contatto più stretto le persone quindi ci prendiamo anche qualche giorno ancora per adottare tutta una serie di cautele che comunicheremo per tempo in modo che tutti gli interessati potranno predisporre per poter mettersi nella condizione alla data già programmata di poter intervenire e vi assicuro che faremo è possibile nei prossimi giorni anche per intervenire per tutta una serie di altre attività che non mi sto indicare dettagliatamente ma pensiamo anche alle attività che si svolgono negli stabilimenti balneari in modo da consentire una programmazione ben strutturata ben articolata e quindi molto più cauta della stagione anche in quest'ultimo caso balneare credo di aver detto tutto d'area verso il via alle domande vedo prenotato michele esposito dell'ansa domande niente dietro è stato così nella seconda io non so da casa guardia esposito non riesco a comprendere bene le domande un po' disturbato il suo audio riprovi la qualità dell'audio è pessima proviamo ad andare avanti umberto aprea poi ritorniamo ad esposito e umberto apre a radio kiss kiss buonasera presidente una sera benissimo buonasera perfetto dunque presidente rientriamo finalmente in questa fase 2 che abbiamo visto all'orizzonte da quando è iniziata l'emergenza lei ci aveva parlato da subito delle delle tre fasi e siamo finalmente arrivati in quella seconda adesso con tutte le incognite le precauzioni del caso cominceremo inevitabilmente a parlare e sperare in una fase iii e mi chiedevo quali sono i criteri che dovremmo considerare per raggiungere questo obiettivo quello della fase i contagi zero oppure per quanto tempo dovranno esserci contatti 0 ma guardi una fase per volta ovviamente adesso già questa fase ii ci impegnerà particolarmente la fase iii quella che le dice se fosse dei contagi 0 dobbiamo chiaramente aspettare una terapia risolutiva o il vaccino quindi a questo punto comprende che diventa difficile programmare il momento in cui l'evoluzione scientifica ci metterà a disposizione una terapia un vaccino noi quel che possiamo dire che dobbiamo adesso avviarci per questa fase ii programmare un progressivo rallentamento di tutto il lock down far ripartire il paese ma in totale sicurezza quando la curva del contagio poi la convivenza con il virus c'è questa fase ii non dipende da noi ma dipende anche la regolazione scientifica e io stesso ovviamente ma penso vedo anche gli scienziati che interpelliamo gli esperti in questo momento non saprebbero dirci se non con previsioni molto generiche quando ci sarà la fase definitiva dell'uscita all'emergenza grazie prego costanza calabrese tg5 presidente allora io fermo alla fase due che già c'è tanta materia l'ora alla luce delle rientro al lavoro di tantissimi genitori del fatto che le scuole continua ad essere chiuse non c'è il rischio che si crea un grande problema per tanti genitori sappiamo del congedo sappiamo

del bonus per però per tante famiglie questi strumenti non bastano non si può neanche contare sull'appoggio dei nonni perché sappiamo essere sfumate le persone più a rischio e avrà come si può venire incontro a così tante famiglie parliamo di milioni di italiani guardi lei mi sollecita a parlare della scuola è un capitolo importante allora su questore dire ragionevolmente avremo le scuole chiuse fino a fine anno scolastico e lo voglio anche spiegare perché adesso ne abbiamo riflettuto a lungo con l'amministrazione na con gli altri componenti del governo e col comitato tecnico scientifico è molto complicato far convivere il diritto all'istruzione con la tutela della salute col diritto alla salute anche perché il rischio è elevatissimo di scatenare una nuova un nuovo innalzamento della curva di contagio nel caso in cui dovessimo riaprire le scuole quanto meno in questa fase ci dicono tutti gli studi tutte le raccomandazioni degli scienziati degli esperti che avremo una nuova esplosione probabilmente il jet di una o due settimane e allora non possiamo permettere tenendo anche conto che l'età media del nostro personale docente nelle scuole e tra forse la più elevata addirittura in europa quindi effettivamente sulla situazione di rischio in questo momento noi abbiamo elaborato con l'aiuto della trans forza il dottor colao del comitato tecnico scientifico un rischio calcolato questo rischio non sarebbe più calcolato se noi aprissimo anche le scuole questo però attenzione cosa significa che rimaniamo inerti no l'amministrazione sta lavorando per l'organizzazione cesaria per far ripartire le scuole a settembre nel miglior modo possibile tra l'altro devo ringraziare a nome del governo e mio personale tutto il comparto della scuola tutte le componenti della scuola sono state messe di fronte a questa sfida inopinata a tutti quanti non ce l'aspettavamo hanno dimostrato grandissima resilienza mediamente sta funzionando l'attività scuola l'attività didattica a distanza mediamente bene è veramente va a tutti il mio personale ringraziamento adesso tra le cose più immediate che dovranno essere decise alla ministra giolina e il gli esami di stato abbiamo fatto una scelta e si farà di tutto per realizzarla e cioè consentire l'esame di stato a tutti gli studenti interessati in conferenza personale in presenza in piena sicurezza un altro messaggio voglio lanciare prima di venire alla sua domanda al mondo della scuola e che il governo ha preso assunto un impegno ben preciso un impegno ben preciso per una situazione che si trascina da anni assunto l'impegno di far svolgere i concorsi per assumere 24 mila insegnanti precari e 36 mila giovani aspiranti ecco noi riteniamo che sia importante portare questo impegno a termine nell'interesse di questa platea che così importante per rafforzare l'offerta e potenziare l'offerta didattica c'è qualche dubbio c'è qualche perplessità da parte di alcune componenti ma io invito a considerare a non perdere questa occasione perché i principi costituzionali ci richiedono una prova la prova che abbiamo prestabilito è una prova molto accessibile e che garantisce con di sicurezza anche in questo contesto rinunciare a questo sarebbe rischierebbe davvero di mettere a rischio un passo avanti e soprattutto un risultato che è una platea così ampia di insegnanti attendono e di aspiranti attendono da tempo detto questo è chiaro che le famiglie possono incontrare delle difficoltà che abbiamo già sperimentato con le scuole chiuse adesso tanto più che a riaprendo alla manifattura e aprendo alle costruzioni ci potranno essere più lavoratori che ovviamente saranno chiamati a andare a spostarsi dai luoghi di lavoro però sicuramente stiamo cercando di mettere a punto ulteriori misure riproporremo senz'altro il congedo straordinario il bonus baby city non è la risoluzione di tutti i problemi ma sicuramente cercheremo di creare un circuito di solidarietà anche per favorire le famiglie maggiormente in difficoltà ma lei lo piccioni la gazzetta dello sport buonasera

presidente ci sono delle novità importanti per quanto riguarda le attività sportive allora le discipline individuali di partenza il 4 maggio invece per gli sport di squadra il 18 e quindi ha duramente non so se c'è già un orientamento per quanto riguarda la possibilità di allenamenti che continuino a rispettare la distanza individuale in questo caso oppure come nel calcio questo tipo di situazione non potrà essere rispettata se c'è un orientamento se c'è un orientamento su questo ma io volevo farle una domanda diciamo che non ha nulla di sanitario tecnico e neanche di economico sull'importanza del mondo del calcio vorrei invece chiederle ecco secondo lei il segnale di una possibile ripresa del campionato di calcio di serie a potrebbe come dire dare appunto un messaggio di ritrovata parziale normalità un messaggio di svago diciamo al paese ritiene che in questo momento lo stato l'anno dell'italia diciamo non sia in grado di apprezzare questa centrale di presa del calcio guardi lei sta ponendo la domanda a un appassionato di calcio che è ovviamente esterno anche appassionato come tantissimi degli anni all'inizio mi sembrava strano che il campionato potesse essere interrotto sospeso però ovviamente ci siamo ritrovati coinvolti in questa emergenza sanitaria sociale economica e credo tutti anche i tifosi più accaniti hanno compreso che non c'era una possibilità alternativa ora le posso assicurare che il ministro spadafora si da domani e nei prossimi giorni lavorerà intensamente con gli aspetti comitato tecnico scientifico e tutte le componenti nel sistema calcio dello sport professionistico in generale per mi sente adesso si perfetto buonasera residente mi scusi per prima se guardi con un chiarimento sulle autocertificazioni cioè come si nello spostamento tra comuni non ci saranno e sul rientro a toni et al al proprio domicilio la propria residenza sarà consentito anche tra regioni diverse un ultimissimo punto sul negoziato europeo lei sa che insomma stato oggetto di grande dibattito nella maggioranza lei ha intenzione di portare in parlamento il vuoto sull'intero pacchetto di aiuti europei grazie ha recuperato e ha fatto un sacco di domande allora per quanto riguarda il rientro il professor domiciliarizzazione residenza lo trovare un percorso che abbiamo già in parte definito per quanto riguarda la ripresa agli allenamenti individuali 4 maggio e in forma collettiva il 18 maggio e poi si valuterà se ci sono le condizioni anche per consentire che possano terminare i campionati sono stati sospesi in questo momento diciamo dobbiamo completare tutte le interlocuzioni per avere un quadro d'insieme sicuramente se arriveremo a quella conclusione lo faremo garantendo tutte le condizioni di massima sicurezza perché vogliamo possiamo molto appassionati di sport vogliamo tanto bene i nostri beniamini e vogliamo ovviamente che non si ammalino loro per primi michele disposto di ansia siamo riusciti a recuperarlo eccolo consentiamo e in ogni caso quindi siamo resi conto che sono delle situazioni in cui persone sono rimaste bloccate c'era in difficoltà e quindi lo consentiamo per quanto riguarda il voto del parlamento tra un po ritornerò a informare il parlamento per tutto quello ovviamente che viene deciso è stato deciso e verrà deciso a livello europeo ho sempre detto ci sarà un interlocuzione costante e quindi poi valuteremo se il parlamento come si esprimerà con una risoluzione una risoluzione su l'operato del governo in generale su specifici strumenti o meno quello che vorrei assicurare e l'ho detto più volte se lei aveva un retro pensiero anche l'euro di quelli che si fissa sul mes semmai è scelta ci sarà un passaggio del geno ogni caso si passerà dal parlamento quando avremo i regolamenti finali si passerà sempre dal parlamento questo postate potete tutti esser certi la prima domanda invece riguardava l'autocertificazione a me dispiace e ho seguito anche un po tutte le errori e che ci sono anche sul web per

quanto riguarda all'autocertificazione e comprendo anche che purtroppo questi moduli sono stati modificati nel corso del tempo però al di là di tutto è chiaro che nel momento in cui il regime e degli spostamenti rimane limitato e difficile che si possa abbandonare il criterio dell'autocertificazione perché uno strumento diciamo di rapida perché poi basta un semplice foglio per compilare dichiarare auto dichiarare la destinazione è la ragione dello spostamento fino a quando ci saranno delle ragioni che devono giustificare lo spostamento automaticamente si conserverà il regime dell'autocertificazione questo però lo dico perché è indicativo del fatto che con questo nuovo provvedimento noi non avremo un libera tutti non possiamo permetterci nel momento in cui alcuni milioni di lavoratori andranno a lavorare in nel momento in cui allentiamo alcune misure non possiamo permetterci di dire si esce liberamente comprendiamo che questo regime restrittivo è molto pesante ci rendiamo conto che a questo punto le attività motoria ad esempio quella sportiva non può essere più prescritta nelle immediate vicinanze della propria abitazione però c'è sempre un motivo per spostarsi grazie ancora a tutti e buonasera

3.11.2020

Nell'ultima settimana monitorata dal 19 al 25 novembre il numero di nuovi casi è quasi raddoppiato o scusate ottobre il numero di nuovi casi è quasi raddoppiato rispetto alla settimana precedente e infatti le reti che come sapete segna la capacità di trasmissione del virus è aumentato sino a 1,7 parliamo di una mediazione e quindi vuol dire che ci sono alcune regioni che hanno una rete ancora superiore rispetto alle persone contagiate e vero sale il numero degli asintomatici diminuisce in %uale il numero delle persone che vanno in terapia intensiva ma è vero che i numeri complessivi sono in costante aumento e comportano un'alta probabilità che molte le regioni superino le soglie critiche delle terapie intensive e delle terapie mediche già nelle prossime settimane dobbiamo necessariamente intervenire dobbiamo farlo per l'altare la circolazione del virus in attesa di poter disporre ci auguriamo quanto prima di vaccini di terapie risolutive oggi a differenza la prima ondata però disponiamo di un piano di monitoraggio della cura molto articolato che si basa su 21 parametri questo piano è la bussola che ci indica dove intervenire con quali misure anche differenziate ben mirate più elevati sono la circolazione del virus e il rischio tenuta dei servizi sanitari più restrittive sono le misure che andiamo a introdurre e guardate se invece introducessimo misure uniche su tutto il territorio nazionale produrremo bleach effetto negativo quello cioè da un lato di non adottare misure realmente adeguati ed efficaci per le condizioni che sono in una per le regioni che sono attualmente a maggior rischio e dall'alto finiremmo per indurre per imporre misure e ragionevolmente restrittive per quelle aree del paese dove invece la situazione è meno grave per questo abbiamo distinto l'intera penisola in tre aree gialla arancione rossa ciascuna con problemi su restrittive tutte le misure che vi riassumerò entreranno in vigore venerdì a partire da venerdì perché abbiamo voluto ho voluto riferire la loro entrata in vigore di un giorno per consentire a tutti di disporre di un tempo congruo per organizzare le proprie attività proprio qualche ora fa poco fa il ministro speranza ha dato un'ordinanza che ha individuato le regioni più critiche della fascia rossa della fascia

arancione partiamo dalla viaggiata alla con criticità moderata in quest'area all'esito dell'ultimo monitoraggio orientano le regioni abruzzo basilicata campania emilia romagna friuli venezia giulia lazio liguria marche molise sardegna toscana umbria veneto province di trento e di bolzano in queste regioni sarà vietato circolare dalle ore 21 alle ore 5 del mattino salvo comprovati motivi di lavoro di necessità di salute anche durante il giorno per altro raccomandiamo di limitare gli spostamenti non per motivi di salute di lavoro di studio o situazioni di necessità nei giorni festivi e prefestivi chiudono i negozi alterno dei centri commerciali ad eccezione di farmacie e parafarmacie generi alimentari tabacchi ed edicole chiudono musei chiudono mostra per quanto riguarda la scuola si passa alla didattica a distanza per le scuole secondarie per quelle superiori di secondo grado di parliamo di il pgt tecnici e professionali fatta eccezione per gli studenti con disabilità in caso di utilizzo di laboratori continuano invece le lezioni in presenza le scuole dell'infanzia le scuole elementari le scuole medie le attività didattiche nelle università si svolgeranno necessariamente a distanza salvo che per le matricole per l'utilizzo di laboratori sono sospese tutte le prove preselettive le prove scritte che si svolgono in presenza concorsi pubblici e privati come pure di abilitazioni professionali con alcune eccezioni come i concorsi gli appalti di medici operatori sanitari e o della protezione civile per i mezzi di trasporto è consentito il riempimento solo fino al 50 per cento fatta eccezione per il trasporto scolastico solo sono sospese le scommesse e giochi videogiochi anche nei bar nelle tabaccherie bar e ristoranti restano aperti silp ore 18 e l'asporto il titolo fino alle ore 22 per la consegna a domicilio non ci sono per ora resta in panne e più su pc pesca beh espressa il portiere passiamo a parlare con un livello di criticità che possiamo definire medio alta anche in quest'area rientrano le regioni anche in quest'altra ci sono delle regioni escono la puglia e la sicilia anche qui è vietato circolare dalle ore 22 alle ore 5 del mattino salvo anche qui comprovati motivi di lavoro necessità salute in aggiunta ecco vedete le misure diventano via via più restrittive qui è vietato spostarsi in entrata e in uscita da una regione all'altra e da un comune all'altro salvo comprovati motivi di lavoro studio salute necessità e da un comune all'altro ci si può comunque spostare per usufruire di servizi di addita non disponibili al comune di abitazione o di residenza e anche in questo caso o raccomandò di evitare spostamenti che non siano necessari nel corso della giornata attenzione in queste regioni chiudiamo anche bar e ristoranti 7 giorni su 7 che possono però operare per l'asporto fino alle ore 22 mentre la consegna a domicilio non ci sono le iscrizioni ancora a queste regioni si applicano le regioni arancioni le seguenti misure prestì anche per quelle gialle le indico per maggiore chiarezza di chi città seguendo giorni festivi e prefestivi chiudono i negozi all'interno dei centri commerciali sempre ad eccezione di farmacie parafarmacie generi alimentari tabacchi di cole chiudono anche mostre e musei anche qui è prevista la didattica a distanza per le scuole superiori di secondo grado fatta eccezione per studenti disabili in caso di utilizzo di laboratori le elezioni imprese rimangono per le scuole dell'infanzia scuole elementari e scuole medie le alita didattiche all'università si svolgeranno anche qui necessariamente a distanza salvo che per le matricole per attività di laboratorio e ancora sospese tutte le prove preselettive le prove scritte che si svolgono in presenza sì pubblici e privati per abilitazioni professionali con alcune eccezioni come i corsi di abitazioni di medici operatori sanitari e della protezione civile e anche qui per di mezzi di trasporto pubblico è consentito il re mento solo fino al 50 per cento fatta eccezione per i mezzi di trasporto scolastico anche qui sono sospese le attività

riguardanti scommesse e giochi videogiochi anche nei bar nelle tabaccherie e continuano a rimanere chiuse piscine palestre teatri cinema mentre rimangono aperti i centri sportivi e poi ci sono le regioni dell'area rossa con criticità alta sulla base dell'ultimo monitoraggio dell'ordinanza appena firmata ha messo speranze alpi rientrano calabria lombardia piemonte valle d'aosta queste regioni si applicano misure ancora più restrittive in questo caso è stato ogni spostamento all'interno del proprio comune in qualsiasi orario salvo che per motivi di lavoro necessità e di salute quindi va da sé che non ci si può spostare da una regione all'altra e da un comune all'altro anche qui chiudono bar e ristoranti ma l'asporto è consentito sino alle 22 non ci sono restrizioni per la consegna a domicilio chiudono anche negozi fatta eccezione per quelli riguardanti e negli alimentari i beni di necessità restano aperte edicole tabaccherie farmacie e parafarmacie e tra i servizi alla persona le sue aperti partiere barbieri anche lavanderie negli uffici pubblici si lavora in presenza solo per attività indifferibili altrimenti si va in smart working tra scola in questo caso la didattica a distanza è prevista oltre che per la scuola secondaria di secondo grado anche per le classi di seconda e terza media restano quindi aperte le scuole dell'infanzia le scuole elementari la prima media non abbiamo nel caso della preda ha voluto imporre sacrifici soverchi agli studenti abbia hanno iniziato da poco un nuovo ciclo scolastico una nuova esperienza formativa si sono appena conosciuti tra loro e con i loro professori ed è giusto che possano proseguire in presenza tutti i corsi universitari si svolgeranno a distanza salvo specifiche eccezioni come corsi di medicina e relativi tirocini sono sospese tutte le prove anche qui preselettive scritte che si svolgono in presenza concorsi pubblici portati abilitazioni professionali con alcune eccezioni come i concorso abitazioni di medici operatori sanitari e anche qui protezione civile sono sospese tutte le competizioni sportive salvo quelle riconosciute di interesse nazionale dal coni e dal cip e sospeso ogni attività svolta in centri sportivi mentre rimane consentito lo sport in casa nei pressi della propria abitazione attività sportiva solo all'aperto ma in forma individuale anche qui ovviamente sono chiusi musei mostre teatri cinema palestre attività di sale giochi e sale scommesse ringo anche nei bar nelle tabaccherie e anche qui per i mezzi trasporto e consentito il riempimento solo fino al 50 per cento con l'eccezione dei mezzi di trasporto scolastico assaltati a specifici protocolli avrete notato che non ci sono regioni di complanari e verdi la pandemia copre ovunque quindi non ci sono regioni territori che possono sottrarsi a questi nuovi regimi di sulle restrittive il po dpcm l'ho già anticipato entrerà in vigore venerdì 3 novembre sino al 3 dicembre tutte queste misure entreranno insieme verdi prossimo poi con future ordinanza del ministro della salute verranno forniti aggiornamenti sulla condizione di rischio in cui si trovano le varie regioni e le ordinanze del ministro della salute non saranno attenzione arbitrare o discrezionali come non lo è stata quella appena emanata per che recepiranno l'esito del monitoraggio periodico che viene effettuato congiuntamente dei rappresentanti dell'istituto superiore di sanità del ministero salute e anche i dati delle regioni risultati che poi vengono condivisi anche dei componenti del comitato tecnico scientifico se una regione per intenderci alessio dell'adozione di queste misure restrittive dovesse rientrare però in condizione di instabilità per circa 14 non meno di 14 giorni in una condizione di rischio più bassa potrà essere assoggettata successivamente a un regime di misure meno restrittive lo auguriamo tutti opposto al ministero della salute e anche al direttore del sito superiore di sanità di condividere i dati del monitoraggio gli indicatori che sono alla base di questa attività queste informazioni

sono già condivise dalle singole regioni perché le regioni stesse alimentano questo flusso di informazioni e lo inviano quindi lo fanno per venissimo superiore di sanità vogliamo che questi dati siano accessibili alla comunità scientifica ea tutti i cittadini non abbiamo alternative dobbiamo affrontare queste restrizioni per congelare questa impennata della curva di contagio comprendiamo il disagio la frustrazione della sofferenza psicologica ma dobbiamo tenere duro già all'opera per altro per mitigare le ripercussioni negative che può essere iscrizioni avranno sull'attività economica sui redditi sul tessuto produttivo da questa settimana porteremo in consiglio dei ministri dovremmo farcela già domani sera un nuovo decreto legge che consentirà la pronta e ragazzi di indennizzi agli operatori economici colpiti da queste nuove misure è un decreto che si aggiunge a quello appena adottato lo possiamo chiamare un decreto ristori bix anche questa volta punteremo a erogare benefici da accreditare direttamente sugli sui conti correnti degli operatori e comici direttamente colpiti da queste misure tramite l'agenzia delle entrate insieme ovviamente ad altre misure di sostegno eppure adotteremo ci aspettano ancora mesi lunghi difficili rispettando però le regole con l'impegno di tutti possiamo raffreddare la logica e recuperare un margine di serenità è un percorso che dobbiamo compiere tutti insieme sorreggendo sci sostenendoci gli unico e 3 grazie grazie allora adesso possiamo iniziare con domande abbiamo gabriele martelloni di rainews24 permettetevi perché mi segnalano che l'area già l'avrei detto divieto di circolazione 21 invece dalle 22 quindi facciamo questa precisazione ripeto per l'aria per l'area già tra le regioni che sono nell'area gialla avrei detto divieto di circolazione dalle 21 invece di via circolazione è ed alle 22 prego buonasera presidente un chiarimento su dpcm la zona rossa la fascia rossa si delinea soltanto a livello regionale o ad esempio in una regione in fascia è possibile delimitare ad esempio una provincia come zona rossa e poi una cosa invece sul tavolo politico di domani con il leader della maggioranza qualcuno le ha già prospettato la necessità di un cambio di ministri dell'interno del governo per il patto di legislatura di cui parlava a lei oppure sarà incentrato soprattutto sui temi magari già di sciogliere il nodo mass legge elettorale grazie per quanto riguarda la possibilità che il monitoraggio possa anche suggerire una diverso o con una diversa così del rischio all'interno la regione per singole province è un monitoraggio che c'è stato scritto costruito anche su base provinciale e chiaro che più si scende di dal punto di vista della grand hall ospitati con i tecnici e più ovviamente bisogna stare attenti però abbiamo previsto anche la possibilità nel dp possa essere anche qualche a ragion veduta quando ricorrono particolari condizioni che giustificano una differenziazione all'interno delle regioni in astratto è anche possibile una differenziazione quindi abbiamo i meccanismi per operarli però ripeto diciamo e la forza e l'intero meccanismo o via me e di costruire un tessuto di misure che da frank e la circolazione data la possibilità di avere un flusso informativo sostanzialmente ragionato al è situato su base regionale per quanto riguarda l'altra misura l'altro l'altro tema che ha posto l'altro questo e quello dei rimpasti in sostanza chiamiamolo così in realtà non mi è stato chiesto dalle sua forza politica di operare rimpasti e se mi permettete dati anche i temi che stiamo affrontando questa sera e la criticità che si vada ad attraversare l'intero paese mi sembra che il tema dei rimpasti sia un tema che possa interessare poco i cittadini non interessa particolarmente me ma le assicuro non sta neppure occorre delle forze politiche domani ci vedremo abbiamo fissato un incontro questo incontro con i leader delle varie forze di maggioranza per valutare quali sono le priorità per quanto riguarda l'azione di governo le priorità poche faremo un

confronto è bene ovviamente la gestione della pandemia ci assorbe molto ma dobbiamo pensare anche al futuro dobbiamo pensare a recovery plan italiano dobbiamo pensare a tutte le iniziative alcuni anche di rilievo costituzionale che possiamo assumere possiamo condividere un percorso insieme e quindi confrontarci per dare nuova lena all'azione di governo domanda e mille ci fan page buonasera presidente due domande anche per me la prima lo ha ricordato lei questo meccanismo di chiusura si basa su un meccanismo di parametri una sola l'ha chiamato lei che il governo ha costruito nei mesi scorsi e che è stato confermato ottobre ora questa bussola doveva prevedere degli automatismi in realtà in queste ore c'è stato un confronto anche duro con le regioni hanno chiesto una sorta di contrattazione dei dati confronto sui dati che dovrebbero essere dati oggettivi allora io le chiedo anche per le prossime settimane visto che dovrei tornare di settimana in settimana questo massimo è automatico o le regioni hanno come dire una una una richiesta politica di impedire nelle decisioni che prenderà il ministro speranza e ink e grado qualche regione in questa minaccia anche di impugnare le ordinanze informalmente la seconda domanda invece che il peggio è può chiarire quale per quanto riguarda lo spostamento per le visite ai congiunti soprattutto nelle zone a rischio più alto è consentito quanto informa che il spostamento per il limite congiunti allora perché tutto riguarda tutti i temi iniziamo dal primo punto c'è stato un ampio confronto c'è sempre un costante confronto dopo che la pandemia con le regioni una volta però attenzione una volta elaborato questo sistema e questo sistema è stato elaborato sia il piano che per quanto riguarda la gestione della pandemia sia questo sistema di monitoraggio è stato approvato e lavorato anche con i rappresentanti delle regioni e designati alla conferenza delle regioni quindi e c'è una cabina di regia in questo momento che riceve questo flusso informativo dalle agenzie le stesse questa prima di regia ci sono dei rappresentanti appunto delle regioni che congiuntamente elaborano questi dati quindi le regioni non sono un alter ego rispetto a questo sistema sono parte integrante di questo sistema di monitoraggio al punto che hanno contribuito a definirne il sistema e contribuiscono a leggere e interpretare i dati permettetemi quindi è improprio dire il confronto con le regioni le regioni sono parte integrante il confronto dei bambini e l'ho detto questi dati li dobbiamo prendere assolutamente accessibili con i relativi indicatori è giusto che in questo momento in termini di accountability ci sia la trasparenza e siano accessibili anche questi indicatori questi meccanismi a tutta la comunità scientifica quindi il confronto se vi permette di avere con la comunità scientifica e con i cittadini sono loro che in questo momento se mappe sono fuori da questo sistema detto questo quindi è chiaro che quando si adotta poi gli esiti dei singoli monitoraggi e lo fa il ministro della salute sperata con ordinanza il ministro non si è riservato una discrezionalità politica per cui a seconda della contrattazione come ho suggerito con la regione vediamo l'esito di questa negoziazione qui stiamo parlando del bene dei cittadini non ci possiamo permettere di lasciare a valutazioni politiche una volta che abbiamo costruito un sistema così serrato la scelta e le valutazioni politiche abbiamo fatti con questo dpcm laddove abbiamo costruito questo regime tripartito di misure una volta scelto optato per questo e se abbiamo anche una della formale un parere formale delle regioni che poi ci hanno detto bene misura e univoche nazionali con l'integrazione di misure più restrittive per le prigioni che ne hanno bisogno i nero su bianco quindi una volta condiviso questo impianto questo regime restrittivo le conseguenze sono automatiche perché sono basate su criteri predefiniti e oggettivi che sfuggono a qualsiasi contrattazione e stiamo parlando di cose serie

non è possibile mettersi a doppiare e a contrattare sulla pelle i cittadini non lo farai misto della salute non lo faranno ovviamente immagino neppure i punti nelle singole regioni quindi il contraddittorio ci sarà perché quando il ministro della salute adotta l'ordinanza è prescritto che lo ha patito il presidente ma non negoziando col presidente di intesa col presente quindi viene rispettato il contraddittorio anche sul singolo atto che però certifica un risultato obiettivo è predeterminato il contraddittorio ea ponte le regioni che partecipano al pezzo [Musica] allora noi come sapete abbia messo la raccomandazione già da tempo già attualmente che non si va a trovare persone con un convinti che quella è occasione di contagio ovviamente le restrizioni sopportate nella zona tra virgolette nell'aria nelle regioni rosse addirittura per l'uscita di casa che va motivata perché si esce solo per quei casi che abbiamo detto quindi le restrizioni sono modulate però in ogni caso al di là del divieto che molto stringente per quanto riguarda ovviamente le aree in condizione di più alto rischio c'è sempre la raccomandazione anche nelle aree gialle di non andare dove ci sono da in altri habitat dove ovviamente si incontra al sony non conviventi si creano occasioni o che di pericolo nella scudiero agenzia di stampa la pres allora era presidente innanzitutto un chiarimento se e quando saranno le cere le autocertificazioni poi per quanto riguarda i ristoranti il decreto di storie bis se è vero che la cifra che è circolata di uno stanziamento da un miliardo e mezzo due miliardi di euro se verranno previsti nuovi congedi parentali come chiedevano ieri le regioni e se avete fatto una stima di tanto questo nuovo diciamo mini lockdown lockdown localizzato può poi diciamo può avere effetti sul pil nazionale per ora almeno nove un po se avete già fatto i conti visto che siamo in una nota grazie grazie anche le tante domande l'autocertificazione e collegata ai divieti se un divieto per quanto riguarda gli spostamenti chiaramente la motivato con l'autocertificazione quindi nelle zone rosse si esce di casa a qualsiasi ora del giorno autocertificando dove si va per motivi di lavoro all'hotel abbiamo detto o di necessità e così quando c'è un divieto di spostamento tra una regione al plauso a un comune alpes l'altro invece quando c'è la raccomandazione e dentemente non va offerta nessuna autocertificazione ma noi confidiamo che anche le raccomandazioni siano retate e questo ci consentirà di riportare al pesto sotto controllo la curva del contagio quindi significa che rispettando le regole faremo meno sacrifici in prospettiva poi per quanto riguarda i ristoranti adesso in questo momento non le anticipo una cifra per chi è chiaro la ragioneria stanno lavorando col mistero col mef al ministero dell'economia stanno facendo di conto in questo momento però sicuramente ci sono adeguati adeguati stanziamenti per questo nuovo decreto ristoranti bis potrebbero essere sicuramente nella dovrebbero essere la dell'ammontare che le ha indicato uno e mezzo due miliardi ma notte io l'ho detto con il governo siamo determinati adesso stiamo affrontando questa battaglia e quando si affronta una battaglia così difficile una prova costituirà per l'intera comunità per l'intero paese bisogna essere pronti a tutto il necessario quindi se ci fosse necessità di avere dispone di ulteriori risorse dobbiamo esser pronti se del caso non se n'era viste talmente ma se del caso anche a presentarci in parlamento con grande senso di responsabilità anche per ulteriore spostamento mancano ancora deciso perché per adesso abbiamo stanziamenti a quanto mi viene attivato sufficienti e quindi questo riguarda anche tutti gli altri sostegni adesso non mi faccia anticipare va sicuramente c'era attenzione anche per quanto riguarda ragionevolmente i congedi parentali perché sarà un problema ovviamente per le famiglie quando andremo quando andiamo a prevedere la didattica a distanza

soprattutto per i più piccoli per i nostri le ragazze i nostri ragazzi più piccoli credo di avere risposto tutto eccetto che sul pil beh innanzi tutto in un contesto così difficile adesso mi segnalavano che città l'ultima stima per quanto riguarda per dire no i tassi al quinquennio quinquennali titoli di stato di debito pubblici siamo in prossimità allo zero quindi questo significa che nonostante quello che stiamo attraversando i mercati gli analisti mercati finanziari credono a quello che stiamo facendo ci danno fiducia è un segnale importante io non ho la palla di vetro per dire se dovremo rivedere le stime che le sasori intoppo al 9 per cento meno di pil su base annua dobbiamo vedere però è chiaro che se riusciamo ad affrontare questa nuova fase settore ci aiuteranno a contenere il contagio noi come dire qualche spesa in più vorrei che cela potessimo per mettere in termini di fiducia per quanto riguarda i consumi nel periodo natalizio quello ci consentirebbe come dire di riprende un attimo dopo questa questo periodo in cui dobbiamo rifiutare dobbiamo predisporci obbedire al momento un po difficile e poi possiamo un po affrontare con qualche serietà qualcuno ha detto la presidente è ottimista ma noi questione questo non ho mai detto anzi precisa non sto pensando a un natale un periodo natalizio veglioni feste natalizie cenoni abbracci tra parenti amici dobbiamo sempre rispettare le regole però se ci arriviamo in condizione di con un certo margine di serenità sicuramente anche la fiducia nei consumi non sarà depressa e potremo vedere benefici economici prego ultima domanda per marco di fonso sky tg24 presidente anch'io molte domande perché siamo montate le tende penso che si faccia a tutti gli italiani una prima che è un chiarimento ne ha parlato del monitoraggio è punto di partenza per la classificazione dei territori in base alla zona di rischio quello che è stato adottato per l'ordinanza di questa sera è quello scorsa settimana con i dati del 19 25 ottobre o ce n'è uno nuovo di oggi perché presiderà lombardia fontana poche ore fa contestava che potesse arrivare ad una distinzione rispetto alla sua regione con i dati di 10 giorni fa anche alla luce delle misure che nel frattempo la lombardia ha preso una domanda riguarda la scuola è forse l'ultimo appiglio diciamo di tante famiglie alla normale ma anche alla luce del nuovo dpcm la pressione della didattica in presenza che nelle zone rosse arriverà fino a toccare dalla seconda media in su è il limite massimo secondo lei che abbiamo raggiunto si potrà arrivare ancora oltre fino a toccare gli alunni più piccoli quindi delle elementari e della prima media in futuro una terza domanda più politica ha parlato del tavolo con la maggioranza che si riunirà domani le cose con l'opposizione invece come vanno lunedì in parlamento c'è stato qualche elemento di disgelo cambiato così con dei voti incrociati insomma delle approvazioni delle astensioni sulle risoluzioni rispetto a nuovo dpcm ma quelle piccole aperture sembrano quasi già rientrate sappiamo dell'attività e dell'interesse del quirinale nella spinta alla condivisione sente la necessità è come dire si può preannunciare la sua iniziativa di coinvolgimento più forte nei conti delle opposizioni grazie rispondono alla prima domanda e chiaro che il ministro della salute oggi qualche ora fa adottato un'ordinanza assolutamente aggiornata rispetto agli esiti del monitoraggio tenete conto però che l'esito del monitoraggio adesso io non sono un tecnico semmai il professore saperlo spiegherà meglio potete fare a lui questa domanda ma da quanto complesso lesa il monitoraggio certo non fotografa il dato che arriva questa mattina che arriva ieri perché va consolidato per elaborato quindi aggiornata una settimana precedente quindi se qualsiasi regione man mano che dovesse andare avanti poi questo flusso di informazioni sarà tale questo flusso dall'area re la con di criticità questo lo vedremo però è anche vero che quando si entra in un'area in una fascia non è

che si esce perché ha ri eva un dato diverso dopo non funziona così i dati devono appunto stabilizzarsi ecco che abbiamo previsto sempre sulla scorta delle indicazioni scientifiche ci sono state strugge rete che ci debba essere una permanenza in fascia almeno 14 giorni non può essere che il giorno dopo arriva un dato diverso chiaro ovviamente un sistema che richiede grande responsabilità da parte dei dipartimenti di pensione regionali i quali ovviamente sono anche una responsabilità pubblica pubblici ufficiali devono alimentare questo sistema devono mandare le informazioni nel loro stesso interesse perché monitoraggio sia curato ma non c'è la possibilità di dire avete ieri stavo meglio oggi sto peggio e allora cambia qualcosa nella versione è fatto in modo da fotografare un trend che viene stabilizzato per quanto riguarda la scuola lei mi invita a considerare a condividere una considerazione che peraltro la cavo anche da un forte da una forte petizione che mi è venuta dalle aule parlamentari che il governo condivide la scuola deve essere un presidio quindi tra quelle misure il fatto ad esempio di mandare in didattica a distanza da moto degli studenti delle scuole superiori di secondo grado sino ad arrivare nelle zone più critiche a mandare in dad didattica a distanza anche gli studenti seconda e terza media è un fatto che pesa molto al governo e le assicuro che appena la curva rientrerà sotto controllo una delle prime misure che vogliamo adottare eccetera e fa restituire la didattica in presenza a quanti più alunni possibili ma è chiaro che non possiamo non tener conto del contesto complessivo che stava potando per quanto riguarda invece la il quesito che mi ha posto sulle opposizioni beh devo dire che il passaggio che c'è stato lunedì in parlamento le comunicazioni fatte alle due camere hanno segnalato hanno offerto qualche segnale di novità non vi sarà sfuggito che la maggioranza le forze di maggioranza hanno votato alcuni impegni contenuti nella risoluzione presentata dal centrodestra dalle forze di opposizione come non vi sarà sfuggito che abbiamo votato pressoché all'unanimità una risoluzione presentata da un esponente della lega questi sono dei segnali dei segnali e che si ricollegano anche può immaginare alla mia richiesta formulata ai presidenti delle camere del senato e della camera dei deputati di trovare una sede uno strumento per assicurare un confronto più serrato anche continuo e costante tra parlamento tra governo e parlamento le opposizioni come sapete hanno fatto la scelta di rifiutare un tavolo di confronto io se ci fate caso non l'ho chiamata cabina di regia non l'ho chiamata cabina di regia preciso anche adesso per la prima volta perché cambiata di energia potrebbe far pensare a una cabina dove si assume responsabilità gestionali e si condividono pienamente tutte le abita invece ho detto anche in parlamento avremo sempre solo di confronto ci sarà se lo volete se ci ripensa e rete ancora aperto il governo però si assume le proprie responsabilità non intende state tranquilli non è un problema di voler condividere responsabilità di voler coinvolgere le responsabilità delle forze imposizioni addirittura come ha detto qualcuno perché siamo in una nuova ondata il governo si assume tutte le responsabilità quindi senza con piena distinzione dei ruoli però avverte l'esigenza e a dire il vero che l'abbiamo sempre avvertito perché sono state tante occasioni in cui l'abbiamo coinvolti avvertiamo l'esigenza che in una sfida così drammatica per il paese tutti quanti possano parte quantomeno condividere informazioni quantomeno essere coinvolti e cogliere lo spirito le finalità e le proposte e quindi alle decisioni che si vanno assume poi spetta all'opposizione a raccogliere lo meno questo invito a quel tavolo di confronto quella proposta è sempre pi sarà rimarrà rimarrà aperta sino alla fine basta così grazie a tutti buona serata della settimana monitorata dal 19 al 25 novembre il numero di nuovi casi e quasi

raddoppia o scusati ottobre il numero di nuovi casi e quasi raddoppiato rispetto alla settimana precedente e infatti le reti che come sapete segna la capacità di trasmissione del virus è aumentato sino a 1,7 parliamo di una mediazione e quindi vuol dire che ci sono alcune regioni che hanno una reti ancora superiore rispetto alle persone contagiate e vero sale il numero degli asintomatici diminuisce in % uale il numero delle persone che vanno in terapia intensiva ma è vero che i numeri complessivi sono in costante aumento e comportano un'alta probabilità che molte le regioni superino le soglie critiche delle terapie intensive e delle terapie mediche già nelle prossime settimane dobbiamo necessariamente intervenire dobbiamo farlo per l'altare la circolazione del virus in attesa di poter disporre ci auguriamo quanto prima di vaccini di terapie risolutive oggi a differenza la prima ondata però disponiamo di un piano di monitoraggio della cura molto articolato che si basa su 21 parametri questo piano è la bussola che ci indica dove intervenire con quali misure anche differenziate ben mirate più elevati sono la circolazione del virus e il rischio tenuta dei servizi sanitari più restrittive sono le misure che andiamo a introdurre e guardate se invece introducessimo misure uniche su tutto il territorio nazionale produrremo bleach effetto negativo quello cioè da un lato di non adottare misure realmente adeguati ed efficaci per le condizioni che sono in una per le regioni che sono attualmente a maggior rischio e dall'alto finiremmo per indurre per imporre misure e ragionevolmente restrittive per quelle aree del paese dove invece la situazione è meno grave per questo abbiamo distinto l'intera penisola in tre aree gialla arancione rossa ciascuna con problemi su restrittive tutte le misure che vi riassumerò entreranno in vigore venerdì a partire da venerdì perché abbiamo voluto ho voluto riferire la loro entrata in vigore di un giorno per consentire a tutti di disporre di un tempo congruo per organizzare le proprie attività proprio qualche ora fa poco fa il ministro speranza ha dato un ordinanza che ha individuato le regioni più critiche della fascia rosso della fascia arancione partiamo dalla viaggiata alla con criticità moderata in quest'area all'esito dell'ultimo monitoraggio orientano le regioni abruzzo basilicata campania emilia romagna friuli venezia giulia lazio liguria marche molise sardegna toscana umbria veneto province di trento e di bolzano in queste regioni sarà vietato circolare dalle ore 21 alle ore 5 del mattino salvo comprovati motivi di lavoro di necessità di salute anche durante il giorno per altro raccomandiamo di limitare gli spostamenti non per motivi di salute di lavoro di studio o situazioni di necessità nei giorni festivi e prefestivi chiudono i negozi alterno dei centri commerciali ad eccezione di farmacie e parafarmacie generi alimentari tabacchi ed edicole chiudono musei chiudono mostra per quanto riguarda la scuola si passa alla didattica a distanza per le scuole secondarie per quelle superiori di secondo grado di parliamo di il pgt tecnici e professionali fatta eccezione per gli studenti con disabilità in caso di utilizzo di laboratori continuano invece le lezioni in presenza le scuole dell'infanzia le scuole elementari le scuole medie le attività didattiche nelle università si svolgeranno necessariamente a distanza salvo che per le matricole per l'utilizzo di laboratori sono sospese tutte le prove preselettive le prove scritte che si svolgono in presenza concorsi pubblici e privati come pure di abilitazioni professionali con alcune eccezioni come i concorsi gli appassioni di medici operatori sanitari e o della protezione civile per i mezzi di trasporto è consentito il riempimento solo fino al 50 per cento fatta eccezione per il trasporto scolastico solo sono sospese le scommesse e giochi videogiochi anche nei bar nelle tabaccherie bar e ristoranti restano aperti silp ore 18 e l'asporto il titolo fino alle ore 22 per la consegna a domicilio non ci sono per ora resta in panne

e più su pc pesca beh espressa il portiere passiamo a parlare con un livello di criticità che possiamo definire medio alta anche in quest'area rientrano le regioni anche in quest'altra ci sono delle regioni escono la puglia e la sicilia anche qui è vietato circolare dalle ore 22 alle ore 5 del mattino salvo anche qui comprovati motivi di lavoro necessità salute in aggiunta ecco vedete le misure diventano via via più restrittive qui è vietato spostarsi in entrata e in uscita da una regione all'altra e da un comune all'altro salvo comprovati motivi di lavoro studio salute necessità e da un comune all'altro ci si può comunque spostare per usufruire di servizi di addita non disponibili al comune di abitazione o di residenza e anche in questo caso o raccomandò di evitare spostamenti che non siano necessari nel corso della giornata attenzione in queste regioni chiudiamo anche bar e ristoranti 7 giorni su 7 che possono però operare per l'asporto fino alle ore 22 mentre la consegna a domicilio non ci sono le iscrizioni ancora a queste regioni si applicano le regioni arancioni le seguenti misure prestì anche per quelle gialle le indico per maggiore chiarezza di chi città seguendo giorni festivi e prefestivi chiudono i negozi all'interno dei centri commerciali sempre ad eccezione di farmacie parafarmacie generi alimentari tabacchi di cole chiudono anche mostre e musei anche qui è prevista la didattica a distanza per le scuole superiori di secondo grado fatta eccezione per studenti disabili in caso di utilizzo di laboratori le elezioni imprese rimangono per le scuole dell'infanzia scuole elementari e scuole medie le alita didattiche all'università si svolgeranno anche qui necessariamente a distanza salvo che per le matricole per attività di laboratorio e ancora sospese tutte le prove preselettive le prove scritte che si svolgono in presenza sì pubblici e privati per abilitazioni professionali con alcune eccezioni come i corsi di abitazioni di medici operatori sanitari e della protezione civile e anche qui per di mezzi di trasporto pubblico è consentito il re mento solo fino al 50 per cento fatta eccezione per i mezzi di trasporto scolastico anche qui sono sospese le attività riguardanti scommesse e giochi videogiochi anche nei bar nelle tabaccherie e continuano a rimanere chiuse piscine palestre teatri cinema mentre rimangono aperti i centri sportivi e poi ci sono le regioni dell'area rossa con criticità alta sulla base dell'ultimo monitoraggio dell'ordinanza appena firmata ha messo speranze alpi rientrano calabria lombardia piemonte valle d'aosta queste regioni si applicano misure ancora più restrittive in questo caso è stato ogni spostamento all'interno del proprio comune in qualsiasi orario salvo che per motivi di lavoro necessità e di salute quindi va da sé che non ci si può spostare da una regione all'altra e da un comune all'altro anche qui chiudono bar e ristoranti ma l'asporto è consentito sino alle 22 non ci sono restrizioni per la consegna a domicilio chiudono anche negozi fatta eccezione per quelli riguardanti e negli alimentari i beni di necessità restano aperte edicole tabaccherie farmacie e parafarmacie e tra i servizi alla persona le sue aperti partiere barbieri anche lavanderie negli uffici pubblici si lavora in presenza solo per attività indifferibili altrimenti si va in smart working tra scola in questo caso la didattica a distanza è prevista oltre che per la scuola secondaria di secondo grado anche per le classi di seconda e terza media restano quindi aperte le scuole dell'infanzia le scuole elementari la prima media non abbiamo nel caso della preda ha voluto imporre sacrifici soverchi agli studenti abbia hanno iniziato da poco un nuovo ciclo scolastico una nuova esperienza formativa si sono appena conosciuti tra loro e con i loro professori ed è giusto che possano proseguire in presenza tutti i corsi universitari si svolgeranno a distanza salvo specifiche eccezioni come corsi di medicina e relativi tirocini sono sospese tutte le prove anche qui preselettive scritte che si svolgono in

presenza concorsi pubblici portati abilitazioni professionali con alcune eccezioni come i concorso abitazioni di medici operatori sanitari e anche qui protezione civile sono sospese tutte le competizioni sportive salvo quelle riconosciute di interesse nazionale dal coni e dal cip e sospeso ogni attività svolta in centri sportivi mentre rimane consentito lo sport amatoriale nei pressi della propria abitazione attività sportiva solo all'aperto ma in forma individuale anche qui ovviamente sono chiusi musei mostre teatri cinema palestre attività di sale giochi e sale scommesse ringo anche nei bar nelle tabaccherie e anche qui per i mezzi trasporto e consentito il riempimento solo fino al 50 per cento con l'eccezione dei mezzi di trasporto scolastico assaltati a specifici protocolli avrete notato che non ci sono regioni di complanari e verdi la pandemia copre ovunque quindi non ci sono regioni territori che possono sottrarsi a questi nuovi regimi di sulle restrittive il po dpcm l'ho già anticipato entrerà in vigore venerdì se novembre sino al 3 dicembre tutte queste misure entreranno insieme verdi prossimo poi con future ordinanza del ministro della salute verranno forniti aggiornamenti sulla condizione di rischio in cui si trovano le varie regioni e le ordinanze del ministro della salute non saranno attenzione arbitrare o discrezionali come non lo è stata quella appena emanata per che recepiranno l'esito del monitoraggio periodico che viene effettuato congiuntamente dei rappresentanti dell'istituto superiore di sanità del ministero salute e anche i natanti delle regioni risultati che poi vengono condivisi anche dei componenti del comitato tecnico scientifico se una regione per intenderci alessio dell'adozione di queste misure restrittive dovesse rientrare però in condizione di instabilità per circa 14 non meno di 14 giorni in una condizione di rischio più bassa potrà essere assoggettata successivamente a un regime di misure meno restrittive lo auguriamo tutti opposto al ministero della salute e anche al direttore del sito superiore di sanità di condividere i dati del monitoraggio gli indicatori che sono alla base di questa attività queste informazioni sono già condivise dalle singole regioni perché le regioni stesse alimentano questo flusso di informazioni e lo inviano quindi lo fanno per venissimo superiore di sanità vogliamo che questi dati siano accessibili alla comunità scientifica ea tutti i cittadini non abbiamo alternative dobbiamo affrontare queste restrizioni per congelare questa impennata della curva di contagio comprendiamo il disagio la frustrazione della sofferenza psicologica ma dobbiamo tenere duro già all'opera per altro per mitigare le ripercussioni negative che può essere iscrizioni avranno sull'attività economica sui redditi sul tessuto produttivo da questa settimana porteremo in consiglio dei ministri dovremmo farcela già domani sera un nuovo decreto legge che consentirà la pronta e ragazzi di indennizzi agli operatori economici colpiti da queste nuove misure è un decreto che si aggiunge a quello appena adottato lo possiamo chiamare un decreto ristori bix anche questa volta punteremo a erogare benefici da accreditare direttamente sugli sui conti correnti degli operatori e comici direttamente colpiti da queste misure tramite l'agenzia delle entrate insieme ovviamente ad altre misure di sostegno eppure adotteremo ci aspettano ancora mesi lunghi difficili rispettando però le regole con l'impegno di tutti possiamo raffreddare la logica e recuperare un margine di serenità è un percorso che dobbiamo compiere tutti insieme sorreggendo sci sostenendoci gli unico e 3 grazie grazie allora adesso possiamo iniziare con domande abbiamo gabriele martelloni di rainews24 permettetevi perché mi segnalano che l'area già l'avrei detto divieto di circolazione 21 invece dalle 22 quindi facciamo questa precisazione ripeto per l'aria per l'area già tra le regioni che sono nell'area gialla avrei detto divieto di circolazione dalle 21 invece di via circolazione è ed

alle 22 prego buonasera presidente un chiarimento su dpcm la zona rossa la fascia rossa si delinea soltanto a livello regionale o ad esempio in una regione in fascia è possibile delimitare ad esempio una provincia come zona rossa e poi una cosa invece sul tavolo politico di domani con il leader della maggioranza qualcuno le ha già prospettato la necessità di un cambio di ministri dell'interno del governo per il patto di legislatura di cui parlava a lei oppure sarà incentrato soprattutto sui temi magari già di sciogliere il nodo mass legge elettorale grazie per quanto riguarda la possibilità che il monitoraggio possa anche suggerire una diverso o con una diversa così del rischio all'interno la regione per singole province è un monitoraggio che c'è stato scritto costruito anche su base provinciale e chiaro che più si scende di dal punto di vista della grand hall ospitati con i tecnici e più ovviamente bisogna stare attenti però abbiamo previsto anche la possibilità nel dp possa essere anche qualche a ragion veduta quando ricorrono particolari condizioni che giustificano una differenziazione all'interno delle regioni in astratto è anche possibile una differenziazione quindi abbiamo i meccanismi per operarli però ripeto diciamo e la forza e l'intero meccanismo o via me e di costruire un tessuto di misure che da frank e la circolazione data la possibilità di avere un flusso informativo sostanzialmente ragionato al è situato su base regionale per quanto riguarda l'altra misura l'altro l'altro tema che ha posto l'altro questo e quello dei rimpasti in sostanza chiamiamolo così in realtà non mi è stato chiesto dalle sua forza politica di operare rimpasti e se mi permettete dati anche i temi che stiamo affrontando questa sera e la criticità che si vada ad attraversare l'intero paese mi sembra che il tema dei rimpasti sia un tema che possa interessare poco i cittadini non interessa particolarmente me ma le assicuro non sta neppure occorre delle forze politiche domani ci vedremo abbiamo fissato un incontro questo incontro con i leader delle varie forze di maggioranza per valutare quali sono le priorità per quanto riguarda l'azione di governo le priorità poche faremo un confronto è bene ovviamente la gestione della pandemia ci assorbe molto ma dobbiamo pensare anche al futuro dobbiamo pensare a recovery plan italiano dobbiamo pensare a tutte le iniziative alcuni anche di rilievo costituzionale che possiamo assumere possiamo condividere un percorso insieme e quindi confrontarci per dare nuova lena all'azione di governo domanda e mille ci fan page buonasera presidente due domande anche per me la prima lo ha ricordato lei questo meccanismo di chiusura si basa su un meccanismo di parametri una sola l'ha chiamato lei che il governo ha costruito nei mesi scorsi e che è stato confermato ottobre ora questa bussola doveva prevedere degli automatismi in realtà in queste ore c'è stato un confronto anche duro con le regioni hanno chiesto una sorta di contrattazione dei dati confronto sui dati che dovrebbero essere dati oggettivi allora io le chiedo anche per le prossime settimane visto che dovrei tornato di settimana in settimana questo massimo è automatico o le regioni hanno come dire una una una richiesta politica di impedire nelle decisioni che prenderà il ministro speranza e ink e grado qualche regione in questa minaccia anche di impugnare le ordinanze informalmente la seconda domanda invece che il peggio è può chiarire quale per quanto riguarda lo spostamento per le visite ai congiunti soprattutto nelle zone a rischio più alto è consentito quanto informa che il spostamento per il limite congiunti allora perché tutto riguarda tutti i temi iniziamo dal primo punto c'è stato un ampio confronto c'è sempre un costante confronto dopo che la pandemia con le regioni una volta però attenzione una volta elaborato questo sistema e questo sistema è stato elaborato sia il piano che per quanto riguarda la gestione della pandemia sia questo sistema di monitoraggio è stato approvato

e lavorato anche con i rappresentanti delle regioni e designati alla conferenza delle regioni quindi e c'è una cabina di regia in questo momento che riceve questo flusso informativo dalle agenzie le stesse questa prima di regia ci sono dei rappresentanti appunto delle regioni che congiuntamente elaborano questi dati quindi le regioni non sono un alter ego rispetto a questo sistema sono parte integrante di questo sistema di monitoraggio al punto che hanno contribuito a definirne il sistema e contribuiscono a leggere e interpretare i dati permettetemi quindi è improprio dire il confronto con le regioni le regioni sono parte integrante il confronto dei bambini e l'ho detto questi dati li dobbiamo prendere assolutamente accessibili con i relativi indicatori è giusto che in questo momento in termini di accountability ci sia la trasparenza e siano accessibili anche questi indicatori questi meccanismi a tutta la comunità scientifica quindi il confronto se vi permette di avere con la comunità scientifica e con i cittadini sono loro che in questo momento se mappe sono fuori da questo sistema detto questo quindi è chiaro che quando si adotta poi gli esiti dei singoli monitoraggi e lo fa il ministro della salute sperata con ordinanza il ministro non si è riservato una discrezionalità politica per cui a seconda della contrattazione come ho suggerito con la regione vediamo l'esito di questa negoziazione qui stiamo parlando del bene dei cittadini non ci possiamo permettere di lasciare a valutazioni politiche una volta che abbiamo costruito un sistema così serrato la scelta e le valutazioni politiche abbiamo fatti con questo dpcm laddove abbiamo costruito questo regime tripartito di misure una volta scelto optato per questo e se abbiamo anche una della formale un parere formale delle regioni che poi ci hanno detto bene misura e univoche nazionali con l'integrazione di misure più restrittive per le prigioni che ne hanno bisogno i nero su bianco quindi una volta condiviso questo impianto questo regime restrittivo le conseguenze sono automatiche perché sono basate su criteri predefiniti e oggettivi che sfuggono a qualsiasi contrattazione e stiamo parlando di cose serie non è possibile mettersi a doppiare e a contrattare sulla pelle i cittadini non lo farai misto della salute non lo faranno ovviamente immagino neppure i punti nelle singole regioni quindi il contraddittorio ci sarà perché quando il ministro della salute adotta l'ordinanza è prescritto che lo ha patito il presidente ma non negoziando col presidente di intesa col presente quindi viene rispettato il contraddittorio anche sul singolo atto che però certifica un risultato obiettivo è predeterminato il contraddittorio ea ponte le regioni che partecipano al pezzo [Musica] allora noi come sapete abbia messo la raccomandazione già da tempo già attualmente che non si va a trovare persone con un convinti che quella è occasione di contagio ovviamente le restrizioni sopportate nella zona tra virgolette nell'aria nelle regioni rosse addirittura per l'uscita di casa che va motivata perché si esce solo per quei casi che abbiamo detto quindi le restrizioni sono modulate però in ogni caso al di là del divieto che molto stringente per quanto riguarda ovviamente le aree in condizione di più alto rischio c'è sempre la raccomandazione anche nelle aree gialle di non andare dove ci sono da in altri habitat dove ovviamente si incontra al sony non conviventi si creano occasioni o che di pericolo nella scudiero agenzia di stampa la pres allora era presidente innanzitutto un chiarimento se e quando saranno le cere le autocertificazioni poi per quanto riguarda i ristori il decreto di storie bis se è vero che la cifra che è circolata di uno stanziamento da un miliardo e mezzo due miliardi di euro se verranno previsti nuovi congedi parentali come chiedevano ieri le regioni e se avete fatto una stima di tanto questo nuovo diciamo mini lockdown lockdown localizzato può poi diciamo può avere effetti sul sul pil nazionale per ora almeno nove un po se

avete già fatto i conti visto che siamo in una nota grazie grazie anche le tante domande l'autocertificazione e collegata ai divieti se un divieto per quanto riguarda gli spostamenti chiaramente la motivato con l'autocertificazione quindi nelle zone rosse si esce di casa a qualsiasi ora del giorno autocertificando dove si va per motivi di lavoro all'hotel abbiamo detto o di necessità e così quando c'è un divieto di spostamento tra una regione al plauso a un comune alpes l'altro invece quando c'è la raccomandazione e dentemente non va offerta nessuna autocertificazione ma noi confidiamo che anche le raccomandazioni siano retate e questo ci consentirà di riportare al pesto sotto controllo la curva del contagio quindi significa che rispettando le regole faremo meno sacrifici in prospettiva poi per quanto riguarda i ristori adesso in questo momento non le anticipo una cifra per chi è chiaro la ragioneria stanno lavorando col mistero col mef al ministero dell'economia stanno facendo di conto in questo momento però sicuramente ci sono adeguati adeguati stanziamenti per questo nuovo decreto ristori bis potrebbero essere sicuramente nella dovrebbero essere la dell'ammontare che le ha indicato uno e mezzo due miliardi ma notte io l'ho detto con il governo siamo determinati adesso stiamo affrontando questa battaglia e quando si affronta una battaglia così difficile una prova costituirà per l'intera comunità per l'intero paese bisogna essere pronti a tutto il necessario quindi se ci fosse necessità di avere dispone di ulteriori risorse dobbiamo esser pronti se del caso non se n'era viste talmente ma se del caso anche a presentarci in parlamento con grande senso di responsabilità anche per ulteriore spostamento mancano ancora deciso perché per adesso abbiamo stanziamenti a quanto mi viene attivato sufficienti e quindi questo riguarda anche tutti gli altri sostegni adesso non mi faccia anticipare va sicuramente c'era attenzione anche per quanto riguarda ragionevolmente i congedi parentali perché sarà un problema ovviamente per le famiglie quando andremo quando andiamo a prevedere la didattica a distanza soprattutto per i più piccoli per i nostri le ragazze i nostri ragazzi più piccoli credo di avere risposto tutto eccetto che sul pil beh innanzi tutto in un contesto così difficile adesso mi segnalavano che città l'ultima stima per quanto riguarda per dire no i tassi al quinquennio quinquennali titoli di stato di debito pubblici siamo in prossimità allo zero quindi questo significa che nonostante quello che stiamo attraversando i mercati gli analisti mercati finanziari credono a quello che stiamo facendo ci danno fiducia è un segnale importante io non ho la palla di vetro per dire se dovremo rivedere le stime che le sasori intoppo al 9 per cento meno di pil su base annua dobbiamo vedere però è chiaro che se riusciamo ad affrontare questa nuova fase settore ci aiuteranno a contenere il contagio noi come dire qualche spesa in più vorrei che cela potessimo per mettere in termini di fiducia per quanto riguarda i consumi nel periodo natalizio quello ci consentirebbe come dire di riprende un attimo dopo questa questo periodo in cui dobbiamo rifiutare dobbiamo predisporci obbedire al momento un po difficile e poi possiamo un po affrontare con qualche serietà qualcuno ha detto la presidente è ottimista ma noi questione questo non ho mai detto anzi precisa non sto pensando a un natale un periodo natalizio veglioni feste natalizie cenoni abbracci tra parenti amici dobbiamo sempre rispettare le regole però se ci arriviamo in condizione di con un certo margine di serenità sicuramente anche la fiducia nei consumi non sarà depressa e potremo vedere benefici economici prego ultima domanda per marco di fonso sky tg24 presidente anch'io molte domande perché siamo montate le tende penso che si faccia a tutti gli italiani una prima che è un chiarimento ne ha parlato del monitoraggio è punto di partenza per la classificazione dei

territori in base alla zona di rischio quello che è stato adottato per l'ordinanza di questa sera è quello scorsa settimana con i dati del 19 25 ottobre o ce n'è uno nuovo di oggi perché presiderà lombardia fontana poche ore fa contestava che potesse arrivare ad una distinzione rispetto alla sua regione con i dati di 10 giorni fa anche alla luce delle misure che nel frattempo la lombardia ha preso una domanda riguarda la scuola è forse l'ultimo appiglio diciamo di tante famiglie alla normale ma anche alla luce del nuovo dpcm la pressione della didattica in presenza che nelle zone rosse arriverà fino a toccare dalla seconda media in su è il limite massimo secondo lei che abbiamo raggiunto si potrà arrivare ancora oltre fino a toccare gli alunni più piccoli quindi delle elementari e della prima media in futuro una terza domanda più politica ha parlato del tavolo con la maggioranza che si riunirà domani le cose con l'opposizione invece come vanno lunedì in parlamento c'è stato qualche elemento di disgelo cambiato così con dei voti incrociati insomma delle approvazioni delle astensioni sulle risoluzioni rispetto a nuovo dpcm ma quelle piccole aperture sembrano quasi già rientrate sappiamo dell'attività e dell'interesse del quirinale nella spinta alla condivisione sente la necessità è come dire si può preannunciare la sua iniziativa di coinvolgimento più forte nei conti delle opposizioni grazie rispondono alla prima domanda e chiaro che il ministro della salute oggi qualche ora fa adottato un'ordinanza assolutamente aggiornata rispetto agli esiti del monitoraggio tenete conto però che l'esito del monitoraggio adesso io non sono un tecnico semmai il professore saperlo spiegherà meglio potete fare a lui questa domanda ma da quanto complesso lesa il monitoraggio certo non fotografa il dato che arriva questa mattina che arriva ieri perché va consolidato per elaborato quindi aggiornata una settimana precedente quindi se qualsiasi regione man mano che dovesse andare avanti poi questo flusso di informazioni sarà tale questo flusso dall'area re la con di criticità questo lo vedremo però è anche vero che quando si entra in un'area in una fascia non è che si esce perché ha ri eva un dato diverso dopo non funziona così i dati devono appunto stabilizzarsi ecco che abbiamo previsto sempre sulla scorta delle indicazioni scientifiche ci sono state strugge rete che ci debba essere una permanenza in fascia almeno 14 giorni non può essere che il giorno dopo arriva un dato diverso chiaro ovviamente un sistema che richiede grande responsabilità da parte dei dipartimenti di prescrizione regionali i quali ovviamente sono anche una responsabilità pubblica pubblici ufficiali devono alimentare questo sistema devono mandare le informazioni nel loro stesso interesse perché monitoraggio sia curato ma non c'è la possibilità di dire avete ieri stavo meglio oggi sto peggio e allora cambia qualcosa nella versione è fatto in modo da fotografare un trend che viene stabilizzato per quanto riguarda la scuola lei mi invita a considerare a condividere una considerazione che peraltro la cavo anche da un forte da una forte petizione che mi è venuta dalle aule parlamentari che il governo condivide la scuola deve essere un presidio quindi tra quelle misure il fatto ad esempio di mandare in didattica a distanza da moto degli studenti delle scuole superiori di secondo grado sino ad arrivare nelle zone più critiche a mandare in didattica a distanza anche gli studenti seconda e terza media è un fatto che pesa molto al governo e le assicuro che appena la curva rientrerà sotto controllo una delle prime misure che vogliamo adottare eccetera e fa restituire la didattica in presenza a quanti più alunni possibili ma è chiaro che non possiamo non tener conto del contesto complessivo che stava potando per quanto riguarda invece la il quesito che mi ha posto sulle opposizioni beh devo dire che il passaggio che c'è stato lunedì in parlamento le comunicazioni fatte alle due camere hanno segnalato

hanno offerto qualche segnale di novità non vi sarà sfuggito che la maggioranza le forze di maggioranza hanno votato alcuni impegni contenuti nella risoluzione presentata dal centrodestra dalle forze di opposizione come non vi sarà sfuggito che abbiamo votato pressoché all'unanimità una risoluzione presentata da un esponente della lega questi sono dei segnali dei segnali e che si ricollegano anche può immaginare alla mia richiesta formulata ai presidenti delle camere del senato e della camera dei deputati di trovare una sede uno strumento per assicurare un confronto più serrato anche continuo e costante tra parlamento tra governo e parlamento le opposizioni come sapete hanno fatto la scelta di rifiutare un tavolo di confronto io se ci fate caso non l'ho chiamata cabina di regia non l'ho chiamata cabina di regia preciso anche adesso per la prima volta perché cambiata di energia potrebbe far pensare a una cabina dove si assume responsabilità gestionali e si condividono pienamente tutte le abita invece ho detto anche in parlamento avremo sempre solo di confronto ci sarà se lo volete se ci ripensa e rete ancora aperto il governo però si assume le proprie responsabilità non intende state tranquilli non è un problema di voler condividere responsabilità di voler coinvolgere le responsabilità delle forze imposizioni addirittura come ha detto qualcuno perché siamo in una nuova ondata il governo si assume tutte le responsabilità quindi senza con piena distinzione dei ruoli però avverte l'esigenza e a dire il vero che l'abbiamo sempre avvertito perché sono state tante occasioni in cui l'abbiamo coinvolti avvertiamo l'esigenza che in una sfida così drammatica per il paese tutti quanti possano parte quantomeno condividere informazioni quantomeno essere coinvolti e cogliere lo spirito le finalità e le proposte e quindi alle decisioni che si vanno assume poi spetta all'opposizione a raccogliere lo meno questo invito a quel tavolo di confronto quella proposta è sempre più sarà rimarrà aperta sino alla fine basta così grazie a tutti buona sera

CORRIERE DELLA SERA

COVID-19 related headings on CdS, 24.2.2020.

<p>1) Virus al Nord, chiusure e blocchi.</p> <p>2) L'emergenza: oltre 150 casi in 5 regioni. A Crema la terza vittima. Il nostro paese diventa "sorvegliato speciale", raddoppio di contagi in un giorno.</p> <p>Stop a scuole, musei, cinema e pub. No ai turisti in Duomo. E l'Austria ferma per ore un treno dall'Italia.</p>	<p>1) Viruses in the North, closures and blocks.</p> <p>2) The emergency: over 150 cases in 5 regions. The third victim is in Crema. Our country becomes "under special surveillance", doubling infections in one day.</p> <p>Stop at schools, museums, cinemas and pubs. No tourists in the Cathedral. And Austria stops a train from Italy for hours.</p>
<p>3) Corsa alle scorte. Gli scaffali vuoti nei supermercati.</p>	<p>3) Stock rush. Empty shelves in supermarkets.</p>
<p>4) E a Venezia addio Carnevale.</p>	<p>4) And in Venice goodbye Carnival.</p>
<p>5) Pronti 3.500 posti letto.</p>	<p>5) 3.500 beds ready.</p>
<p>6) La forza di reagire</p> <p>Milano che chiude e annuncia il coprifuoco è l'immagine rovesciata di se stessa, la città che appartiene alla gente si ferma nell'anticamera della paura, smarrita, quasi rassegnata, accettando una prova che mette a rischio la tenuta di un sistema. Il coronavirus è un campo minato da attraversare con prudenza e con ogni precauzione, ma i divieti alzano barriere mai viste e sperimentate in tempo di pace.</p>	<p>6) The strength to react</p> <p>Milan that closes and announces the curfew is the inverted image of itself, the city that belongs to the people stops in the antechamber of fear, lost, almost resigned, accepting a test that jeopardizes the stability of a system. The coronavirus is a minefield to be crossed with caution and with every precaution, but the bans raise barriers never seen and experienced in peacetime</p>
<p>7) Cibo a domicilio e check point. Vita da isolati.</p> <p>La zona rossa del Lodigiano. Le forze che presidiano. Palette e divise. All'interno ci sono circa 47 mila persone alle quali è stato consigliato di rimanere in casa, ma che volendo possono uscire per</p>	<p>7) Food delivery and check point. Life in isolation.</p> <p>The red zone of the Lodi area. The presiding forces. Palettes and uniforms. Inside, there are about 47,000 people who have been advised to stay at home, but who, if they want, can go out through the</p>

<p>le vie del proprio comune o raggiungere gli altri paesi della zona rossa. tutti 'prigionieri' della quarantena.</p>	<p>streets of their own municipality or reach other towns in the red zone. all 'prisoners' of the quarantine.</p>
<p>8) Milano. Un caso al Policlinico e molti uffici: lavorate da casa</p> <p>Perché da noi così tanti malati?</p>	<p>8)Milan. A case at the Polyclinic and many offices: you work from home</p> <p>Why are there so many sick with us?</p>
<p>9)Le ricette globali</p> <p>Abbiamo visto con piacere il ministro della Salute e il presidente della Regione Lombardia annunciare insieme i dolorosi provvedimenti diretti ad evitare l'estensione del contagio. E letto con soddisfazione che anche il presidente della regione Veneto ha firmato insieme con il ministro la relativa ordinanza (la legge del 1978 sul Servizio sanitario nazionale richiede solo la firma del ministro). Ma, per affrontare questo nemico non basta la cooperazione nazionale.</p>	<p>9)The global recipes</p> <p>We were pleased to see the Minister of Health and the President of the Lombardy Region jointly announce the painful measures aimed at avoiding the spread of the infection. It is read with satisfaction that the president of the Veneto region has also signed the relative ordinance together with the minister (the 1978 law on the National Health Service requires only the signature of the minister). But national cooperation is not enough to face this enemy.</p>

COVID-19 related headings on CdS, 9.3.2020.

<p>1)Il virus Avanza, lite sui divieti. Protesta delle Regioni. Nelle carceri è rivolta: tre morti. Oltre 7 mila, l'Italia è la seconda al mondo.</p>	<p>1) The virus takes over, dispute over bans. Protest of the Regions. In prisons there is riot: three dead. Over 7,000, Italy is second in the world.</p>
<p>2) Nessuno sfugga.</p>	<p>2) Nobody escapes.</p>
<p>3)L'altrove siamo noi</p>	<p>3) We are elsewhere</p>
<p>4)Il vuoto e i ribelli: Milano alla prova</p>	<p>4) The void and the rebels: Milan to the test</p>
<p>5)Arresto per chi viola le regole. L'autocertificazione ai varchi.</p>	<p>5) Arrest for those who violate the rules. Self-certification at the gates.</p>
<p>6)“Decidere chi curare e chi no Noi medici come in guerra”.</p>	<p>6) “Deciding who to treat and who not We doctors as in war”.</p>

COVID-19 related headings on CdS,10.3.2020.

1) Ora è chiusa tutta l'Italia. Divieti in ogni regione. Conte: restare a casa. Scuole e sport, stop fino al tre aprile. Piazza Affari a -11%	1) Now all of Italy is closed. Prohibitions in every region. Conte: stay at home. Schools and sports, stop until April 3, Piazza Affari at -11%
2) Cambio di passo necessario	2) Necessary Change of pace
3) Battere la paura del caos in Borsa	3) Beat the fear of chaos on the stock market
4) Evasioni e morti: esplodono le carceri	4) Escapes and deaths: prisons explode
5) L'ordine: blocchi e zero deroghe. Il modello vincente che guarisce Wuhan.	5) The order: blocks and zero exceptions. The winning model that heals Wuhan.
6) Le rinunce, la ricostruzione. Impariamo la lezione dai nostri padri.	6) The renunciations, the reconstruction. We learn the lesson from our fathers.
7) Ricoverato a Pavia il paziente 1 lascia la terapia intensiva.	7) Patient 1 admitted to Pavia leaves intensive care.

COVID-19 related headings on CdS 27.4.2020.

<p>1) Si riapre con regole e divieti. Annuncio di Conte: i negozi riaprono il 18 maggio. Niente messe: l'ira dei vescovi.</p> <p>Bar, ristoranti e parrucchieri: via libera il primo giugno. Esame di maturità in presenza. "Contagi ancora alti, serve cautela".</p>	<p>1) We reopen with rules and prohibitions. Conte's announcement: shops will reopen on May 18th. No masses: the anger of the bishops.</p> <p>Bars, restaurants and hairdressers: green light on 1st June. Graduation exams in presence. "Contaminations still high, caution is needed".</p>
<p>2) Sulla Cina troppe ambiguità.</p> <p>Scrivono il New York Times, uno dei quotidiani più ostili a Trump dell'intero pianeta, che la Commissione europea avrebbe attenuato, su pressione dell'autorità di Pechino, un rapporto ufficiale sulle mistificazioni cinesi in tema di diffusione del Coronavirus. In questo rapporto si scriveva che "la Cina continua a condurre una campagna di disinformazione globale per sviare le accuse legate allo scoppio della pandemia".</p>	<p>2) Too many ambiguities about China.</p> <p>The New York Times, one of the most hostile newspapers to Trump on the entire planet, writes that the European Commission allegedly attenuated, under pressure from the Beijing authorities, an official report on Chinese mystifications regarding the spread of Coronavirus. In this report it was written that "China continues to conduct a global disinformation campaign to deflect allegations related to the outbreak of the pandemic".</p>

<p>4)Fondi diretti alle imprese.</p> <p>Maurizio Casasco, presidente di Confapi: “Ora più risorse, ma i fondi vanno versati direttamente alle imprese”.</p>	<p>4)Direct funds to businesses.</p> <p>Maurizio Casasco, president of Confapi: “Now more resources, but the funds must be paid directly to businesses”.</p>
<p>5) Tagli, infezioni e pochi tamponi: i medici passano alle denunce.</p> <p>Mascherine inadatte, pochi tamponi, tagli: l'accusa di non aver tutelato chi lavora in ospedale. L'Italia è il Paese dove da anni la probabilità di prendersi un'infezione negli ospedali è la più alta: il 6 per cento. Oggi il personale sanitario- che conta 19.942 contagiati e 185 morti- attraverso i sindacati ha presentato un esposto ai Nas oltre che alle Procure di dieci regioni:contestano alle aziende ospedaliere di non aver tutelato medici e infermieri come dovuto.</p>	<p>5)Cuts, infections and a few swabs: doctors move on to complaints.</p> <p>Unsuitable masks, few swabs, cuts: the accusation of not having protected those who work in the hospital. Italy is the country where the probability of catching an infection in hospitals has been the highest for years: 6 %. Today the health personnel - which counts 19,942 infected and 185 dead - through the trade unions presented a complaint to the Nas as well as to the prosecutors of ten regions: they criticize the hospitals for not having protected doctors and nurses as necessary.</p>
<p>6) Mascherine, quando usarle. Fissato il prezzo: 0,50 euro.</p> <p>Ci sarà un po' di allentamento sull'uso delle mascherine, anche se resteranno obbligatorie tutte le volte che non si riuscirà a rispettare un metro di distanza. E inoltre, sui mezzi pubblici, dal parrucchiere e nei negozi. Il prezzo? 50 centesimi.</p>	<p>6)Masks, when to use them. Fixed price: 0.50 euros.</p> <p>There will be some slack in the use of the masks, although they will remain mandatory whenever it is not possible to respect a distance of one meter. And also, on public transport, at the hairdresser and in shops. The price? 50 cents.</p>
<p>7) Vittime in calo, la Lombardia torna al 7 marzo.</p> <p>Ieri i morti in Italia sono stati 260.In Lombardia 56, il dato più basso dal 7 marzo. Sperando che questo sia il segnale che da giorni gli esperti si aspettavano di vedere. Ma nella regione che ha registrato ad oggi il maggior numero di decessi tornano però a crescere i contagi dopo sei giorni in discesa: l'incremento maggiore nell'area di Milano, più 463.Continua invece il calo di chi viene curato in terapia intensiva.</p>	<p>7)Victims in decline, Lombardy returns to 7 March.</p> <p>Yesterday there were 260 deaths in Italy, in Lombardy 56, the lowest figure since March 7, hoping that this is the signal that experts had expected to see for days. But in the region that has recorded the highest number of deaths to date, they return however, infections are growing after six days in decline: the greatest increase in Milan area, plus 463, while the decline in those who are treated in intensive care continues</p>

<p>8) La verità (per favore) su di noi.</p> <p>Alla vigilia dell'8 aprile, quando è stato revocato il lockdown di Wuhan- un lockdown molto più rigido del nostro-, la Cina intera dichiarava 62 nuovi casi, la maggior parte dei quali importati. Il giorno precedente 32. Ieri, in Piemonte, la mia regione che non ho mai sentito così geograficamente lontana, i nuovi infetti confermati erano 394. Nella Lombardia limitrofa erano 920. Però apriamo. O meglio, iniziamo ad aprire, perché lo fanno anche gli altri, perché si avvicina l'estate e sotto sotto speriamo che il caldo ci dia una mano.</p>	<p>8)The truth (please) about us.</p> <p>On the eve of April 8, when the Wuhan lockdown - a much more rigid lockdown than ours - was lifted, the whole of China declared 62 new cases, most of them imported. The previous day 32. Yesterday, in Piedmont, my region that I have never felt so geographically distant, the new confirmed infected were 394. In neighbouring Lombardy there were 920. But let's open. Deep down we hope that the heat will give us a hand.</p>
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COVID-19 related headings on CdS 12.5.2020.

<p>1)Il virus. Riaperture,più autonomie alle regioni.Meno di mille ricoverati nelle terapie intensive, non succedeva dal 10 Marzo.</p> <p>Veti e trattative sul decreto.</p>	<p>1) The virus. Reopening, more autonomy to the regions. Less than a thousand hospitalized in intensive care, had not happened since 10 March.</p> <p>Vetoes and negotiations on the decree.</p>
<p>2) Le scelte di un Paese</p>	<p>2) The choices of a country</p>
<p>3)Il direttore di Bankitalia: ora impegno per le riprese.</p>	<p>3) The director of the Bank of Italy: now commitment to shoot.</p>
<p>4)I ritardi da colmare</p>	<p>4) The delays to be bridged</p>
<p>5)Il caos dei test sierologici</p>	<p>5) The chaos of serological tests</p>
<p>6)La vita negli ospizi abusivi</p>	<p>6) Life in the abusive hospices</p>

COVID-19 related headings on CdS 25.10.2020.

<p>1)I governatori: sì al coprifuoco ma dalle 23.La bozza del decreto: niente feste, stop a cinema e teatri.La raccomandazione: a casa solo con i conviventi.</p> <p>Italia chiusa alle 18. No delle Regioni. Scontro con Palazzo Chigi sulle misure per bar, ristoranti e palestre.Conte: non possiamo abbassare la guardia.</p>	<p>1) Governors: yes to curfew but from 11 pm The draft of the decree: no parties, stop at cinemas and theaters. The recommendation: at home only with cohabitants.</p> <p>Italy closed at 6pm. No of the Regions. Clash with Palazzo Chigi on measures for bars,</p>
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	restaurants and gyms. Count: we cannot let our guard down.
2)Le illusioni sui numeri	2) The illusions about numbers
3)I balletti politici senza fine e la chiarezza necessaria	3) The endless political ballets and the necessary clarity
4)Il racconto. I nostri giorni con due nemiche: l'ansia e la paura	4) The story. Our days with two enemies: anxiety and fear
5)De Luca rinuncia alla serrata: colpa dello Stato	5) De Luca renounces the lockout: State fault
6)I piani. Didattica a distanza ma soltanto alle superiori. La battaglia sui licei: a casa tutti o 3 su 4	6) The plans. Distance learning but only in high school. The battle on the high schools: at home all or 3 out of 4

LA REPUBBLICA 24.2. 2020

1) Mezza Italia in quarantena.Dal Piemonte al Trentino,Il Nord si ferma per il virus. Stop a scuole, uffici, atenei e cinema. Terza vittima e 149 ammalati. Milano, chiusi il Duomo e la Scala per una settimana. Assalto ai supermercati. Il Ministro Speranza: il Paese regge.	1) Half of Italy in quarantine. From Piedmont to Trentino, the North stops due to the virus. Stop at schools, offices, universities and cinemas. Third victim and 149 sick. Milan, the Duomo and La Scala closed for a week. Assault on supermarkets. Minister Speranza: the country holds up.
2)Siamo un'emergenza. L'UE pronta a intervenire ma l'Austria blocca i treni.	2) We are an emergency. The EU is ready to intervene but Austria blocks the trains.
3)Il racconto. Contagiati dal panico.	3) The story. Infected with panic.
4)Mappe. L'epidemia e la minaccia di blindare le frontiere.	4) Maps. The epidemic and the threat to lock up the borders.
5)Il caso. Tutti a caccia della mascherina.	5) The case. All hunting for the mask.
6)Torino. In campo la protezione civile per i controlli sanitari	6) Turin. Civil protection in the field for health checks
7)Venezia. Niente Martedì Grasso, cancellato lo storico Carnevale.	7) Venice. No Shrove Tuesday, the historic Carnival canceled.
8)Casalpusterlengo. In Lombardia isolati 11 paesi.Scaffali svuotati e code nei negozi	8) Casalpusterlengo. In Lombardy 11 villages are isolated, shelves emptied and queues in shops

LA REPUBBLICA 9.3.2020

1) "Cara Italia, l'ora è buia ma dobbiamo farcela."	1) "Dear Italy, the hour is dark but we have to make it."
2)Il Premier: "Sul virus previsioni difficili. Fondamentale rispettare le misure. Mi fido della scienza, anche io ho fatto il test"	2) The Premier: "Difficult forecasts on the virus. It is essential to respect the measures. I trust science, I also took the test "
3)Le norme. Come comportarsi nelle zone arancione e gialla: spostamenti limitati a lavoro e salute.Le sanzioni: multe e arresti.	3) The rules. How to behave in the orange and yellow zones: travel limited to work and health. Sanctions: fines and arrests.
4)I numeri. Crescono ancora i contagiati. Siamo secondi dopo la Cina. Appello da Fiorello a Jovanotti: #iorestoacasa	4) The numbers. The infected are still growing. We are second after China. Appeal from Fiorello to Jovanotti: #iorestoacasa
5)La paura della paura	5) The fear of fear
6)Allarme Virus, carceri in rivolta a Modena e Pavia	6) Virus Alert, prisons in revolt in Modena and Pavia
7)Nord-Sud il Paese sotto-sopra	7) North-South the country upside down
9)Svegliati Milano	9) Wake up Milan

LA REPUBBLICA 10.3.2020

1)Cura shock. Tutti in casa.	1) Shock cure. Everyone in the house.
2)Crollano le Borse, Milano perde l'11%. Torna l'incubo del 2008	2) Stock exchanges collapse, Milan loses 11%. The nightmare of 2008 is back
3) E adesso tocca a noi	3) And now it's up to us
4)A un centimetro di distanza	4) One centimeter away
5)Se nessuno ci salva dal lunedì nero	5) If no one saves us from Black Monday
6)Non dividiamoci tra nonni e nipoti	6) Let's not divide ourselves between grandparents and grandchildren

LA REPUBBLICA 27.4.2020

1)La pandemia aiuta gli autocrati	1) The pandemic helps the autocrats
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2) Sfida al Virus, l'Italia riapre. I vescovi contro il Governo. Inaccettabile il no alle messe: nega la libertà di culto	2) Challenge to the Virus, Italy reopens. The bishops against the government: no to masses is unacceptable: it denies freedom of worship
3) Un Premier tra due fuochi	3) A Premier between two fires
4) La ricerca dell'uguaglianza	4) The pursuit of equality
5) Morire nelle banlieu, da poveri	5) Dying in the banlieu, as poor
6) La mia paura. Non saper tornare alla normalità	6) My fear. Not knowing how to return to normal
7) I bambini fuori dall'agenda	7) Children out of the agenda

LA REPUBBLICA 12.5.2020

1) Non si cade e non si va avanti	1) We do not fall and we do not go forward
2) I farmacisti: "Mancano le mascherine". Arcuri: è colpa vostra.	2) Pharmacists: "The masks are missing". Arcuri: it's your fault.
3) Le vacanze. Le regole della spiaggia a cinque metri di distanza	3) The holidays. The rules of the beach five meters away
4) Alberto Angela: ci salverà la bellezza	4) Alberto Angela: beauty will save us

LA REPUBBLICA 25.10.2020

1) Il lockdown del tempo libero. Battaglia nella notte sul nuovo Dpcm. Scontro con le Regioni sulla chiusura alle 18 di bar e ristoranti, ma il governo tira dritto. Stop a teatri, cinema, palestre, piscine. No a feste ed amici in casa. Lezioni online alle Superiori. Berlusconi: "Pronti ad un tavolo con conte".	1) The free time lockdown. Battle in the night on the new Dpcm. Clash with the Regions over the closure of bars and restaurants at 6 pm, but the government pulls straight on. Stop to theaters, cinemas, gyms, swimming pools. No to parties and friends at home. Online lessons for high school. Berlusconi: "Ready for a table with a count".
2) La sfida più difficile	2) The most difficult challenge
3) Macron richiama l'ambasciatore da Ankara	3) Macron recalls the ambassador from Ankara
4) La battaglia delle idee che aspetta l'Europa	4) The battle of ideas that awaits Europe
5) I morti triplicheranno. Assalto al 118.	5) The dead will triple. Assault on 118.
6) Il laboratorio napoletano	6) The Neapolitan laboratory

7)Prendiamo atto che non è ancora finita	7) We acknowledge that it is not over yet
8)Sesso , amore e pandemia	8) Sex, love and the pandemic

HS, 28.2.2020

<p>1) Käsi desinointi kaupaksi juuri nyt, apteekista kerrotaan: “Pitää vain toivoa, että ihmiset käyttävät sitä myös”</p> <p>Yliopiston Apteekin arjessa koronavirus näkyy vain vähän: suusuojainhylly on tyhjillään, ja osa asiakkaista haluaa jutella aiheesta. Ihmiset eivät vaikuta erityisen huolestuneilta, kertoo apteekinhoitaja Elina Lammi.</p>	<p>1) Hand sanitizer sells like hot cakes right now. From the pharmacy is said: “We have just to hope that people will also use it”</p> <p>In the ordinary day of the University Pharmacy coronavirus is barely seen: the mask shelter is empty and some of the customers want to talk about it. People don’t seem particularly worried, says Elina Lammi.</p>
<p>2) Voisiko koronavirus tarttua vierustoverilta 10 minuutin metromatkalla? Professori kertoo, miten lähikontakti määritellään</p> <p>Lähikontakti on THL:n mukaan henkilö, joka on ollut koronavirus tartunnan saaneen kanssa tekemisissä kasvatusten tai samassa huoneessa yli 15 minuuttia. Määritelmä perustuu todennäköisyyksiin, sanoo epidemiologian professori Pekka Nuorti.</p>	<p>2) Can coronavirus be transmitted from the person sitting nearby in a 10 minutes subway trip? A professor tells how close contact is defined.</p> <p>According to THL, close contact is a person who has been in contact with an infected person with a coronavirus face-to-face or in the same room for more than 15 minutes. The definition is based on probabilities, says Professor of Epidemiology Pekka Nuorti.</p>
<p>3) Hyvä käsihygienia torjuu koronavirusta, paniikki ei</p>	<p>3) A good hand hygiene defends from coronavirus, panic doesn’t</p>
<p>4) Pääministeri: Koronavirukseen tärkeää varautua huolellisesti, mutta samalla välttää ylivoimaisia toimia</p> <p>Sanna Marin antoi eduskunnalle pääministerin ilmoituksen Suomen varautumisesta koronavirukseen.</p>	<p>4)The prime minister: It is important to be prepared carefully for coronavirus but at the same time to avoid overscale actions.</p> <p>Sanna Marin gave the prime minister’s announcement to the Finnish parliament on the anticipation of Finland to coronavirus.</p>
<p>5) Ylilääkäri: Helsingin koronaviruspotilas voi hyvin, THL selvitti naisen lähikontaktit matkareitiltä</p> <p>Tartunnan saaneeseen suomalaisnaisen matkareitillä lähikontaktissa olleet henkilöt ovat eri maiden viranomaisten tiedossa. Viranomaiset ovat</p>	<p>5)The medical superintendent: The coronavirus patient in Helsinki is good, THL examined the contacts of the woman on the trip</p> <p>The persons that the infected Finnish woman met on her trip are known by the authorities of the different countries. The authorities are in contact with</p>

<p>heihin yhteydessä. THL ei erittele tarkemmin, mistä maista henkilöt ovat kotoisin.</p>	<p>them. THL does not give details on the countries of origin of these persons.</p>
<p>6) Voiko koronavirus tyhjentää kauppojen hyllyjä Suomessa? Tietyistä älypuhelimista voi tulla pulaa jo lähiviikkoina, arvioi S-ryhmä</p> <p>Elintarvikkeisiin ja käyttötavaroiden tuontiin virus ei näytä vaikuttavan tänä keväänä juuri lainkaan, suurostajat arvioivat.</p>	<p>6)Can coronavirus empty shops' shelves in Finland? Some smartphones can be missing in next weeks, estimates the S-group</p> <p>The virus does not seem to have an impact on food availability and import this spring</p>
<p>7) Ensimmäistä koronavirusrokotetta aletaan testata huhtikuussa</p> <p>Rokotteet valmistuvat aikaisintaan vuoden päästä. Lääkettä tautiin pitää odottaa kauemmin. Nykyisistä lääkkeistä on jo saatu lupaavia tuloksia.</p>	<p>7)The first coronavirus vaccine will be tested in April</p> <p>The vaccines will be ready in a year at the earliest. The medicine for the disease has to wait longer. Promising results have already been obtained with current drugs.</p>

COVID-19 related headings on HS, 5.5.2020.

<p>1) Suomi avautuu merkittävästi kesäkuusta lähtien – Pääministeri Marin varoittaa, että tilanteen muuttuessa rajoituksia pohditaan uudestaan</p> <p>Hallituksen johtoviisikko kertoi päätöksistä rajoitustoimien purkamiseksi tiedotustilaisuudessa maanantai-iltana.</p>	<p>1)Finland will open significantly from June on - the Prime Minister Marin warns that in case the situation changes restrictions will be re-thought</p> <p>The five guiding the government told about the dismissal of the restrictions in the communication on Monday evening.</p>
<p>2) Kesäkuussa alkaa koronakriisin suuri käänne, ja hallitus ripustaa nyt Suomen neljän sanan varaan</p> <p>Suomen päätavoite ei ole hävittää koronavirusta vaan hallitus rakentaa omaa suhteellisen avointa reittiään, kirjoittaa HS:n talouden ja politiikan toimituksen esimies Jussi Pullinen.</p>	<p>2)In June the big twist of coronacrisis will start and the government hang up Finland on four words</p> <p>The main objective of Finland is not to cancel coronavirus but to build a relatively open way out, writes Jussi Pullinen.</p>

<p>3) Koronakriisi teki epidemiologeista ja virologeista planeetan tunnetuimpia ihmisiä – HS esittelee viisi julkistutkijaa, joiden päätökset voivat sulkea valtioita</p> <p>Tutkijoiden suositukset sulkevat nyt valtakuntia. Koronakriisi on repäissyt epidemiologit ja virustutkijat tutkijankammioistaan valokeilaan.</p>	<p>3)Coronacrisis puts epidemiologists and virologists among the most famous persons in the world. HS presents five famous researchers whose decisions can close states</p> <p>The recommendations of researchers are now closing states. Coronacrisis has ripped epidemiologists and virologists from their offices in the beam of light</p>
<p>4) Yksittäisten päivämäärien sijaan on tärkeämpää kuvata rajoitustoimien muutosten logiikka, koska se luo uskoa tulevaan</p> <p>Jos tartuntatautilaki ei riitä epidemian tehokkaaseen torjuntaan, voisi olla parempi korjata tartuntatautilakia kuin turvautua uudelleen valmiuslain pykäliin.</p>	<p>4)Instead of single dates it is more important to describe the logic of the restrictions because it gives trust in the future</p> <p>If the law on contagious disease is not sufficient it could be better to modify that law than to use the Emergency Powers Act</p>
<p>5)Kirjastojen ja museoiden avaamislupaus oli helsinkiläisten toiveissa jo etukäteen:“Askel kerrallaan kohti normaalia”</p> <p>HS:n maanantaina haastattelemat kansalaiset antoivat tukensa esimerkiksi kirjastojen ja museoiden hallitulle avaamiselle.</p>	<p>5)The re-opening of libraries and museums was already on the wish list of people in Helsinki: One step at time towards normality</p> <p>The readers of HS that were interviewed on Monday supported the controlled re-opening of libraries and museums.</p>

<p>7) Kaikki janoavat nyt tietoa siitä, miten epidemia etenee – THL:n mallinnukset ovat päätöksenteon ytimessä, mutta mihin ne perustuvat?</p> <p>Epidemian mallintaminen ei ole matemaattisesti mahdoton tehtävä. Uuden viruksen kohdalla joudutaan kuitenkin tekemään paljon oletuksia. Se lisää ennustamisen epävarmuutta.</p>	<p>7)Everybody is eager to know how the epidemic will go on: the simulations of THL are the key for decisions but on what they are based on?</p> <p>The simulation of the epidemic is not mathematically impossible. However, many suppositions need to be put forth. This increases the uncertainty of the prediction.</p>
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