Prague SECONOMICS Discussion Papers
2013/5

Who Watches the Watchmen?

Risk Perception and Security vs. the Privacy Dilemma in the Czech Press

Daniela Gawrecká

Institute of Sociology
Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic
Prague, November 2013

SECONOMICS Consortium
SECONOMICS "Socio-Economics meets Security" (Contract No. 285223) is a Collaborative project) within the 7th Framework Programme, theme SEC-2011.6.4-1 SEC-2011.7.5-2 ICT. The consortium members are:

1	UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI TRENTO	Università Degli Studi di Trento (UNITN) 38100 Trento, Italy www.unitn.it	Project Manager: prof. Fabio MASSACCI Fabio.Massacci@unitn.it
2	DEEPBLUE	DEEP BLUE Srl (DBL) 00193 Roma, Italy www.dblue.it	Contact: Alessandra TEDESSCHI Alessandra.tedeschi@dblue.it
3	Fraunhofer ISST	Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der angewandten Forschung e.V., Hansastr. 27c, 80686 Munich, Germany http://www.fraunhofer.de/	Contact: Prof. Jan Jürjens jan.juerjens@isst.fraunhofer.de
4	Universidad Rey Juan Carlos	UNIVERSIDAD REY JUAN CARLOS, Calle TulipanS/N, 28933, Mostoles (Madrid), Spain	Contact: Prof. David Rios Insua david.rios@urjc.es
5	UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN	THE UNIVERSITY COURT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN, a Scottish charity (No. SC013683) whose principal administrative office is at King's College Regent Walk, AB24 3FX, Aberdeen, United Kingdom http://www.abdn.ac.uk/	Contact: Prof. Julian Williams julian.williams@abdn.ac.uk
6	TMB Transports Metropolitans de Barcelona	FERROCARRIL METROPOLITA DE BARCELONA SA, Carrer 60 Zona Franca, 21-23, 08040, Barcelona, Spain http://www.tmb.cat/ca/home	Contact: Michael Pellot mpellot@tmb.cat
7	AtoS	ATOS ORIGIN SOCIEDAD ANONIMA ESPANOLA, Calle Albarracin, 25, 28037, Madrid, Spain http://es.atos.net/es-es/	Contact: Silvia Castellvi Catala silvia.castellvi@atosresearch.eu
8	SECURENOK	SECURE-NOK AS, Professor Olav Hanssensvei, 7A, 4021, Stavanger , Norway Postadress: P.O. Box 8034, 4068, Stavanger, Norway http://www.securenok.com/	Contact: Siv Houmb sivhoumb@securenok.com
9	SOÚ Institute of Sociology AS CR	INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC PUBLIC RESEARCH INSTITUTION, Jilska 1, 11000, Praha 1, Czech Republic http://www.soc.cas.cz/	Contact: Dr Zdenka Mansfeldová zdenka.mansfeldova@soc.cas.cz
10	nationalgrid THE POWER OF ACTION	NATIONAL GRID ELECTRICITY TRANSMISSION PLC, The Strand, 1-3, WC2N 5EH, London, United Kingdom	Contact: Dr Robert Coles Robert.S.Coles@ngrid.com
11	ANADOLU ÜNİVERSİTESİ	ANADOLU UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF CIVIL AVIATION Iki Eylul Kampusu, 26470, Eskisehir, Turkey	Contact: Nalan Ergun nergun@anadolu.edu.tr

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

'Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?'[1]

This fundamental philosophical puzzle of Western political thought, first put forward by Roman poet Juvenal, currently seems more topical than ever before. Public and private surveillance has increased in recent years due to better technological development and IT devices. New methods of surveillance have also been created in response to the new kinds of security threats faced by postmodern societies (Beck 1992), such as terrorism, cyber-terrorism and espionage and the development and deployment of nuclear and biological weapons.[2]

These threats are very complex, sophisticated and they *are not temporally, spatially and socially circumscribed* (Beck 1992, Mansfeldová and Guasti 2013: 6). Similarly, methods of public monitoring are more efficient than in the past and they do not respect state, cultural or socio-political boundaries. Therefore, surveillance itself is dangerous. Despite its obvious successes and benefits in strengthening security, it poses a threat to people´s privacy, dignity and even health (Davies and Silver 2004, Cavallaro 2008). David Lyon coined a new term to capture these latest changes in modern societies – in his view we live in 'surveillance societies':

> '*It is not just that CCTV may capture our image several hundred times a day, that checkout clerks want to see our loyalty cards in the supermarket or that we need a coded access card to get into the office in the morning. It is that these systems represent a basic, complex infrastructure which assumes that gathering and processing personal data is vital to contemporary living. Surveillance is part of the way we run the world in the twenty-first century.*' (Lyon 2008: 1)

Lyon has pointed out that in postmodern society people cannot live without leaving a digital footprint (ibid). All the electronic devices, communication technologies and other facilities we use for our comfort and security, such as credit cards, smart phones, laptops, CCTV cameras, security frames etc., are potential tools of surveillance (Lyon 2008, Koubský 2013). Likewise, people voluntarily give up their privacy by sharing private information through social networks such as Facebook or Twitter (Urban 2013). Moreover, citizens are for the most part not fully aware of the fact that their personal data are being used as important sources of information for marketing agencies, political parties, business corporations, health concerns and even for secret intelligence services.

The secret services ended up at the centre of world-media attention in June 2013 after whistleblower Edward Snowden, a former employee of the National Security Agency (NSA) and the CIA, revealed secret information about the US surveillance cyber-programme 'PRISM' and British 'Tempora'. According to his information, the national security services of these countries monitor almost all Internet communication (BBC News 2013, Nápravník 2013). The scope of this monitoring was alarming. Snowden revealed that British and American secret services did not respect the state boundaries and daily monitored approximately 39 billion records worldwide (Urban 2013). Snowden´s report is relevant to the Czech Republic because we can suppose that Czech citizens could have been monitored (although there have been no confirmations of this) while more than

---

[1] English translation: Who Watches the Watchmen?
[2] Risk literature (Beck 1992, Mazur 2006, Mansfeldová and Guasti 2013) also mentions other kinds of threats, for example, global environmental problems (such as global warming, rain forest destruction, ozone depletion, environmental accidents); health risks (nuclear radiation, genetically modified food) or financial risks (financial crisis and increasing income inequality and poverty). Although these threats are very alarming they are not relevant for the aim of the report.

half a billion e-mails, phone calls and cell phone text messages were being monitored every month in neighbouring Germany (ibid). Cyber-analyst and journalist Petr Koubský claims that Snowden´s revelation did not surprise the people working with digital technologies. According to him, the fact that influential secret services have been monitoring Internet traffic used to be a public secret for many years (Koubský 2013). Whistleblower Snowden just provided evidence for these suspicions and rumours. Nevertheless, Snowden´s information has not been completely confirmed by the American or British governments and the question remains how many of his revelations are true.

Discussing Snowden´s revelations, newspapers often referred to the Stuxnet computer virus, which was discovered in 2010. The virus, which mainly targeted critical infrastructure in Iran and other countries, was developed by the United States and Israel. Fortunately, no cyber-attack by Stuxnet has been reported in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic has pointed out that the growing dependence on information and communications technologies increases the vulnerability of the Czech Republic and its citizens to future cyber-attacks.

Other forms of surveillance that warrant mention include the installation of CCTV[3] cameras, which has been sharply increasing worldwide in recent years. For example, '*in London, the average citizen is caught on CCTV cameras 300 times a day, and in the United Kingdom alone there are more than 4 million CCTV cameras*' (Cavallaro 2007: 166). The main purpose of camera installation is to increase security and prevent crime. Nevertheless, their negative aspects are often ignored. Despite their obvious advantages in the fight against crime, CCTV cameras could also be a risk to our privacy. Firstly, citizens for the most part do not realise that they are being monitored and do not know the purpose of the monitoring (Granick 2006). Secondly, there is the matter of the storage of such data and the potential threat of these records being misused.

New methods of public monitoring have also been introduced in civil aviation as a defence against terrorist attacks (especially after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001) and against smuggling and human trafficking (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic). In order to prevent these illegal acts, many kinds of security regulation[4] have been implemented in airports. One of the most controversial security tools is the 3D body scanner, which is '*a human-sized booth meant to take multiple three dimensional images of the body to detect body fat and overall dimensions*' (wiseGeek 2013). Despite its obvious advantages for detecting metallic and non-metallic objects that could be hidden under clothing, there have disadvantages to them as well. They can, for example, increase the risk of cancer and may represent an intrusion on human dignity and privacy. Like CCTV cameras, the problems of data storage and the misuse of records could arise.

The above-mentioned (1) Stuxnet computer virus, (2) CCTV cameras, and (3) 3D body scanners are self-standing issues of high relevance in the debate about security and the negative aspects of public monitoring. Furthermore, they have recently been discussed in the Czech and international press. For these reasons, they have been selected for analysis in this report. The aim of the analysis is to describe the overall media perception and coverage of security topics and various aspects of surveillance in the Czech Republic. The research focuses on the media perception of security issues because the media are one of the key actors in secondary socialisation (McNair 2004, Burton and Jirák 2003). They shape people´s opinions and attitudes to security threats and risk per-

---

[3] The abbreviation CCTV means 'closed circuit television system'.
[4] For example, body metal detectors, X-ray machine belt conveyors and the prohibition of objects capable of causing injury or liquids and gels from being brought on board planes by passengers (unless the liquids are placed in a special plastic bag) (Prague Airport Václav Havel 2013).

ception and they introduce new issues into the public debate and influence the form of this debate, which is called 'agenda setting' (McCombs 2004).

Therefore, the aim of this report is to examine how the most influential Czech left- and right-leaning newspapers have reported on these security issues and how they set the security agenda and moderate the 'security-privacy' debate in the Czech Republic using the example of CCTV cameras, Stuxnet and 3D body scanners. For this purpose, an analysis is made of articles published from 1 January 2010 to 30 April 2013 in the most influential left-oriented daily paper *Právo* (Right) and *MF DNES* (Young Front Today), which is the most popular Czech right-leaning daily newspaper. The report focuses on the left-right political division in the press because the aim is to cover the plurality of opinions and ideas on both sides of the political spectrum and to show the plasticity of the debate about security-related issues in the Czech Republic.

To achieve these goals, I describe the overall media perception of Stuxnet, CCTV cameras and 3D body scanners in three steps. First, I study how often the media reported on these topics and which topic was the most interesting for them. Second, I analyse the differences and the similarities between the information and the evaluations in the articles published on the three selected issues in the left- and right-leaning papers. I will focus on the proponents and opponents of freedom and privacy as well as on those who favour security and monitoring. Third, in order to draw general conclusions I establish a broader context for our topics with respect to the political situation in the Czech Republic.

The first chapter describes the main characteristics of the Czech media landscape, with a particular focus on the printed press, and the level of media freedom in the Czech Republic, the characteristics of the main Czech newspapers, and their ownership structure and political affiliation. The second chapter deals with the methodology of the report. I focus on the process of obtaining articles, article distribution in 2010-2013 and the creation of a final sample, and I further describe the methods used in my analysis. The last chapter provides a descriptive analysis. Attention is paid to the dominant actors, topics, argumentation strategies, directions of argument and justifications, as well as an analysis of general tendencies. In the conclusions, I summarise the main findings.

The 'freedom-security' dilemma is better studied from the wider international perspective because in this way we can frame our findings in the broader political, cultural and socioeconomics contexts. Therefore, it is beneficial that this report was written within the international research project *SECONOMICS* 'Socio-Economics Meets Security'. The goal of *SECONOMICS* is to link socio-economics and security methods in order to generate precise, actionable knowledge that can be used to strengthen transport and critical infrastructure security (SECONOMICS 2013a). Within this project, the 'Prague Graduate School in Comparative Qualitative Analysis' was organised from 13 to 18 May 2013. The graduate school focused on international, comparative, qualitative media research on various aspects of surveillance and its media coverage (SECONOMICS 2013b, Mansfeldová and Guasti 2013).

The outcome of this summer school is a set of national reports covering this topic in the newspapers of 10 European countries and Mexico. The Czech Republic is one of the countries included in this comparative research. According to Mansfeldová and Gausti, classical risk perception literature deals insufficiently with cross-country and temporal differences in aspects of surveillance and relevant secondary data regarding these issues are not available (Mansfeldová, Guasti 2013: 53). Another aim of this report is to fill in this gap and to generate data for the Czech Republic not only for the purposes of the *SECONOMICS* project but also for further research on these issues.

2. The media landscape in the Czech Republic

2.1. An overview and short history of the most influential Czech media

The Czech media landscape is very heterogeneous with a long tradition of independent journalism which dates back to the 19th century.[5] The period of the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938) was constitutive in terms of Czech media history.[6] This flourishing tradition of independent journalism was interrupted by the Second World War and by the communist era (1948-1989), when only exile media[7] were able to provide independent information (Biriczova 2012, Osvaldová, Halada 2002).

After the so-called Velvet Revolution in 1989, the Czech media landscape started to transform. The state and former communist media *Rudé Právo* (Red Right) and *Mladá Fronta* (Young Front) were privatised. In 1989, the most influential communist daily *Rudé Právo* was privatised and renamed *Právo* (Right). Currently, the daily *Pravo* (with its circulation of 171,053 and an estimated readership of 377,000) is the most influential left-wing broadsheet in the Czech Republic. In 1990, *Mladá fronta*, a paper that belonged to the SSM (Union of Socialist Youth), was privatised and renamed *Mladá Fronta Dnes* (Young Front Today). The new daily was initially run by former employees of *Mladá Fronta* (Vildová 2005). Currently, *MF DNES* is the most popular Czech right-leaning broadsheet with a circulation of 266,808 and an estimated readership of 804,000 people per day (Publishers Union 2013, Media Project 2013).

Since the Velvet Revolution, many new media titles have emerged, such as the magazines *Reflex, Respekt* (Respect), *Instinkt* (Instinct) and the newspaper *Hospodářské noviny* (Economic News). The respected daily *Lidové noviny* (the People´s Paper)[8] was also revived (Eurotopics 2013, Biriczova 2012). *Lidové noviny* tries to target educated middle- and upper-class readers and continue the intellectual tradition of the First Republic. In particular the Saturday supplement 'Orientace' (Orientation) provides quality texts, analyses and essays. Nevertheless, the circulation of *Lidové noviny* is rather low (see Table 1). The political orientation of *Lidové noviny* is centrist or centre-right.

The most popular Czech newspaper is the tabloid *Blesk*, which has a circulation of 413,652 and an estimated average daily readership of 1,223,000 people which is almost twice that of the most popular Czech broadsheet *Mladá Fronta Dnes* (Publishers Union 2013, Media Project 2013). *Blesk* focuses on tabloid topics from show business, politics, sport and crime. There is currently a great variety of press in the Czech Republic. In

---

[5] Josef Kajetán Tyl, writing for *Květy* (Flowers), Karel Havlíček Borovský for *Pražské noviny* (Prague Newspaper) and *Slovan* (Slav), and Jan Neruda for *Národní listy* (National Newspaper) were among the most important journalists in the era when the Czech lands were part of the Austrian Empire (since 1867, Austro-Hungarian) (Osvaldová, Halada 2002).

[6] *Lidové noviny* (People´s Paper) and revue *Přítomnost* (Present) were the most influential periodicals of that era.

[7] The most respected exile media were radio Svobodná Evropa (Radio Free Europe) in Washington and Munich, *Listy* (Papers) published by Jiří Pelikán in Rome, *Svědectví* (Testimony) published by Pavel Tigrid in Paris.

[8] *Lidové noviny* is the oldest Czech daily paper, launched in 1893 in Brno. Until 1938, *Lidové noviny* was a very respected and influential newspaper where many prominent figures in Czech cultural life worked, such as writers Karel Čapek, Karel Poláček, Eduard Bass and Ferdinand Peroutka (Osvaldová, Halada 2002). *Lidové noviny* was renamed after the Second World War and was shut down in 1952. In 1990, this paper started to be published officially again (Pernes 1993).

2012, there were 1,381 printed titles, including 110 daily papers, 117 weekly papers. The remaining (1,271) newspapers were published less often than weekly in 2012. In the Czech Republic, 3,647 magazines were published (1,962 for the general public and 1,685 were specialised) including 110 magazines in the English language (The National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture 2013: 11).

In the television and radio market, a so-called 'dual system', which is the combination of private and public media, was introduced. In the Czech Republic there are respected public service media, Česká televize (Czech Television) and Český rozhlas (Czech Radio) and these are controlled by the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting. A problem for the independence of the Council can arise since its members are nominated by political parties approved by Parliament, and this enables the formation of links between the media and politics (Guasti and Mansfeldová 2012).

Other big changes for the Czech television and media market have been the emergence of digital media and the rapid spread of the Internet particularly after the year 2000. Digital media support competition and they changed the Czech media market by allowing new television broadcasters to enter the market. There are currently 6 national digital television broadcasters and more than 50 local and specialised ones in the Czech Republic (Guasti and Mansfeldová 2012, The Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting 2013).[9]

According to the Internet World Stats from October 2012, there are 7,426,376 Internet users in the Czech Republic, which is equal to 73% of the population (Internet World Stats 2012, New Media Trend Watch 2013). The Internet is particularly popular among the young generation; for example, 98% of students have Internet access compared to the 20% of pensioners online (New Media Trend Watch 2013). The traditional press have partially moved online, there are online versions of all the main Czech dailies.[10] Nevertheless, Czech citizens did not stop reading traditional newspapers, although a certain decline in newspaper readership has recently been reported. Table 1 shows that newspaper circulation and readership are still relatively high in the Czech Republic (Publishers Union 2013, Media Project 2013).

Table 1: Top nine daily newspapers in the Czech Republic

	Name in English	Name in Czech	Circulation rate					Political affiliation
			2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
1	Young Front Today	MF Dnes	365815	330280	291415	304737	266808	right
2	Right	Právo	198295	192957	184910	177650	171053	left
3	Economic News	Hospodářské noviny	74686	73970	60934	58216	53409	right
4	People´s Paper	Lidové noviny	105843	93272	79035	73729	60657	centre-right
5	Hello Newspaper	Haló Noviny	not available	not available	not available	not available	not available	extreme left
6	Daily[The Journal]	Deník	386657	323862	287294	263668	236567	regional newspaper centrist
7	Flash	Blesk	569369	534017	500544	473424	413652	tabloid: right

---

[9] Complete information about radio and television broadcasters is available on the webpage of the Czech Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting (see Literature).

[10] *MF DNES* runs the online news server iDNES.cz, *Lidové noviny* runs server Lidovky.cz, *Právo* owns Novinky.cz and *Hospodářské noviny* has iHned.cz.

| 8 | Aha | Aha | 167941 | 161072 | 148069 | 142924 | 118838 | tabloid: right-centrist |
| 9 | Sport | Sport | 85665 | 79883 | 77227 | 67283 | 61814 | none: sport news |

Sources: created by the author, ABC ČR - Kancelář ověřování nákladu tisku [ABC ČR - Audit Bureau of Circulations Czech Republic], Unie vydavatelů [Publishers Union].

2.2. Trust in media and political affiliation of the press

Czech people tend to trust the media more than other institutions and consider them an important source of information (CVVM 2013). According to a study by the CCVM (Public Opinion Research Centre) in October 2012, 71% of Czech citizens interviewed generally expressed confidence in the media. By contrast, just one-third of the Czech population trusts religious institutions, banks, or trade unions (CVVM 2013). On the other hand, a decline in media trust was reported in the spring 2013, when 58% of respondents expressed confidence in the radio, 51% in TV and just 42% of respondents indicated trust in the newspapers (CVVM 2013).

Currently, all the main Czech dailies declare themselves to be politically independent and not affiliated with any political party. The Communist *Haló noviny*[11] (Hello Newspaper) is the only exception. *Haló noviny*, founded in 1991, is a strongly left-wing Czech paper with ideological links to the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM). *Haló noviny* considers itself 'the only left-wing Czech daily' (*Haló noviny* 2013). In fact, it presents extreme left-wing, anti-capitalist and anti-European Union opinions. The Czech public service media, Česká televize (ČT) and Český rozhlas (ČRo), even refuse to cite or in any way use *Haló noviny* as a source of information because of its extremist content (iDNES 2010).

In the Czech Republic, the absence of an open political affiliation is often construed as signifying objectivity and balance. Nevertheless, this may be dubious way of looking at things. A strong tradition of political (albeit good quality) presses has existed since the start of modern Czech journalism in the 19th century (Osvaldová, Halada 2002, Urban 1982).[12] Although nowadays there are no overt political affiliations, there is still a division in the press between the right-leaning tabloids *Blesk* and *Aha*, the broadsheets *MF DNES* and *Hospodářské noviny*, the centrist *Lidové noviny*, the left-leaning *Právo*[13] and the far left *Haló noviny*. In my opinion, it is better when readers know the basic political orientation of the papers and journalists[14] than when the papers pretend an impartiality that is not entirely possible.

---

[11] *Haló noviny* is published by Futura company (*Haló noviny* 2013). Circulation data are unfortunately not available.

[12] *Národní listy* (National Papers) - the most influential Czech newspaper in the 19th century – was owned by political parties. First it was owned by the conservative Národní strana or so-called Staročeši (National Party so called Old-Czechs), and from 1863 it was owned by the liberal Národní strany svobomyslná or so-called Mladočeši (Free National Party or so-called Young-Czechs). Until the Second World War, each significant political party owned its own political paper (Osvaldová, Halada 2002, Urban 1982).

[13] *Právo* is a moderate left-wing paper focused on social issues and ideologically close to the Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD) (The press in the Czech Republic 2005).

[14] It is important particularly in the commentary and columns sections of daily papers.

2.3. Ownership structure and degree of media freedom

The degree of media freedom in the Czech Republic is considered to be high. Freedom of speech and the press, the right to information as to the prohibition of censorship are guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, which is part of the Czech constitutional order (Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms 1993).

Czech journalism also has a relatively good reputation worldwide. According to the Press Freedom Index,[15] media in the Czech Republic are in good condition. The Czech Republic scored 10.17 on a scale from zero to 100, where 100 is the lowest score. The Czech Republic ranked in 16th place, above Germany, and below Ireland in 15th place. However, the Czech ranking deteriorated by two ranks from 14 in 2012 to 16 in 2013 (Press Freedom Index 2013). According to the *Freedom of the Press 2013* report published by Freedom House, media in the Czech Republic, which ranks 27th, are assessed as free. The Czech Republic placed with a rating of 19 points above Canada and after the Bahamas. The Czech media rank second among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, after Estonia, which has a rating of 16 (Freedom of the Press 2013).

Although the Czech media are considered to be free and relatively independent, two important factors influencing the scale of press indecency should not be ignored: (1) the ownership structure and (2) political pressures. Media owners, especially if they have strong political or business ambitions, may try to influence newspapers according to their own interests. These interventions may be either direct or indirect; and self-censorship can also occur in the newsrooms (Macháček 2013). The media can becomes a 'subsidized power instrument for their wealthy owners. … It is associated with an editorial mix in which all coverage is cast as entertainment, trivializing the news and distracting viewers from key issues' (Hunter 2011: 16). This process is called the 'Berlusconisation' of the media after Italian politician and media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi (ibid). In the Czech Republic, links have been reported between business groups, political elites and the media (Rybková and Řiháčková 2013). This interdependency is problematic if the media are to fulfil their role as the watchdog of democracy.

German and Swiss companies began entering the Czech media market in the mid-1990s. The German holding company RBDV (Rheinisch-Bergische Druckerei- und Verlagsgesellschaft)[16] bought MAFRA media group in 1994. MAFRA publishes the newspapers *MF DNES* and *Lidové noviny*, the free daily *Metro*, the online news servers iDNES.cz, Lidovky.cz, and many other titles (Mafra 2013). An influential publishing house specialising in the regional press is the German Vltava-Labe-Press. This company, which publishes 71 regional dailies and 23 regional weeklies, is owned by the German media concern Verlagsgruppe Passau[17] (Vltava-Labe-Press 2013). Since 2010, the German-Swiss publishing group Ringier Axel Springer Media AG has owned the biggest publishing house in the Czech Republic,[18] Ringier Axel Springer CZ, which publishes the tabloids *Blesk* and *Aha*", the sports paper *Sport*, and the weekly magazine *Reflex* (Ringier Axel Springer CZ 2013). For German publishers, media ownership was a matter of profit and a business strategy. No major attempts to influence press content were reported.

---

[15] The Index is published by the organisation Reporters without Borders and it examines media freedom worldwide.
[16] This company also publishes the German newspaper *Rheinische Post*.
[17] *Verlagsgruppe Passau* holds an 80% share in Vltava-Labe-Press and publishes German regional newspaper *Passauer Neue Presse* as well.
[18] Ringier Axel Springer CZ owns more than a 36% share of the Czech media market.

In *Reflex*, journalist Jan Macháček described his experience with the German owners of *MF DNES* where he worked in the 1990s (Macháček 2013): 'The German owners had a purely financial relationship to the newspaper. They were interested in whether Karel Gott[19] came to the corporate party, if there was enough information about Karel Gott in Thursday's magazine, and if Václav Klaus came to open a new building. End of story.'[20] (Macháček 2013)

While the right-leaning and centrist media had foreign owners, the left-leaning press was run by Czech publishers. The most influential left-leaning paper *Právo* is owned and published by Borgis, a Czech company, whose main owner and editor is the editor-in-chief of *Právo* Zdeněk Porybný. He holds more than 90% of shares in Borgis and is the longest-reigning editor-in-chief in the Czech press[21] (The press in the Czech Republic 2005, Mediář.cz 2013). The far-left *Haló noviny* is published by a company called Futura (*Haló noviny* 2013).

In the second half of the 2000s, the most important right-leaning print media returned to Czech hands. Nevertheless, concerns regarding the press's independence were raised in connection with these new Czech media owners, particularly Zdeněk Bakala and Andrej Babiš. Coal baron Zděněk Bakala owns the publishing house Economia,[22] which publishes *Hospodářské noviny* and the magazines *Respekt* and *Ekonom* (Economist). Bakala has links to political elites. In the 2010 Parliamentary elections he gave financial support to three centre-right political parties: ODS (Civic Democratic Party), TOP 09 (Tradition-Responsibility-Prosperity 09) and VV (Public Affairs) (Rybková and Řiháčková 2013).

Zdeněk Bakala bought *Respekt* from businessman and politician Karel Schwarzenberg who owned this paper from 1996 to 2006. Although, there were no mentions of any attempts by Schwarzenberg to influence the content of *Respekt* it can be considered a clash of interest if an active politician[23] owns a weekly paper. *Respekt* openly supported Schwarzenberg in his president's campaign in 2013 (Rybková and Řiháčková 2013); it should be noted, though, that Schwarzenberg did not own *Respekt* at that time. Regardless of its ownership structure, *Respekt* is considered to be a very good investigative periodical that provides quality and independent journalism.

Andrej Babiš, who is the second richest Czech citizen and the owner of AGROFERT, the largest Czechoslovak agricultural, food and chemical company, entered the Czech media market in June 2013 when he bought MAFRA media group (Křížová 2013, MAFRA 2013). This purchase can be seen as controversial considering Babiš's high political aspirations. He is the leader of the political party ANO 2011 (YES 2011) which ran in the Parliamentary elections in autumn 2013 (ANO2011 2013). There are concerns that the purchase of MAFRA, which publishes the two important dailies *MF DNES* and *Lidové noviny*, was not purely a business investment. These papers could be a potential tool for shaping public opinion in favour of Babiš´s political interests. Politicians for whom Andrej Babiš is a political competitor in particular expressed very critical opinions on this topic. Ac-

---

[19] Author's note: Karel Gott is a Czech singer who is very popular in Germany and Austria as well.
[20] The original quote in Czech: 'Němečtí majitelé měli k podniku čistě účetní vztah a pak je zajímalo, jestli na firemní večírek přijde Karel Gott, jestli je dost Karla Gotta ve čtvrtečním magazínu a jestli přijde Václav Klaus otevírat novou budovu. Tečka.'
[21] He has been in this position since 1990.
[22] He holds an 88% share in *Economia*.
[23] While the owner of *Respekt*, Karel Schwarzenberg unsuccessfully ran for the Senate Election in 2002. In 2004, he was elected to the Senate in Prague 4. After he sold *Respekt*, he became Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic in 2008 and again in 2010. In 2009 he co-founded the right-wing party TOP-09 and became its chairman. In 2013, he unsuccessfully ran for President (Karel Schwarzenberg - Official Website of Member of Parliament 2013).

cording to Jiří Gazdík, a right-wing MP for TOP 09, Babiš's purchase of MAFRA: 'creates a dangerous link between the media business and the political ambitions of Andrej Babis. The newspaper *MF Dnes* and its online version iDnes are important players who are able to influence public opinion. We will closely monitor the risk of influencing the election campaign in favour of his movement ANO 2011'[24] (Křížková 2013).

Nevertheless, it is very difficult to judge in advance what the purchase of MAFRA really means for the independence of the most popular Czech right-wing paper *MF DNES* and other of MAFRA´s titles. A small scandal that happened almost immediately after his purchase of MAFRA could signal Babiš´s future behaviour in the media. Despite his public assurances that he will not try to influence newspaper content, Andrej Babiš complained to a journalist at *Lidové noviny* for having reported poorly on a press conference of his movement[party] ANO 2011. The conflict was publicised and Babiš apologised for his behaviour (Lidovky.cz 2013). Despite his apology this scandal shows that fears about press freedom could be legitimate.

There also exist concerns of growing populism and empathising more with security over freedom, for example, regarding Babiš´s business activities in AGROFERT. He sharply criticised his Polish food producing competitors for the bad quality of their products which could have a dangerous impact on people´s health (Kurfiřtová 2013). Nevertheless, his was not the lone critical voice and his arguments may be partly justified. He could use his media titles to promote his business activities and to criticise his (not only Polish) competitors by pointing to the aspect of food security.

2.4. The 'Muzzle Law' and investigative journalism

Not only business but also political attempts to regulate freedom of the press have appeared in the Czech Republic. In this respect, the so-called 'Muzzle Law' introduced in 2009 should be mentioned. This law ordered journalists to reveal their sources of information and banned the publication of any information acquired from police wiretapping (Guasti and Mansfeldova 2012, Novák 2012). The '"Muzzle Llaw' also restricts the publishing of the names of children during judicial proceedings and permits prosecutor only to inform the media about preparatory criminal proceedings (Novák 2012). The punishment for breaking this law was a fine of up to 5 million Czech crowns or five years in prison (iDnes.cz 2011).

The 'Muzzle Law' was strongly criticised. Czech and foreign media organisations, such as the Syndikát novinářů (Syndicate of Journalists)[25] and the European Newspapers Publishers' Association as well as the Council of Europe, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) and even the European Parliament protested against this law (iDnes.cz 2011). In response to this criticism, an amendment mitigating the 'Muzzle Law' was passed in 2011. According to the amendment, newspapers can publish the information from police wiretapes if it is of public interest, for example, information about political corruption. *This amendment is based on the premise that public interest takes precedence over the rights of privacy of the person to whom the information pertains to. However, some politicians complain about this increased transparency.* (Guasti and Mansfeldová 2014: 5)

---

[24] The original quote in Czech: '*Vzniká zde nebezpečné propojení mediálního byznysu a politických ambicí Andreje Babiše. MF Dnes, Lidové noviny a iDnes jsou důležití hráči, schopní ovlivnit veřejné mínění. Budeme bedlivě sledovat riziko ovlivnění kampaně před volbami ve prospěch jeho hnutí ANO 2011.*'
[25] Syndikát novinářů (Syndicate of Journalists) is the biggest and the most influential organisation of journalists in the Czech Republic.

Regardless of the revisited 'Muzzle Law', Czech investigative journalism uncovers important corruption causes, criminal delicts and links between politics and business (Guasti and Mansfeldová). It revealed corruption at Prague City Hall regarding the multifunctional card Opencard as well as the issue of questionable public tenders in Prague and the scandal of the suspected acquisition of titles and plagiarism at the Faculty of Law of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen. One of the most important cases of Czech investigative journalism was the scandal regarding former Social Democratic Prime Minister Stanislav Gross in 2005. *MF DNES* published information about the lack of transparency surrounding how Gross acquired enough money to purchase a new apartment and the questionable business activities of Gross's wife. Stanislav Gross was not able to adequately explain these uncertainties which led to his resignation (Budai 2012).

Time and money are two essential preconditions of good investigative journalism. This kind of media work refers to long-term investigative work on a topical issue, when journalists try to uncover information of public interest (Orság 2007). Nevertheless, new obstacles to investigative journalism have appeared in connection with the rapid spread of the Internet and new media. On the one hand, work in the media has been simplified by technological developments. Journalists can self-edit and publish their articles online with multimedia links in real time. This has made journalism more effective and quicker than ever before. On the other hand, new problems have arisen regarding the verification of information and reductions in the investment in newsgathering (Osvaldová and Halada 2002, Rybková and Řiháčková 2013). Eva Rybková and Věra Řiháčková identified a problem where:

'…employers have not accounted for the additional burden that digital tools of production have placed on journalists in terms of: filtering and verifying the vast array of sources now available; moderating user-generated content (UGC); and acquiring new skills in areas such as data visualisation. … The result has been the growth of "Google journalism" and an accompanying decline in news stories based on primary sources and original newsgathering.' (Rybková and Řiháčková 2013: 7)

3. Methodology

This chapter is concerned with the methodology of the report as well as the broader research context and the selection of the final sample. As mentioned in the introduction, this report is focused on the media coverage and perception of CCTV cameras, the Stuxnet computer virus, 3D body scanners and related aspects of public monitoring[surveillance], such as the dilemma between security, privacy and personal dignity. For this purpose, I selected national broadsheets from both sides of the political spectrum – the left-leaning *Právo* and the right-leaning *MF DNES*.

This report is a contribution to the international research project *SECONOMICS*, which deals with the socio-economic aspects of security (SECONOMICS 2013a). Together with 10 other deliverables, this national report maps the media coverage of security threats in selected European countries and Mexico. In a previous phase of the SECONOMICS project the following security case studies were carried out: (1) Anatolus´s Airport infrastructure, (2) the UK's National Power Grid, (3) Barcelona public transport (ibid). The three selected security issues are connected to these *SECONOMICS* case studies: 3D body scanners are related to the airport case studies, CCTV cameras refer to the public transport study, and Stuxnet is connected with a case study of the UK's National Power Grid. These links could be important for the future phase of the *SECONOMICS* project because the qualitative data generated within the set of 10 national reports could be a useful tool of internal validation of the results of the above-mentioned *SECONOMICS* case studies. Nevertheless, this is a task for future studies and not the aim of this report.

To find out how these two most influential Czech newspapers reported on security topics, a comparative qualitative analysis (CQA) of media content was used. This kind of analysis was chosen, despite its limitations,[26] because it provides us with an in-depth look and detailed description of the issue in its causal complexity. In contrast to quantitative methods, a CQA can work without substantial data reduction (Hendl 2008, Rihoux 2009). As a tool of analysis, the computer-assisted qualitative software Atlas.ti was used, which is an easy, speedy and reliable method of data processing and visualisation that is able to work with an unlimited amount of qualitative data (Konopásek 2007, Rihoux 2009).

The time period and amount of data analysed were limited for comparative purposes, which means that only a sample of 40 articles published between 1 January 2010 and 30 April 2013 were analysed.[27] The process of creating the final sample is described in the following subchapters. All the articles were carefully read in order to find and mark the relevant quotations. A relevant quotation was each text segment – sentence or several sentences – that represented one idea about selected security issues and an answer to the question WHO (actor), WHAT (topic), HOW (argumentative strategy), and, if possible, also WHY (justification). Quotations were further coded according to a coding scheme.[28] Each of the selected three security issues had its own coding scheme, which was the same for all countries covered in this study. Predefined categories from the cod-

---

[26] Compared to quantitative data, qualitative data are more difficult to generalise, they are not as suitable for testing hypotheses and theories, and the interpretation of data is more susceptible to the researcher´s personal bias (Hendl 2008).

[27] We should take into account that the distribution of articles in 2013 cannot be fully compared to other years because data collection stopped on 30 April 2013.

[28] It was not necessary to use all the categories included in the coding scheme (see Table 1). Nevertheless, adding the codes 'actor', 'topic', 'argumentative strategy' and 'direction of argumentation' was compulsory for all quotations.

ing scheme were used in order to reduce personal bias and subjectivity and to make the results internationally comparable.[29] The coding schemes are unique because they were created by Petra Guasti solely for the purpose of the *SECONOMICS* project. A set of pre-tests in April and May 2013, subsequent three inter-coder reliability tests, and a discussion during the Prague Graduate School in Comparative Qualitative Analysis in May 2013 helped to complete and finalise the coding schemes. Table 2 shows the coding scheme model, which was further modified for each topic of analysis according to its specific features.

Table 2: Coding scheme model

Pre-defined categories	
Actor (who is speaking about the topic)	
Topic	
Argumentation strategies (the way actors communicate the topic)	a) definitive
	b) evaluative
	c) advocative
Direction of argument (actor´s opinion on the topic)	a) positive
	b) negative
	c) neutral
Justification (arguments supporting actor´s opinion)	
Interaction (between actors)	a) cooperation
	b) confrontation
Actor's origin (country)	
Political orientation of a paper	a) left-leaning
	b) right-leaning
Country code (newspaper´s origin)	

Source: created by Petra Guasti and by the author.

3.1. Overall sample

For the purpose of gathering the overall sample, we first established the mention of CCTV cameras, Stuxnet and 3D body scanners in *Právo* and *MF DNES*. The previous chapter presents the characteristics of these most important Czech left- and right-leaning newspapers. The Czech Media database Anopress IT (Anopress Media Database 2013) was used to find most of the articles (195 articles). The rest of the overall sample (51 articles) was detected via the internal search engines of Novinky.cz, which is the online version of *Právo*, idnes.cz, and technet, the online version and online supplement dealing with cyber technologies in MF DNES, as well as via Google. In total, there were 246 articles for all the topics in the period from 1 January 2010 to 30 April 2013 (see Table 25). An overview of all the articles for each month in 2010, 2011, 2012 and up to April 2013 is presented by newspaper and topic in Tables 26-29 in the Appendix.

---

[29] So that the given categories could reduce the complexity of the information, quotations were accompanied by a 'memo' if it was necessary to explain the meaning of the statement. A memo is a sort of commentary that can contain a description or explanations of codes, researcher´s notes and opinions as well as other information relevant for the overall context of the quotation (Konopásek 2007).

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
PRÁVO: left-leaning newspaper	*3D body scanner*	21	4	1	1	27
	Stuxnet	4	10	11	1	26
	CCTV	8	14	13	11	46
MF DNES: right-leaning newspaper	*3D body scanner*	14	5	1	1	21
	Stuxnet	2	4	8	0	14
	CCTV	40	33	29	10	112
Total		89	70	63	24	246

Sources: created by the author.

3.2. CCTV cameras

The key words used to search the database and find the articles about CCTV cameras were the Czech terms 'bezpečnostní kamera/y' (security camera/s), 'CCTV kamery' (CCTV cameras), 'kamery' (cameras) and 'instalace bezpečnostních kamer' (installation of CCTV cameras). Of all three topics the most media coverage was of the CCTV cameras issue, with a total 159 articles in both dailies. Both papers, *Právo* and *MF Dnes*, paid a lot of attention to this topic. The right-leaning *MF Dnes* (with an overall coverage of 112 articles in a selected three-year period) was more focused, whereas the left-leaning *Právo* published 'just' 46 articles during the same period (see Table 2). In *MF DNES*, there was relatively stable distribution over time. *MF DNES* devoted 'the most space to this topic in 2010 and then the interest slightly but gradually declined. The decline is very sharp in 2013, but we must take into account the fact that we stopped gathering articles on 30 April 2013. The opposite trend is found in the left-leaning daily *Právo*, where we can gradually observe an increasing interest in CCTV cameras. We can expect that this continued for the rest of 2013 because we counted 11 articles from 1 January to 30 April 2013, which is a very large number in just the relatively short period of 5 months. Most of the articles were short and informative. They just briefly described the installation of CCTV cameras in Czech cities and did not mention any further aspects, opinions or evaluation. Those articles were released from the final sample because they were not relevant for the purpose of the analysis.

Figure 1: Distribution of all the articles on CCTV 2010-2013
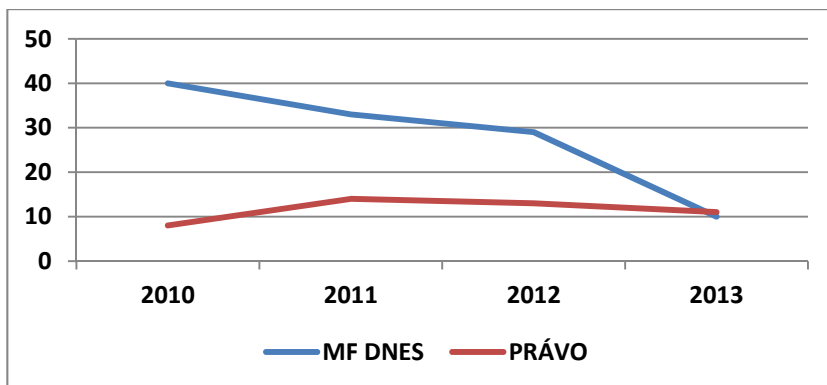
Source: created by the author.

3.3. Stuxnet

The key words for Stuxnet were 'Stuxnet', 'počítačový virus Stuxnet' (computer virus Stuxnet) and 'kybernetický útok/válka' (cyber-attack/war). In total, 40 articles concerning the Stuxnet virus were found in both selected Czech dailies Articles on Stuxnet were the fewest of our three chosen security issues. The time distribution of the articles is similar for both papers. In October 2010, *MF DNES* and *Právo* paid attention to the issue of the Stuxnet computer virus and its attack on Iran. In the following two years, the interest in Stuxnet and related topics increased (in *Právo* gradually in 2011-2012 and in *MF DNES* more sharply within the same period). During that time both papers reported on further cyber-attacks, the origin of Stuxnet and about the virus Flame. The interest peaked in 2012. There is a sharp decline in 2013 when *Právo* reported only once about the topic related to the cyber-war and *MF DNES* not at all. If there is no other cyber-attack or breaking news about this topic in 2013 we could logically expect less media attention.

Figure 2: Distribution of all the articles on Stuxnet 2010-2013
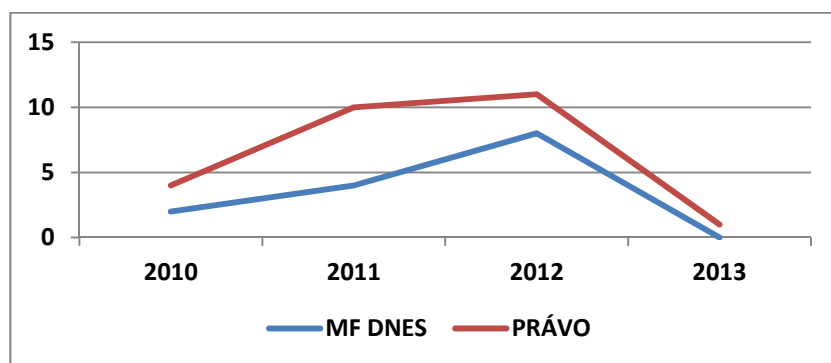
Source: created by the author.

3.4. 3D body scanners

Articles on body scanners were identified using the following key words: 'tělové skenery' (body scanners), '3D skenery' (3D scanners) and 'svlékací skenery' (strip scanners). The last term was used, even though it has negative connotations, but despite this it was a useful tool for searching the articles. The number and distribution of the articles on body scanners in the two papers were the most similar of all three topics. There was a total of 48 articles in both dailies. Slightly more space was devoted to 3D body scanners in the left-leaning *Právo*, which published 27 articles. Almost all the articles were relevant for the purpose of analysis because of their informative and analytical character. Sometimes the articles also contained a journalist's or expert's opinion.

The issue of 3D body scanners was the most popular in 2010 in both newspapers, with *Právo* printing 21 articles and *MF DNES* 14. This year scanners were introduced in America and some European airports, which provoked passenger complaints and protests (see the Context Section). Both papers reported on these protests and on the increased risk of cancer that the scanners could cause. In Figure 3, we can see a sharp decline in the interest in body scanners after 2010 and 2011. In 2012 and 2013, the coded newspapers published almost no information about this topic because almost no new information was available at that time.

Figure 3: Distribution of articles on 3D body scanners 2010-2013
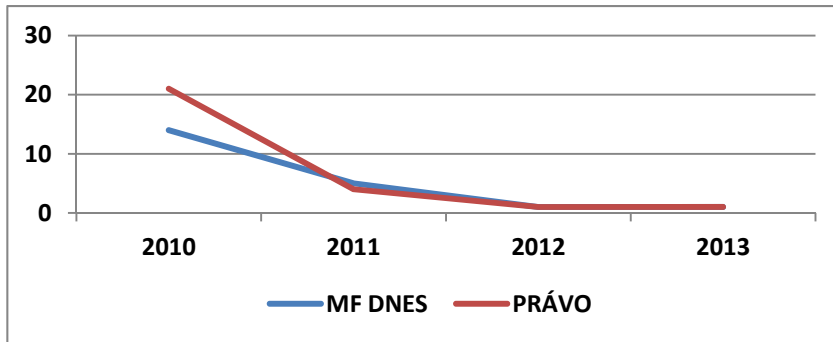
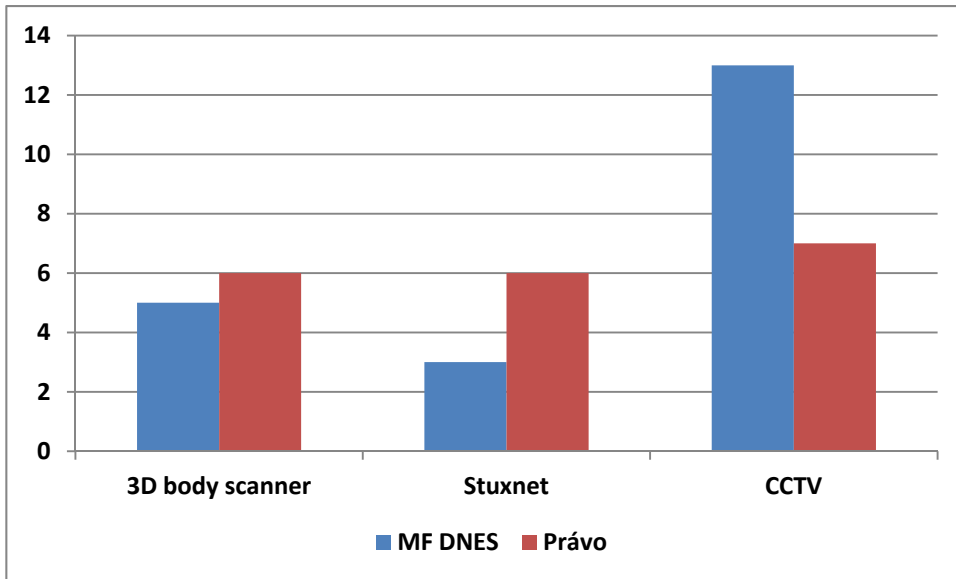Source: created by the author.

3.5. The articles selected for analysis

A sample of 40 articles was selected for further analys from the total number of 246 articles(see Table 3). In both dailies in total 20 articles were selected that dealt with the issue of CCTV cameras, 9 articles about Stuxnet and 11 articles concerned with 3D body scanners. Looking at the results of the analysis, we should take into account the disparity in the number of selected articles for each security issue between the left-leaning *Právo* and the right-leaning *MF DNES* (see Figure 4). On the other hand, this disparity illustrates well the distribution of articles in the original sample so we can draw the conclusions from our analysis. In all the cases in the analysis we reported absolute numbers and not the percentages. An overview of all the selected articles, including their titles in English and Czech, the author, topic, newspaper, date of publication and page (if it was reported) is presented in Table 25 in the Appendix.

Table 3: The sample selected from the total number of articles

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
PRÁVO: left-leaning newspaper	*3D body scanner*	3	1	1	1	6
	Stuxnet	1	2	2	1	6
	CCTV	1	2	2	2	7
MF DNES: right-leaning newspaper	*3D body scanner*	2	1	1	1	5
	Stuxnet	1	1	1	0	3
	CCTV	4	4	4	1	13
Total		12	11	11	6	40

Source: created by Petra Guasti and by the author.

Figure 4: Selected articles from *Právo* and *MF DNES*

Source: created by the author.

4. Context

4.1. Security threats to the Czech Republic

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic in its 'Security Strategy of the Czech Republic 2011' identified the following relevant threats to national security:[30] (1) terrorism, (2) the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, (3) cyber-attacks, (4) instability and regional conflicts in and around the Euro-Atlantic area, (5) the negative aspects of international migration, (6) organised crime and corruption, (7) threats to the operation of critical infrastructure, (8) interruptions to supplies of strategic raw materials or energy, and (9) disasters of natural and anthropogenic provenance and other (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic 2011).

Despite these possible dangers, security-related issues did not dominate the public debate during the term selected for analysis. The security situation of the Czech Republic is relatively stable and the threats mentioned in the first paragraph do not directly endanger Czech territory and the life of its citizens (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic 2011, Mansfeldová and Guasti 2013). For example, the threat of terrorism, which is highly relevant for many other countries, seems remote in the case of the Czech Republic, because it has never experienced any terrorist attacks and no preparation of an attack has been suspected. According to the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, the probability of a current terrorist attack in the Czech territory or against the Czech Republic´s interests in foreign countries is rather low.

On internal security, the Czech government's main priorities are the fight against organised crime and extremists. Czech membership in NATO is the most important factor for fighting external security threats (Guasti and Mansfeldová 2012). Membership in this organisation and commitments to its allies are, according to the Washington Treaty's Articles 3 and 5, the key factors for national security and for the Czech state's membership in the European Union and the United Nations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic 2011).

> '*A significant role in safeguarding the Czech Republic's security interests is played by the diplomatic service, especially through the development of sound bilateral relations and cooperation and through international organisations with the intention of gathering information, preventing crises and stabilising crisis areas, supporting processes of transformation and democratisation and cooperating in the fight against terrorism and the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.*' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic 2011: 20).

During the period relevant for this report, the Czech Republic was the site where the signature landmark nuclear arms treaty START was agreed. At Prague castle, on 8 April 2010, American president Barack Obama and his Russian counterpart Dmitry Medvedev signed this treaty aimed at significantly reducing the number of deployed strategic warheads (BBC 2010, Guasti and Mansfeldová 2012). This event, which is very relevant for the international security situation, was covered and positively evaluated by all the major Czech media.

Regarding public opinion research on perceived risk, the Czech public is primarily concerned about international organised crime and terrorism. According to the CCVM (Public Opinion Research Centre) survey from February 2012, the biggest threat to the

---

[30] These threats have either a direct or an indirect impact (as a threat endangering our allies) on the Czech Republic.

Czech Republic was international organised crime, which 63% of interviewed Czech citizens considered to be a large threat, as well as terrorism (regardless of whether it is perpetrated by the organized group or individuals), which was a very dangerous threat for 52% of respondents. Furthermore, 68% of respondents thought that a current real risk to the Czech Republic is the world economic crisis (Public Opinion Research Centre 2012). By contrast, the threat of war was considered very improbable for the Czech Republic. Just 18% of Czech respondents considered war to be a real threat. According to this survey, refugees, extremist right-wing or left-wing groups, and foreign intelligence services were not considered to be a big danger. Elderly people and respondents with a low living standard were generally more concerned about security threats than the rest of the Czech population (Public Opinion Research Centre 2012). A time analysis between 2006 and 2012 did not show any big differences in these opinions over time.

4.2. The political situation in the Czech Republic during the period of the analysis

The main characteristic of the political situation in the Czech Republic from 1 January 2010 to 30 April 2013 was the relatively pronounced right-left political polarisation (Masfeldová and Guasti 2014). Nevertheless, this polarisation did not significantly affect the perception of security threats. Two governments changed power during the examined period. First, there was the caretaker government, with limited authority, of Prime Minister Jan Fischer from 9 April 2009 to 13 July 2010. Regarding the security situation, one of the priorities of the internal security policy of the Fischer government was the fight against far-right extremism and racism. These attempts were relatively successful (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic 2013c, Romea.cz 2010); for example, the government proposed cancelation of the far-right xenophobic Dělnická strana (Workers' Party). The Supreme Administrative Court accepted this proposal and banned the existence of this party. This was the first time in the contemporary history of the Czech Republic that a political party was forbidden (Aktuálně.cz 2010).

Second, the centre-right government of Prime Minister Petr Nečas took power after the Parliamentary elections to the Chamber of Deputies in May 2010. Prime Minister Nečas governed from 13 July 2010 to 11 July 2013 (Government of the Czech Republic 2013). Nečas´s centre-right coalition was weak and unstable because during its existence it faced continuing struggles with the Social Democratic and Communist opposition and with its coalition partners (Mansfeldová and Guasti 2014). While this coalition was in power, a high degree of political alienation, frustration and disgust with politics was reported among the general public. According to a poll conducted by STEM agency, 97% of respondents who do not vote in the elections expressed frustration with politics (Lidovky.cz 2013. Other public opinion research showed that 89% of respondents were not satisfied with the performance of Nečas´s government (CCVM 2013).

The main reason for this disgust with politics is corruption, which represents one of the most serious problems in the Czech Republic. According to Zdenka Mansfeldová and Petra Guasti, EU funds and public procurement are the most problematic areas connected with corruption. They pointed out that: '*numerous affairs broke out between 2011 and 2012, including several large-scale embezzlement scandals at the Defence Ministry, a fraud case involving a former minister and a regional governor of central Bohemia, and several other high-profile cases*' (Mansfeldová and Guasti 2013: 1). Even the historically first direct Presidential elections in January 2013 did not alter the public's frustration (Lidovky.cz 2013). Moreover, the polarisation of voters escalated during these elections. Most young educated people living in big cities supported the right-wing

candidate and Minister of Foreign Affairs Karel Schwarzenberg, while less educated people with a lower socio-economic status living in small cities and villages voted more often for the left-wing candidate and former leader of the Social Democratic Party Miloš Zeman (ibid., Lidovky 2013, Rybková and Řiháčková 2013).

4.3. Terrorism and 3D body scanners in the Czech Republic

Regarding the antiterrorism fight, the Czech Republic adopted the following EU documents: the 'European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy', the 'EU Action Plan on Combating Terrorism' and the 'Stockholm Programme' addressing the security and freedom agenda. The Czech Republic is also an active member of the EU 'Terrorism Working Group', 'COTER', another working group, and 'The Committee of Experts on Terrorism', which is a working group of the Council of Europe (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic 2013). Regarding aviation security, the Czech Republic is a participant in the NATINADS – 'NATO Integrated Air Defence System' and in the EU agenda of a 'Common Foreign and Security Policy' and 'Common Security and Defence Policy' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic 2011). The Europol TE-SAT report 'European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report' provides the most comprehensive statistics about the possibility of a terrorist threat in the EU.

The quality of Czech airport security is very good and it fulfils the strict EU norms. Nevertheless, a terrorist attack still ranks among the most important threats to Czech civil aviation security. The reasons are threefold: Firstly, the security situation changes all the time and the Czech Republic can never feel fully protected. A terrorist attack took place in a 'new' member state of the European Union on 18 July 2012 in the airport of the Bulgarian city Burgas. During the bomb attack on an Israeli tourist bus, 6 people were killed and 32 injured (Davies 2013, Europol TE-SAT 2013). Secondly, the Czech Republic, as an active member of NATO, the EU and the UN, is currently participating in foreign military missions in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Somalia, Mali, and Sinai (Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic 2013). Thirdly, Czech diplomacy has long supported Israel,[31] which could mean a potential threat from the side of Palestinian terrorist organisations (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic 2013).

Many countries started to install the 3D body scanners after the failed terrorist attempt on the flight from Amsterdam to Detroit on 25 December 2009 (Europa.eu 2010, Permanent Representation of the Czech Republic to the European Union 2010). For example, 500 3D body scanners were installed at 78 US airports (*MF DNES* 2011). These scanners were also installed in 6 EU member states, in the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Netherlands, Finland and Poland [32](Big Brother Watch 2013). The installation of scanners is optional and is regulated on a national level (Permanent Representation of the Czech Republic to the European Union 2010). 3D body scanners have never been installed in the Czech Republic. The price of a 3D body scanner is high. It costs between €100,000 and €200,000 (Europa.eu 2010).

Three important controversies arose over security scanners. First, scanners could mean a threat to privacy and dignity. Earlier scanner models revealed the anatomical

---

[31] The Czech Republic was against the Palestinian attempt to become an observer state of the United Nations.

[32] For example, 3D body scanners were installed in Venice's Marco Polo Airport, the Paris airports of Charles De Gaulle and Orly, Amsterdam's Schiphol Airport and London's Heathrow and Gatwick airports.

details of a passenger's body, which some found humiliating. Several passengers even refused to undergo scanning for ethical or religious reasons and were unable to continue to their flights (*Právo* 2011). Nevertheless, new body scanner models, which show just the outline of the human figure, have been developed (Europa.eu 2010). A second aspect is to prevent unauthorized access to and the long-term storage of scanner records. Third, scanners could have a negative impact on health. It was claimed that radiation from the earlier models of 3D body scanners could increase the risk of cancer (*Právo* 2010, *MF DNES* 2010).

4.4. Computer viruses and Stuxnet

The Computer Security Incident Response Team (CSIRT) was founded to monitor computer security in the Czech Republic. This governmental agency is responsible for protection against and rapid response to cyber-attacks on critical Czech infrastructure (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic 2011). The Stuxnet computer virus was discovered in 2010. The virus mainly targeted critical Iranian infrastructure, for example, the Bushehr nuclear power plant and uranium enrichment facility in the Iranian city Natanz (Bitto 2010, *MF DNES* 2010). Experts were surprised by the complexity and efficiency of the virus. They considered Stuxnet to be a very dangerous threat. '*It allows the attackers to take control of these systems without the operators knowing. This is the first attack we've seen that allows hackers to manipulate real-world equipment, which makes it very dangerous. … It's like nothing we've seen before – both in what it does, and how it came to exist. It is the first computer virus to be able to wreak havoc in the physical world.*' (Norton by Symantec 2013) It was speculated that the USA developed Stuxnet in cooperation with Israel. These assumptions were confirmed by an intelligence leak in 2012 (*MF DNES* 2010, Nápravník 2013).

According to cyber-security expert Jiří Nápravník, the deployment of Stuxnet could be regarded as a pre-emptive strike against Iran's uranium enrichment programme, which could be used to develop an atomic bomb. Nevertheless, most other viruses - such as Flame, Stars, Duqu, Red October, Mini Duke NetTraveller - that appeared later were created for espionage purposes only. It is possible that these viruses were developed by the CIA. '*Separate pieces of information only used to be available in the past few years. Regarding the information published by Edward Snowden, partial facts can show a clearer picture now.*'[33] (Nápravník 2013) Cyber-threats, which are more expected to come from anonymous hackers, NATO enemies or international terrorists than from transatlantic allies, were nonetheless the reason for the US to strengthen its own security. Therefore, computer viruses and cyber-espionage could become a source of a crisis of trust between the EU and the United States.

No cyber-attacks from the viruses Stuxnet, Flame, Red October[34] against the Czech Republic were reported (*Právo*, Novinky.cz 2013). Therefore, the Czech Republic seems to be a cyber-secure country. Nevertheless, the Czech Republic was a target of a cyber-attack. The websites of a Czech governmental institution were attacked by the virus Mini Duke in February 2013. Fortunately, the virus did not cause any serious problems

---

[33] Original quote in Czech: '*O počítačové špionáži jsme měli jednotlivé střípky k dispozici v průběhu několika minulých let a až teď v souvislosti s informacemi, které zveřejnil Edward Snowden, dávají dílčí informace jasnější obraz.*'
[34] Mostly countries of the former Soviet Union and Central Asia were the targets of a virus called Red October.

(Ihned.cz 2013).[35] Despite this attack, the Czech Republic is probably not a particularly interesting country for cyber-attackers, but it is impossible to ever be entirely sure. It has been said that the Third World War will be a cyber-war because, cyber-space has no borders and no distance is too far (Bitto 2010).

4.5. Privacy protection and CCTV cameras

Privacy protection in the Czech Republic is based on national and European Union law. Key documents on personal data protection are the Czech Act No. 101/2000 Coll. and the EU Directive 95/46/EC (Scott 2013). The Office for Personal Data Protection is the main Czech state institution responsible for citizens' right to privacy. This office (1) monitors adherence to privacy protection legislation, (2) maintains the register of notified personal data, (3) receives citizens' complaints and provides consultation on personal data protection (Office for Personal Data Protection 2013). The President of the Office for Personal Data Protection Igor Němec noted with respect to CCTV cameras in the Czech Republic that there '*is an act on "Personal Data Protection". This act defines the clear use of a camera system. Personal data processing is possible for certain purpose only. The necessary conditions for camera surveillance are possession of either the informed consent of citizens or the approval from the law. There is one exception only: a video surveillance system can be installed in order to secure the protection of property and safety.*'[36] (ČT24 2012)

Iuridicum Remedium, a non-governmental organisation dealing with privacy protection, claims that there is a lack of legislation on CCTV camera systems in the Czech Republic, even though the number of cameras is rapidly increasing. Rules for CCTV camera operators are just general or unclear and for this reason they are for the most part not fully respected (Iuridicum Remedium 2013). The situation could be improved were the state to become a signatory to the 'Charter for the Democratic Use of Video-surveillance in European Cities',[37] which lays out the recommendations and rules for considerate use of CCTV cameras. Unfortunately, this document has not been signed by any Czech city (European Forum for Urban Security 2013, Mapakamer.cz 2013). Information on the number of cameras installed in the Czech Republic is unfortunately not available. The reported number varies considerably because the new cameras are installed every day. Nevertheless, an online project called the 'map of cameras' provides some overview of video surveillance in the Czech Republic. Its aim is to create a map of all public and private cameras so that Czech citizens know where they are being monitored (Mapakamer.cz 2013).

---

[35] The virus attacked Belgian, Portuguese and Irish governmental institutions as well (Ihned.cz 2013).

[36] Original quote in Czech: '*V tuto chvíli máme k dispozici jen zákon na ochranu osobních údajů. Ten jasně říká, že používat kamerové systémy, tedy zpracovávat osobní údaje, lze jedině za nějakým účelem. A to buď se souhlasem daných lidí, nebo se souhlasem zákona. Existuje pouze jedna výjimka, která spočívá v tom, že si můžete instalovat kamerový systém z hlediska ochrany majetku a bezpečnosti.*'

[37] The Charter was created by the European Forum for Urban Security as part of the project 'Citizens, Cities and Video-Surveillance', which focuses on the practices of video-surveillance in EU countries and the fact of whether video monitoring respects the right to privacy.

5. Analysis

5.1. Descriptive analysis

5.1.1. CCTV

For the purpose of analysis, we selected 7 articles from the left-leaning *Právo* and 13 articles from the right-leaning *MF DNES*.

5.1.1.1. Actors[38]

A total of 178 actors were identified in the two papers (53 in *Právo* and 125 in *MF DNES*). Journalists were the dominant actors in both newspapers (see Table 4). Journalists most often figured as actors in the informative articles. Sometimes they also presented their opinions on CCTV cameras, and most of the time their opinions were positive. In both papers, quite a lot of attention was also paid to the police. As far as the police as actor was concerned, mainly municipal police officers, for example, a director or a spokesperson, were given space in the media. Municipalities, particularly mayors, local politicians and spokesman of the city halls, were also an important actor for *Právo*. Surprisingly, there was little mention of advocacy groups in our sample. In the left-leaning *Právo*, no attention was paid to advocacy groups at all. In *MF DNES*, advocacy groups were mentioned 4 times out of a total 125 statements, which can be considered to be a very low number. Topics regarding privacy were connected with the actor state institutions and these were represented mainly by the Czech Office for Personal Data Protection.

Table 4: Top ten actors connected with CCTV

	Právo	*MF DNES*	Total
Journalist	15	29	44
Municipality	14	17	31
Police	10	18	28
State institutions	5	16	21
Transportation company	0	19	19
CCTV cameras	1	7	8
Individuals	2	4	6
Citizen/passenger	1	5	6
Advocacy group/civil society	0	4	4
Private company	0	4	4

Source: created by the author.

---

[38] More than one actor could be used in a quotation when it was necessary for the purpose of analysis.

Figure 5: Top ten actors connected with the topic of body scanners in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
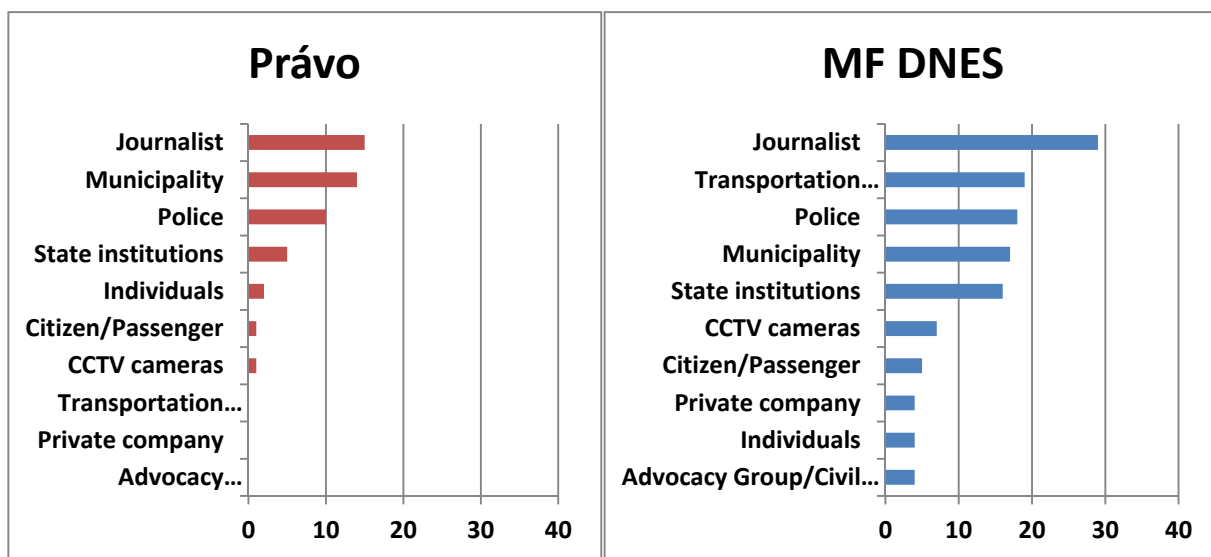
Source: created by the author.

5.1.1.2. Topics

In the two papers a total of 203 topics were presented (70 in the left-leaning *Právo* and 133 in the right-leaning *MF DNES*). Bigger differences were found between the topics reported on than what was observed in the case of actors between the right- and left-orientated dailies. Nevertheless, these differences were not striking. The purchase/installation of CCTV cameras was the dominant topic in the whole sample. Two main kinds of differences in topics were observed between *MF DNES* and *Právo*. First, public domain monitoring and surveillance were more prominent in *MF DNES* (both were mentioned 48 times), whereas much less attention was paid to them in *Právo*, where both topics were present in just 9 statements. Second, *Právo* focused more on the issues of protest and privacy than *MF DNES*.[39] *Právo*, for example, published an article titled 'Six Thousand "Big Brothers" Guard the Czech Republic', which focused mainly on citizens´ privacy. In this article privacy protection advisor Oldřich Kužílek criticised CCTV cameras for their potential abuse. Kužílek '…*warns that genie of security cameras is out of the bottle in the Czech Republic. 'The question is how to get him back,' he said and added that the CCTV camera records may create the parallel reality, which could be misused'*[40] (Rovenský 2011). Table 6 presents the cross time distribution of the topic. We can see there that the topic was relatively equally prevalent from 2010 through to 2013. Nevertheless, the topics of surveil-

---

[39] We can see this difference particularly when we take into account the total number of articles. In 7 articles in *Právo*, the topics of 'privacy' and 'protest' were mentioned 10 times altogether, while the right-leaning *MF DNES* covered these issues just 7 times in a total of 13 articles.

[40] The original quote in Czech: '…*varuje, že džin bezpečnostních kamer v Česku vyletěl z láhve. 'Otázka je, jak ho dostat zpět,' podotkl s tím, že záznamy mohou vytvořit paralelní realitu, která může být zneužita.'*

lance and CCTV cameras rarely came up. In 2012, both media paid much more attention to both these topics than in previous years.[41] The negative aspects of surveillance were mentioned mainly in 2012, while newspapers reported on surveillance more often in a positive way in 2010 and 2011. The topic of CCTV cameras is not so interesting for our analysis because the coverage deals more with general information about the cameras.

Table 5: Top ten topics connected with CCTV cameras

	Právo	*MF DNES*	Total
Purchase/installation of CCTV cameras	17	37	54
Surveillance	6	24	30
Public domain monitoring	3	24	27
Cameras CCTV	7	13	20
Costs	6	5	11
Crime detection	6	4	10
Privacy	4	5	9
Protest	6	2	8
Surveillance increase	4	4	8
Crime prevention	2	4	6

Source created by author.

Figure 6: Top ten topics connected with body scanners in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
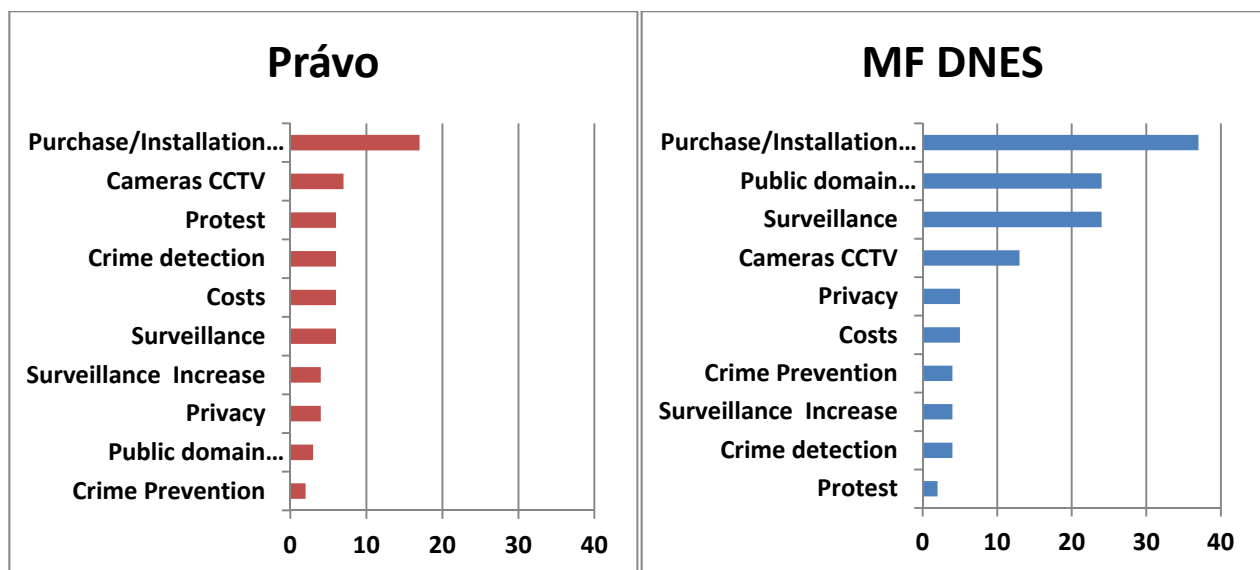
Source: created by the author.

Table 6: Top ten topics connected with CCTV cameras 2010-2013

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Purchase/installation of CCTV cam-	16	14	16	8	54

---

[41] In the case of surveillance, there were 14 statements in 2012 compared to 6 in 2010 and 2011. Newspapers wrote about CCTV 10 times in 2012, 5 times in 2011 and 4 times in 2010.

eras					
Surveillance	6	6	14	4	30
Public domain monitoring	12	12	3	0	27
Cameras CCTV	4	5	10	1	20
Costs	2	1	5	3	11
Crime detection	1	6	0	3	10
Privacy	2	4	2	1	9
Protest	1	4	3	0	8
Surveillance increase	3	3	2	0	8
Crime prevention	1	3	2	0	6

Source: created by the author.

5.1.1.3. Argumentation strategies

Tables 7 and 8 provide an overview of the argumentation strategies and directions of arguments in the coverage. We can see there that 168 argumentation strategies (95 in *MF DNES* and 73 in *Právo*) and 173 directions of argument (98 in *MF DNES* and 75 in *Právo*) could be observed in the articles. The dominant argumentation strategy identified was the use of a neutral tone, which appeared 131 times in the two dailies (43 in *Právo* and 91 in *MF DNES*).A total of 29 positive argumentation strategies were observed (12 in *Právo* and 17 in *MF DNES*) and almost half as many negative evaluations (9 in *Právo* and 8 in *MF DNES*). Both papers cited the opinions of Czech citizens and passengers of public transport on the installation of cameras. These opinions were mainly positive. People mentioned the strengthening of the security and the reduction of theft, robberies and acts of vandalism. The following quote from a citizen of Česká Třebová, Karel Beran, about the installation of cameras at train stations provides a good illustration of these opinions: *'"I don't steal, so I do not care if a camera is monitoring me. Some strange people gather there. So it is very good that the cameras are there. Maybe there should be more cameras", says Beran'.*[42] (Filip 2010) The right-leaning paper also employed three advocative strategies, which were positive in tone. *MF DNES* wrote that drivers and passengers of public transport wanted CCTV cameras for security.

Table 7: Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in total

|	Definitive	Evaluative	Advocative	Total
Positive	4	22	3	29
Negative	3	14	0	17
Neutral	127	4	0	131

Source: created by the author.

---

[42] Original quote in Czech: *'"Nekradu, tak mi je úplně jedno, když mne kamera sleduje. Stahovaly se sem různé živly, je tedy jen dobře, že tady kamery jsou. Možná by jich mělo být ještě víc", říká Beran.'*

Table 8: Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in *Právo* and *MF DNES*

	Právo			*MF DNES*		
	Definitive	Evaluative	Advocative	Definitive	Evaluative	Advocative
Positive	3	9	0	1	13	3
Negative	3	6	0	0	8	0
Neutral	37	1	0	90	3	0

Source: created by the author.

Figure 7: Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
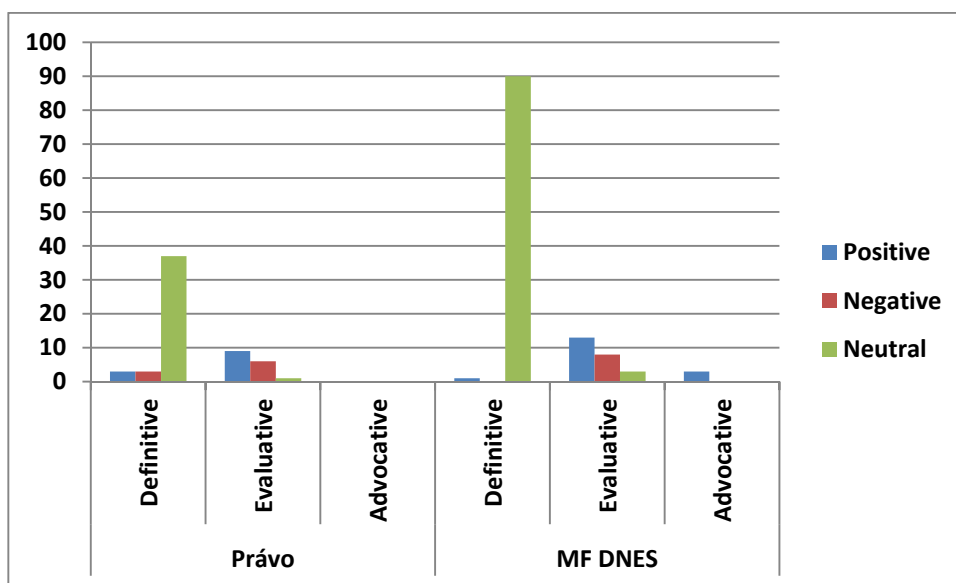
Source: created by the author.

5.1.1.4. Justifications

The justifications employed to substantiate the actors' views differed slightly between right- and left-leaning papers. The differences were observed particularly in the matters of right to privacy and efficiency. In total, 74 justifications were used (25 in *Právo* and 49 in *MF DNES*). Crime prevention was the prevailing justification in both papers.[43] In *MF DNES*, there is a big gap between the prevalence of the first justification, crime prevention, and the rest, while the distribution of justifications in *Právo* is more equal (see Table 9). A cross-time analysis for 2010-2013 shows that crime prevention was a relevant topic mainly in 2010 and 2011. Other types of justifications were distributed relatively equally. Both papers mentioned privacy as a justification 5 times. In terms of the total number of articles privacy was a more relevant justification for the left-leaning *Právo*. In this respect, non-governmental, non-profit organisations received space in

---

[43] *Právo* mentioned this topic 6 times and *MF DNES* as many as 22 times, which is almost one half of all its codes for justification.

both papers. Efficiency was also an important issue in *Právo*, whereas it was a less common justification in *MF DNES*.

Table 9: Nine justifications for the use of CCTV cameras[44]

	Právo	*MF DNES*	Total
Crime Prevention	6	22	28
Right to Privacy	5	5	10
Safety	4	5	9
Efficiency	5	3	8
Security	3	4	7
Crime solution	1	5	6
Crime detection	0	3	3
Costs	1	1	2
Transparency	0	1	1

Source: created by the author.

Figure 8: Nine justifications for the use of CCTV
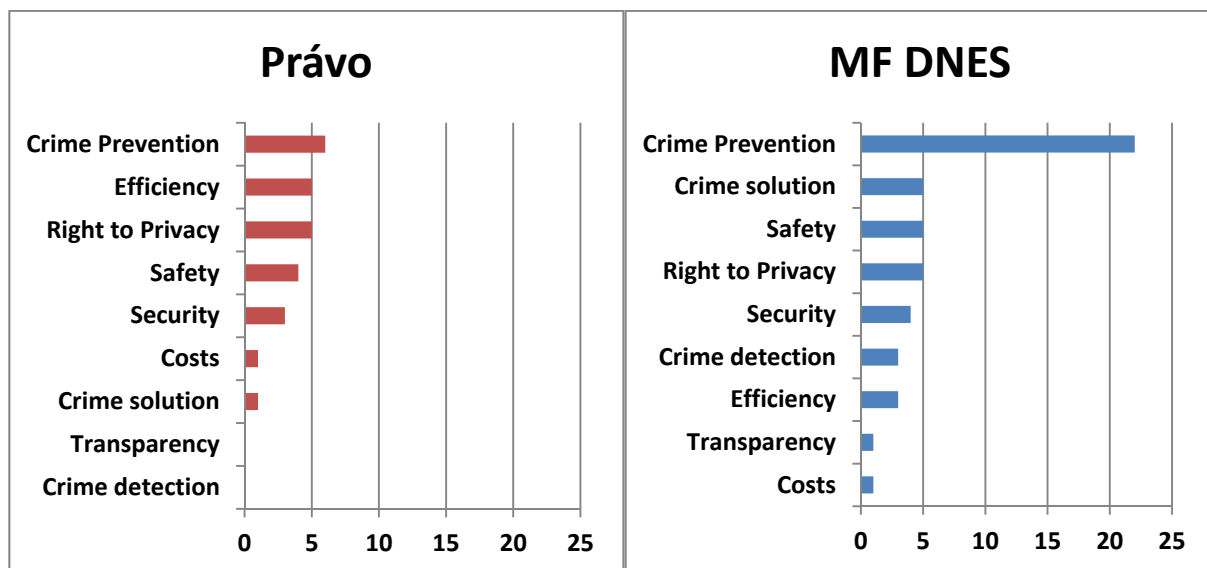
Source: created by the author.

Table 10: Nine justifications for the use of CCTV 2010-2013

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Crime prevention	9	10	5	4	28
Right to privacy	3	4	3	0	10
Safety	1	3	4	1	9
Efficiency	1	3	2	2	8
Security	1	3	2	1	7

---

[44] Only nine types of justification were reported during the analysis.

Crime solution	2	2	2	0	6
Crime detection	0	1	1	1	3
Costs	1	0	0	1	2
Transparency	0	1	0	0	1

Source: created by the author.

5.1.2. Stuxnet

There were 6 articles selected from the left-leaning *Právo* and 3 articles from the right-leaning *MF DNES* for the purpose of analysis.

5.1.2.1. Actors

Table 11 presents an overview of the actors referred to in the two papers. A total of 86 different actors were referred to in the two dailies (29 in *MF DNES* and 57 in *Právo*). There are some differences between the actors identified in the right- and left-leaning paper. The main actor in *Právo* was a private company whereas in *MF DNES* it was Stuxnet itself. The private company was most often reported on in *Právo* was the Russian computer security company Kaspersky Lab, whose experts discovered the spy virus Flame. Considerable space was also devoted to expert opinion in both papers. Experts were the second most common actor referred to in both dailies.[45] The experts were in most cases anonymous, referred to in the newspapers in formulation such as 'according to the expert/s', 'some experts claim', 'experts believe', but in most cases they did not cite any specific names. *Právo* also mentioned president/s as an actor, whereas MF *DNES* did not at all. Most of the statements referring to president/s (3 out of 5) were published in an article in *Právo* titled 'Obama Ordered to Deploy Stuxnet Computer Virus' in which Barack Obama was accused of ordering the cyber-attack on Iran. The following quote is taken from that article and it describes a secret project of the Obama administrative called Olympic Games. '"*Since his first months in office, Obama has ordered increasingly sophisticated attacks against computer systems controlling the main uranium enrichment facilities in Iran", said the daily paper New York Times. The project was given the name Olympics and it continued the efforts of former president Bush.'*[46] (*Právo* 2012) Former US president George W. Bush and Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad were also mentioned in *Právo*.

Table 11: 'Top ten' actors connected with Stuxnet

|	*Právo*	*MF DNES*	Total
Private company	19	3	22
Experts	11	6	17
Stuxnet	5	10	15
Journalist	5	2	7
Flame	4	2	6

---

[45] They were mentioned 11 times in Právo and 6 times in *MF DNES*.
[46] Original quote in Czech: '*Od prvních měsíců v úřadě nařídil Obama stále důmyslnější útoky proti počítačovým systémům, které řídí hlavní íránská zařízení na obohacování', napsal deník NYT. Projekt dostal jméno Olympijské hry a byl pokračováním úsilí prezidenta Bushe.*

President	5	0	5
State(s)	2	2	4
Virus/Malware/Worm	1	2	3
Media	2	1	3
State institutions	1	2	3

Source: created by the author.

Figure 9: 'Top ten' actors connected with body scanners in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
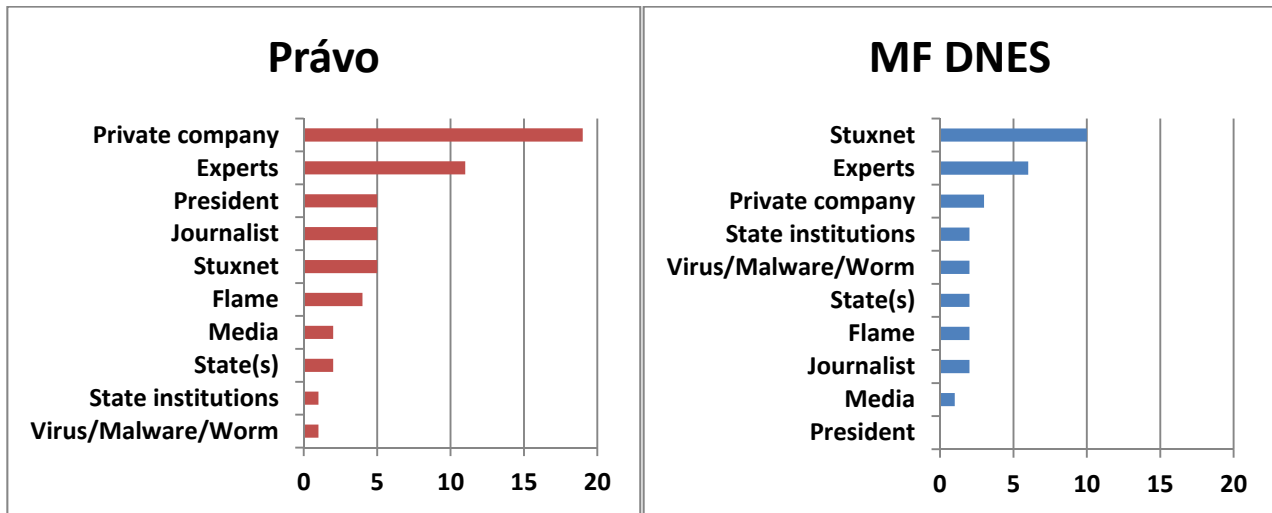
Source: created by the author.

5.1.2.2. Topics

A total of 113 topics were identified (37 in *MF DNES* and 76 in *Právo*). Cyber-war was the dominant topic in terms of the number of statements that referred to it (17 in both dailies).[47] In a cross-time distribution, we find that cyber-war received the most interest as a topic in 2010. Surprisingly, cyber-war was only mentioned twice the very next year in 2011. In the left-leaning *Právo*, the most important topic was Iran's uranium enrichment programme whereas in the right-leaning *MF DNES* it was Stuxnet itself. *Právo* mentioned the uranium enrichment programme most often in 2011 and 2012. At that time, Iranian centrifuges for uranium enrichment became the main target of the Stuxnet virus. Despite the small number of articles on Stuxnet in *MF DNES* both papers paid approximately the same amount of attention to the Flame virus. Flame continued was Stuxnet had begun and attacked thousands of computers in Iran, Israel and in the Middle East. The most articles on the Flame virus came out in 2012, when this malware first appeared. In 2012, Flame was mentioned 13 times in both papers. Both papers reported extensively on the Stuxnet, Flame and Stars viruses. The development of these viruses was a more relevant topic in *Právo*, which published that Stuxnet and other viruses were probably developed by the USA and Israel. According to the left-leaning paper *Právo*: '*US President Barack Obama allowed the use of the Stuxnet computer virus against the Iranian nuclear programme.*

---

[47] In fact, it was the second most relevant issue for *MF DNES* and *Právo* (see Figure 11).

A programming error caused the virus to leak from the uranium enrichment laboratory at Natanz into someone's laptop. Then the virus spread through the Internet. The New York Times reported on it, citing anonymous experts who were close to Stuxnet. According to them, the virus was deployed jointly by the USA and Israel.'[48] (*Právo* 2012)

Table 12: 'Top ten' topics connected with Stuxnet

	Právo	*MF DNES*	Total
Cyber war	12	7	19
Iranian uranium enrichment programme	13	5	18
Stuxnet	6	8	14
Flame	8	6	14
Attack on Iran	7	6	13
Development of Stuxnet by a state	5	2	7
Attack on other state	5	2	7
Attack on a company	4	2	6
Deployment/attack using Stuxnet	2	2	4
Attack	3	0	3

Source: created by the author.

Figure 10: 'Top ten' topics connected with Stuxnet in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
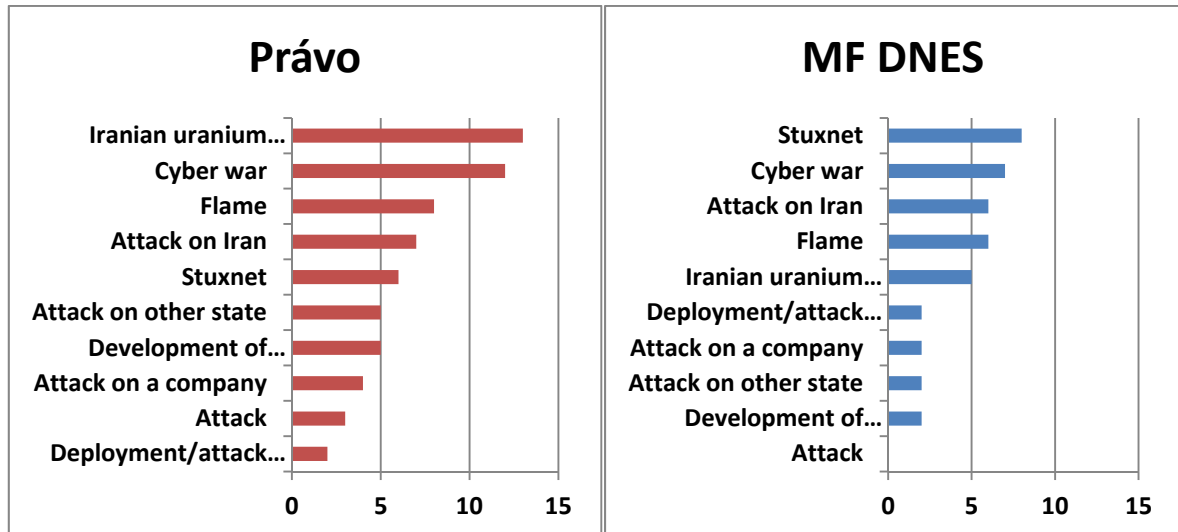
Source: created by the author.

---

[48] Original quote in Czech: '*Zelenou k nasazení počítačového viru Stuxnet proti íránskému jadernému programu dal přímo prezident USA Barack Obama. Chyba v programování viru však způsobila, že když se v čímsi laptopu dostal z íránské laboratoře na obohacování uranu v Natanzu, zamořil internet. S odvoláním na anonymní experty blízké programu Stuxnet to napsal list The New York Times (NYT). Podle nich byl virus společným dílem USA a Izraele.*'

Table 13: 'Top ten' topics connected with Stuxnet 2010-2013

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Cyber war	7	2	5	5	19
Iran's uranium enrichment pro-gramme	1	8	8	1	18
Stuxnet	9	0	4	1	14
Flame	0	0	13	1	14
Attack on Iran	4	3	6	0	13
Development of Stuxnet by a state	1	3	3	0	7
Attack on other state	2	0	4	1	7
Attack on a company	4	0	0	2	6
Deployment/attack using Stuxnet	0	0	4	0	4
Attack	0	0	0	3	3

Source: created by the author.

5.1.2.3. Argumentation strategies

In these articles, 69 argumentation strategies and 73 directions of argument were identified (21 in *MF DNES* and 2 in *Právo*). The articles were dominated by statements that employed a neutral tone (68 statements out of 73 in total). Only two statements were evaluative, and both evaluations were negative. In *Právo*, one article/statement pointed out the possible dangers of Stuxnet. Concerns were expressed that this virus might move into the black market. The coverage in *Právo* also included one positive argument that described Stuxnet as a highly complex and sophisticated virus. *Právo* published also one statement advocating a possible cyber-attack against North Korea and Syria.

Table 14: Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in total

|	Definitive	Evaluative	Advocative	Total
Positive	1	0	0	1
Negative	1	2	0	3
Neutral	68	0	1	69

Source: created by the author.

Table 15: Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in *Právo* and *MF DNES*

	Právo			*MF DNES*		
	Definitive	Evaluative	Advocative	Definitive	Evaluative	Advocative
Positive	1	0	0	0	0	0
Negative	1	1	0	0	1	0
Neutral	48	0	1	20	0	0

Source: created by the author.

Figure 11: Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
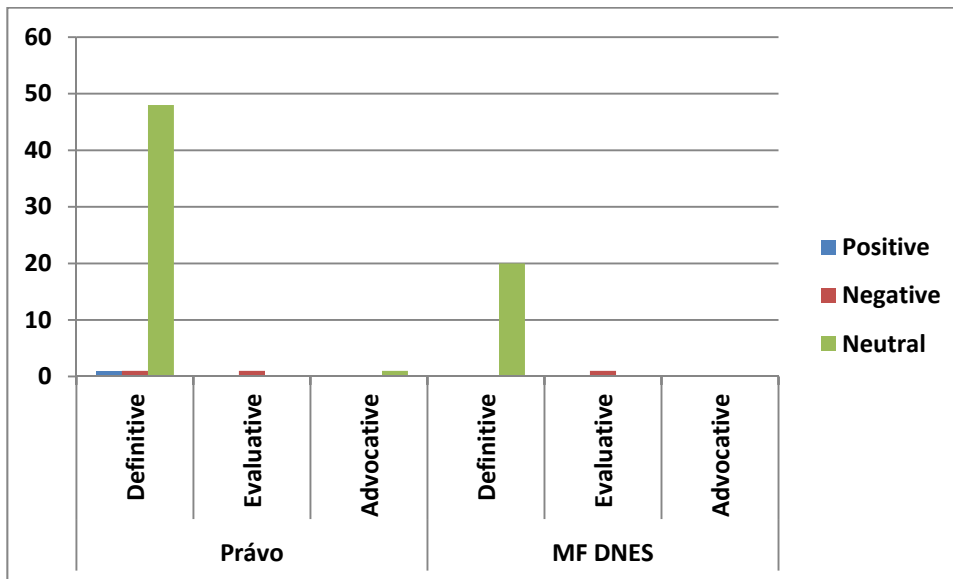
Source: created by the author.

5.1.2.4.   Justifications

No justifications of opinions on the use of Stuxnet were expressed in almost any of the topics connected with Stuxnet. Only three justifications were presented in the two papers (two in *MF DNES* and one in *Právo*). The first justification referred to a pre-emptive strike, the second to costs and the third to expert opinion. In *MF DNES*, the attack on Iran was justified by experts as a 'pre-emptive strike' against the country's development of nuclear weapons. The following quote shows that experts referred to high costs to justify their opinion that Stuxnet was development by the state. '*According to experts, a great amount of time and money had to be invested in order to create the virus. It is therefore unlikely that some hackers created Stuxnet just for fun. Some powerful state must be behind Stuxnet that was able to detect weaknesses in the industrial systems the virus targeted.*'[49](*Právo* 2010) Table 17 presents an overview of the distribution of justifications in 2010-2013. However, we cannot perform the relevant cross-time analysis in 2010-2013 because of the very limited amount of data.

Table 16: Three justifications of opinions on the use of Stuxnet

	Právo	*MF DNES*	Total
Preemptive strike	0	1	1
Costs	0	1	1
Expert opinion	1	0	0

Source: created by the author.

---

[49] Original quote in Czech: '*Podle expertů stálo vytvoření takového červa hodně času a peněz a je málo pravděpodobné, že to udělali pro zábavu nějací hackeři. Na něčem takovém se musela podílet nějaká mocnost, aby bylo možné odhalit slabá místa průmyslových systémů, na něž je červ zacílen.*'

Table 17: Three justifications of opinions on the use of Stuxnet 2010-2013

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Premptive strike	0	1	0	0	1
Costs	1	0	0	0	1
Expert opinion	0	0	1	0	1

Source: created by the author.

5.1.3.   3D body scanners

For the analysis, 6 articles were selected from the left-leaning *Právo* and 3 articles form the right-leaning *MF DNES*.

5.1.3.1.   Actors

A total of 81 different actors were identified in the two daily papers associated with the topic of 3D body scanners (43 in *MF DNES* and 38 in *Právo*). Of these, 75 actors were in the 'top ten' according the frequency of occurrence (see Table 17). Figure 12 presents a comparison between *MF DNES* and *Právo*. The Transport Security Agency, journalists and experts were dominant actors in both papers. There were 12 statements on each of these three groups. Journalists were important actors, particularly in *MF DNES*.[50] Journalists described their own (often negative) experiences with body scanners at American airports. They also presented general information on body scanners. The Transport Security Agency was more relevant for *MF DNES* than for *Právo*. Experts were relevant actors in both dailies. In *Právo*, experts were the dominant actors (see Figure 12). Such experts included, for example, the director of the Czech State Office for Nuclear Safety Dana Drábová and the director of the Centre for Radiological Research in Columbia David Brenner. There were no big differences between the two dailies regarding the actors they referred to. The main difference was observed with respect to institutions and state institutions, which were much more important for *Právo*, which frequently mentioned the European Union and its institutions, such as the European Commission, in this context.

**Table 18: 'Top ten' actors connected with body scanners**

	Právo	*MF DNES*	Total
Transport Security Agency	4	8	12
Journalists	3	9	12
Experts	6	6	12
Private company	5	6	11
Passengers	2	4	6

---

[50] Journalists were the prevailing actors in *MF DNES*. They were mentioned in 9 statements.

Institutions	4	1	5
State institutions	4	1	5
Scanners	1	3	4
Activists	1	3	4
States	3	1	4

Source: created by the author.

Figure 12: "Top ten" actors connected with body scanners in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
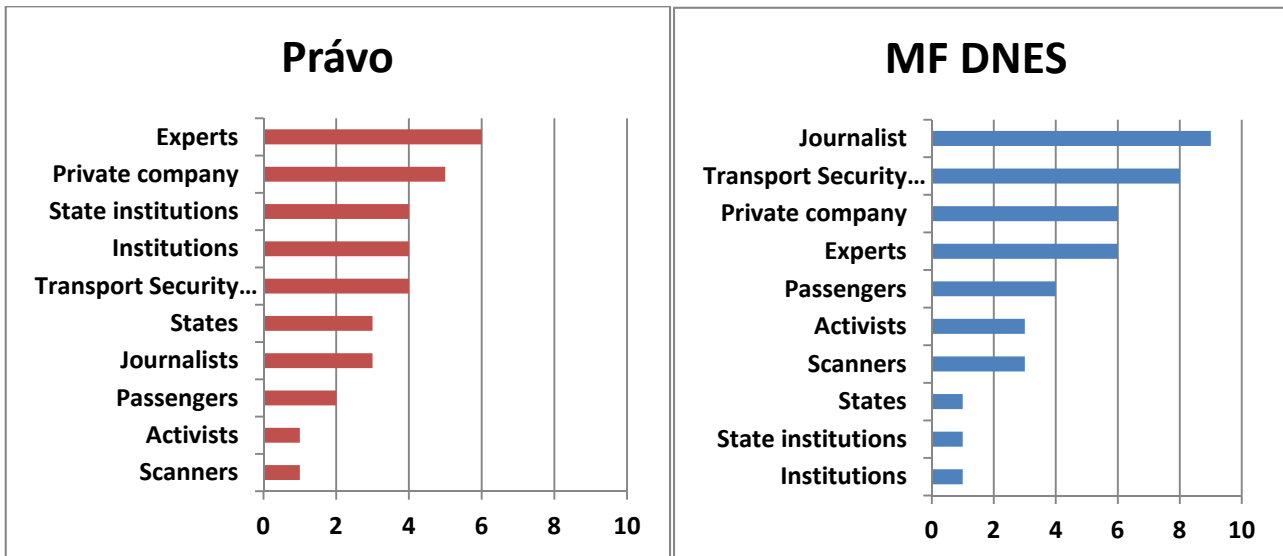
Source: created by the author.

5.1.3.2. Topics

Table 19 presents an overview of topics associated with 3D body scanners. Figure 13 offers a comparison of *Právo* and *MF DNES*. The newspapers covered only 7 topics connected with the scanners, which can be considered a small number. In total 80 topics were identified (39 in *MF DNES* and 41 in *Právo*). The distribution of topics in this case was even more alike than in the case of actors. The topics that dominated *MF DNES* and *Právo* both were body scanners, security related rules and regulations and health issues. Body scanners themselves were the prevailing topic in the whole sample[51] and in each newspaper. Nevertheless, it should be taken into account that 'body scanner' is a very general kind of topic. In the coding scheme this topic was assigned to mention of the installation or removal of scanners, protests against their use, or simply when a more specific topic could not be applied to the subject being discussed in reference to scanners. The cross-time analysis shows that this topic was relatively equally distributed in time. In the case of security related rules and regulations, most of the references in the dailies were to the security procedures in US airports. Table 20 shows that the media paid the most attention to this topic in 2010 and 2011. Another important topic was health issues, in particular the risk of cancer, which is allegedly increased by radiation from the scanners. There is a big gap in the reporting on health risks over the years. Al-

---

[51] Body scanners were mentioned 41 times, which is a very high number.

most all the attention paid to this topic was in 2010, when the scanners were introduced and the potential of a health risk first arose.

Table 19: Seven topics connected with body scanners

	Právo	*MF DNES*	Total
Body scanners	21	20	41
Security related rules and regulations	8	5	13
Health issues	6	6	13
Privacy	5	3	8
Security General[General security]	2	1	3
Terrorism	1	0	1
Increased number of body scanners	0	1	1

Source: created by author

Figure 13: Seven topics connected with body scanners in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
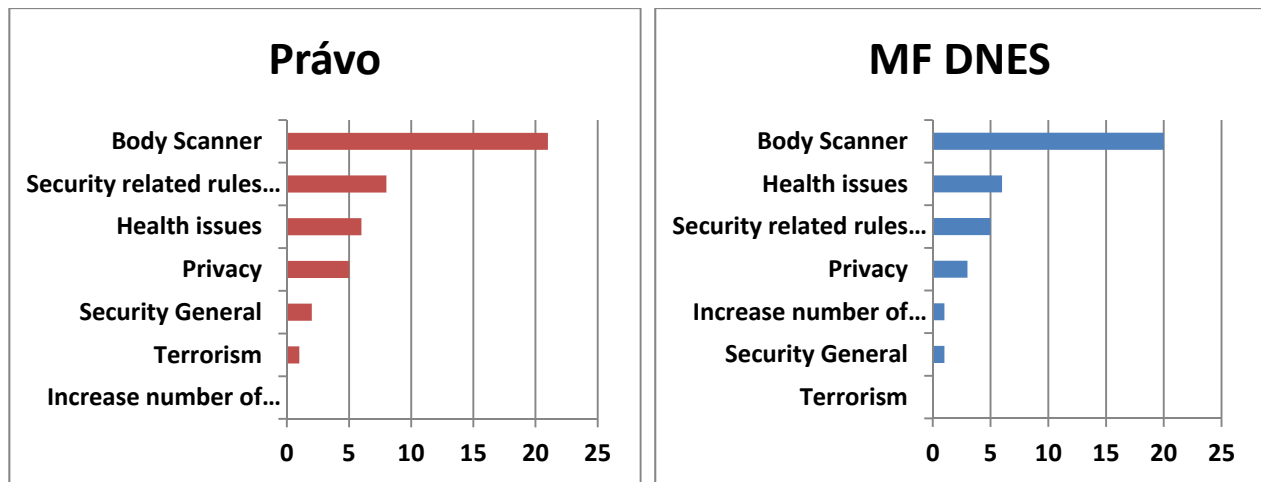
Source: created by the author.

Table 20: Seven topics connected with body scanners 2010-2013

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Body scanners	13	9	8	11	41
Security related rules and regulations	6	4	3	0	13
Health issues	12	0	1	0	13
Privacy	4	1	1	2	8
Security General[General security]	0	1	0	2	3
Terrorism	1	0	0	0	1
Increased number of body scanners	0	1	0	0	1

Source: created by the author.

5.1.3.3. Argumentation strategies

Journalists in most cases presented the facts and described the issue of 3D body scanners in a neutral tone. The prevailing argumentation strategies were definitive (in 62 statements in both papers) and the directions of argument were neutral. There were 15 evaluative arguments found (6 in *Právo* and 9 in *MF DNES*) and most of them were negative.[52] Experts as well as passengers and activists expressed negative evaluations of body scanners. Experts warned against the risk of cancer that could be increased by scanners and claimed that the risk was much higher if the scanner was damaged. The following quote from *Právo* describes how for passengers and activists the installation of 3D scanners was primarily an issue of dignity, privacy and possible health risks. '*Even in the USA, there is growing resistance against scanners that reveal all the anatomical details of the human body. Passengers who fly frequently complain about the lengthy inspections and the invasion of privacy. There are also concerns of their impact on health*'[53] (*Právo* 2010). No advocative strategy was observed in the reporting in either of the two papers.

Table 21: Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in total

	Definitive	Evaluative	Total
Positive	0	2	2
Negative	7	13	20
Neutral	55	0	55

Source: created by the author.

Table no. 22: Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
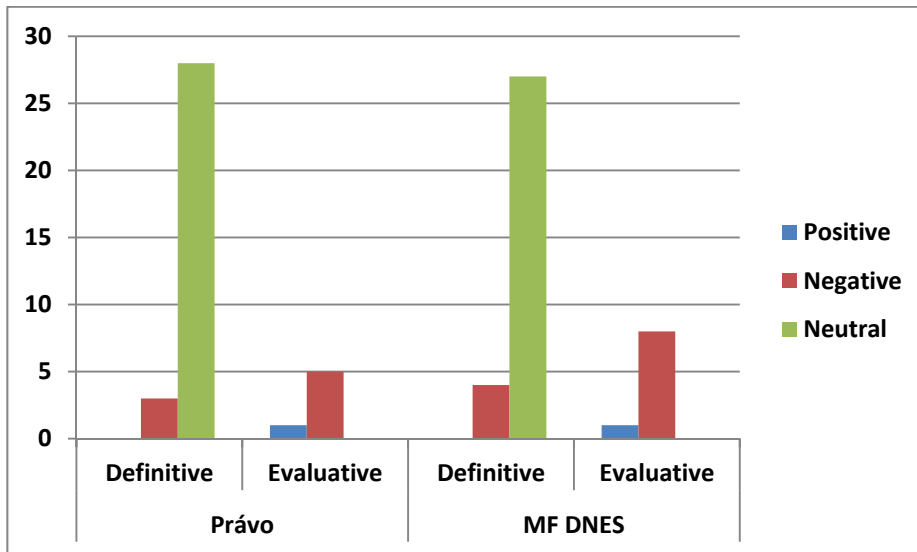
	Právo		*MF DNES*	
	Definitive	Evaluative	Definitive	Evaluative
Positive	0	1	0	1
Negative	3	5	4	8
Neutral	28	0	27	0

Source: created by the author.

---

[52] Scanners were mentioned positively in two codes only. Nevertheless, this information had rather negative connotations, for example, people welcomed the withdrawal of 3D body scanners.

[53] Original quote in Czech: '*I v USA sílí odpor proti skenerům, jež zobrazují všechny anatomické detaily lidského těla. Cestující, kteří létají častěji, si stěžují na zdlouhavost prohlídek i na zásahy do soukromí. Zaznívají i obavy z dopadů na zdraví.*'

Source: created by the author.

5.1.3.4. Justifications

In *MF DNES*, 17 justifications of the use of opinions were reported and 23 in *Právo*. Table 23 presents the seven types of justifications that were used in the articles. State-ments justifying the use of scanners for reasons of health, privacy and efficiency were found most often. These three justifications were found most often in both papers.[54] Table 24 presents the cross-time distribution of justifications. We can see that health was the dominant justification in 2010. The reason for this is obvious, as the newspaper frequently reported on health risks in 2010, and consequently health also figured fre-quently among justifications. Other types of justifications were distributed more equally from 2010 through 2013.

Table 23: Six justifications connected with body scanners

	Právo	*MF DNES*	Total
Health	8	5	13
Privacy	6	6	12
Efficiency	4	3	7
Security	3	1	4
Dignity	1	2	3
Costs	1	0	1

Sources: created by the author.

---

[54] In total, 22 statements were found, which is a high incidence compared to the other three justifica-tions, i.e. security, dignity and costs, which were found in only 8 codes altogether.

Figure 15: Six justifications connected with body scanners in *Právo* and *MF DNES*
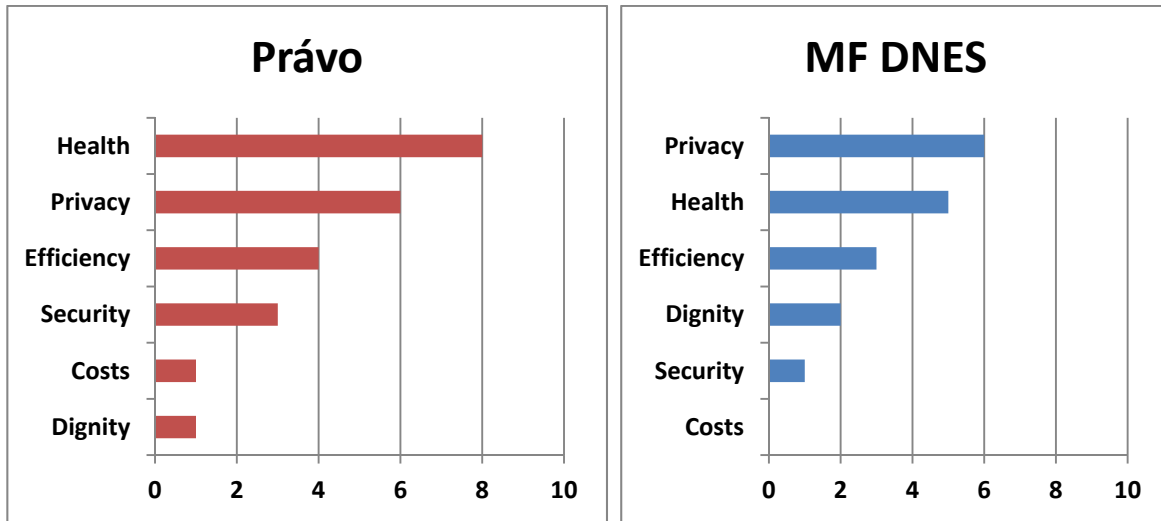
Source: created by the author.

Table 24: Six justifications connected with body scanners 2010-2013

	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Health	9	2	2	0	13
Privacy	4	5	2	1	12
Efficiency	3	0	1	3	7
Security	2	2	0	0	4
Dignity	1	0	2	0	3
Costs	1	0	0	0	1

Source: created by the author.

5.1.4. Analysis of general tendencies

5.1.4.1. CCTV cameras

'You always have to pay for safety. CCTV cameras are just a small personal limitation that helps to increase the security of society...'[55] (Rovenský 2011).

This quote from Jiří Straus, the head of the Department of Criminology at the Czech Police Academy, provides a good illustration of the general tendencies on CCTV cameras in the Czech Republic. A qualitative content analysis of the two papers revealed that (the general view is that) increased surveillance is a fair price for strengthening security regardless of the trade-off, which is a decrease in privacy.

---

[55] Original quote in Czech: '*Za bezpečnost se vždy platí. Je to malé osobní omezení z hlediska zvýšení bezpečnosti společnosti...*'

Of all three security topics the most media coverage in both newspapers was devoted to CCTV cameras. The dominant topic was the purchase and installation of CCTV cameras followed by the topic of surveillance. There were no big changes in the topics covered in the articles over time in either *MF DNES* or *Právo*. The actors who were the sources of the statements – most of whom were journalists and police officers - offered a general description of the given issue. If they evaluated it, their opinions were mainly positive. Similarly, passengers and citizens (with one exception) greatly appreciated the installation of cameras. They were installed to prevent vandalism, pickpocketing in public transport and to strengthen security in road traffic. '*A growing number of acts of vandalism, theft and road traffic offenses is the reason why the town Mladá Vožice wants to have the camera system.*'[56](Bydžovský 2010) Activists from the NGOs Iridium Remedium and employees of the Office for Personal Data Protection were only ones to express concerns about CCTV cameras.

The analyses did not confirm our assumption that there would be striking differences in the directions of argument according to the left-right political affiliation of the daily papers. We expected that the left-leaning *Právo* would report on CCTV cameras more negatively whereas the right-leaning *MF DNES* would evaluate CCTV positively. In fact, a preponderance of positive evaluations was found in both papers. Nevertheless, *Právo* criticised CCTV cameras slightly more than *MF DNES*. For example, *Právo*" pointed to the invasion of privacy they represent. *MF DNES* reported more on the economic aspects of surveillance; for example, on the fact that real estate prices tended to rise in areas monitored by cameras. The language of the coded article[this coded article/the coded articles] was mainly neutral. In the left-leaning Právo, 'Big brother' was mentioned twice as a metaphor for CCTV cameras, but surprisingly without negative connotations. [57]

5.1.4.2. Stuxnet

'It is one of the most complex threats that we have ever faced.'[58] (Kužník 2012)

These are the words Roel Schouwenberg, an executive at Kaspersky Lab, used to describe the Flame virus. Flame is an improved successor to Stuxnet. The left-leaning *Právo* focused slightly more on Stuxnet than the right-leaning *MF DNES*. Perhaps the Czech media did not consider Stuxnet to be an issue of much relevance to the Czech Republic and for this reason reported little on it. The coded articles about Stuxnet were overwhelmingly informative. Nevertheless, both papers expressed concerns about the potential abuse of Stuxnet and other cyber-weapons. The content analysis has shown that the prevailing topic relating to Stuxnet was cyberwar and attacks. This topic dealt with the following three sub-issues: (1) an attack on Iran and its nuclear programme, (2) an attack on other states (Syria, Israel), (3) viruses as cyber-war weapons (mention was made of the Stuxnet, Flame, and Stars Duqu viruses), (4) the origin of the virus (which was ascribed to the USA and Israel). Most of the articles about Stuxnet were longer,

---

[56] Original quote in Czech: '*Rostoucí počet projevů vandalismu, krádeži i dopravních přestupků je důvodem, proč chce Mladá Vožice kamerový systém.*'
[57] The 'Big Brother' metaphor appeared in the following articles: 'Nad Českem bdí šest tisíc "Velkých bratrů'[Six thousand 'Big Brothers' guard the Czech Republic] published 6 August 2011 and 'Kamerové systémy měst slouží. A rostou' [Camera systems serve well to the cities and they are growing] published 14 October 2011.
[58] Original quote in Czech: '*Je to jedna z nejkomplexnějších hrozeb, před jakou jsme kdy stáli.*'

more detailed and descriptive. The prevailing actors in them were experts and employees of Kaspersky Lab.[59] Expert contributions were necessary for the articles in both papers to report on the complexity and technical details of Stuxnet. The newspapers also cited international press agencies and foreign media such as *The New York Times* and the BBC. The language of the articles was mostly neutral. Only one metaphorical expression was found in our sample: '*According to experts, the release of Stuxnet is like letting a genie out of the bottle, because in the future Stuxnet can become a platform that can be modified for different targets by other attackers.*'[60] (*Právo* 2013)

5.1.4.3. Body scanners

'The effort to stop the risk of a possible terrorist attack could raise another treat for human life with the same probability.'[61] *(Právo 2010)*

The citation above refers to the potential of the scanners to increase the risk of cancer. The analysis showed that the opinion on body scanners was predominantly negative in both papers. Nevertheless, we should take into account the fact that most of the articles were informative.[62] Scanners were criticised not only for their health risks but also for the fact that scanning and related security inspections are time-consuming and sometimes humiliating procedures. A journalist from *MF DNES*, Teodor Marjanovič, described his unpleasant experience with 3D body scanners at a US airport: '*They took me aside and subjected me to thorough thumb. I can't call it anything else. Once they've "banged you up" with the little manual metal detector, they then do it manually. They touch your armpits, groin, everywhere, and it borders on intimacy.*'[63] (Marjanovič 2010) Other negative experiences of passengers were added. The frequent target of this criticism was the TSA – Transportation Security Administration. This organisation was set up after 11 September 2001 in order to increase security in US commercial air travel via various security procedures, such as screening all the passengers and their luggage (Transportation Security Administration 2013).

The topic of body scanners could be of interest to journalists at both papers for two reasons. First, despite the fact that body scanners have not yet been installed in Czech airports, they may be in the future. Second, Czech citizens have experience with body scanners from international airports. The sources of information in the articles were Czech and international experts, foreign agencies and newspapers, as well as passengers and airport employees. The language used in the coded articles was mostly neutral, but in several instances (usually when unpleasant experiences with scanners were being described) it also contained expressive terms.

---

[59] Employees of this company working on computer security can also be considered experts on the Stuxnet issue.

[60] Original quote in Czech: '*Nicméně vypuštění Stuxnetu se podle expertů rovná vypuštění džina z láhve, protože do budoucna se Stuxnet může stát platformou, kterou si upraví i další útočníci pro jiné cíle.*'

[61] Original quote in Czech: '*Snaha o odvrácení rizika možného teroristického útoku tak vyvolává jinou, stejně pravděpodobnou hrozbu pro lidský život.*'

[62] If an evaluation was presented it was (with 2 exceptions) negative.

[63] Original quote in Czech: '*Vzali mě stranou a podrobili důkladnému osahání. Jinak se to nazvat nedá. Kdysi vás takhle "proklepli" malým ručním detektorem kovů. Nyní na to jdou ručně. A sahají vám do podpaží, do rozkroku, prostě všude tam, kde to je za hranou řekněme intimity.*'

5.1.5. Summary

This content analysis of left- and right-leaning newspapers revealed the following similarities and differences in media coverage of our three security-related issues. Both papers were most interested in CCTV cameras. The right-leaning paper *MF DNES* in particular focused on this topic. It is not surprising that a large number of articles were devoted to security cameras considering that security cameras are becoming more rapidly and more increasingly prevalent in the public space in areas such as the streets and squares of Czech cities, and in schools, libraries, children´s playgrounds, town and city halls and other state institution. Almost all main actors identified during the coding process were supporters of CCTV cameras. Passengers of public transport and citizens, journalists, local politicians and police officers praised the cameras for their benefits in strengthening security, better identification of vandals and thieves and reducing crime. The public discussion was dominated by opinions such as '*if I'm not doing anything illegal there's no reason to be worried about monitoring*'. But is this statement really true? Are we not giving up our right to privacy too recklessly? The only ones to ask this question were NGO employees and civil society activists, who also pointed out the lack of legislation to protect privacy and to regulate the use of CCTV cameras. Nevertheless, their voices were comparatively quiet and the arguments of the advocates of CCTV cameras prevailed in the public discourse.

By contrast, both newspapers were the most critical of 3D body scanners. Opponents of the scanners included passengers and activists who criticised the humiliating procedure of body scanning that reveals the intimate details of the body. Similarly, some passengers expressed negative opinions on the scanners for ethical or religious reasons. The possible health risk (the increased risk of cancer, especially if the scanner is broken) is another important argument that has been raised by scanner opponents since they began to be installed in 2010 as a security response to the failed terrorist attempt on a flight from Amsterdam to Detroit. Experts and scientists were among the prominent actors expressing criticism on the 3D scanner topic and pointing out the health risks. As regards media coverage in the two papers, the left-leaning *Právo* published significantly more articles on this topic than the right-leaning *MF DNES*. Nevertheless, both papers presented the same negative opinions and similar arguments. There is a visible consensus in the debate in Czech newspapers about the negative aspects of using 3D body scanners. I would therefore not expect scanners to be installed in Czech airports unless the country comes under strong international pressure to do so.

While the newspapers presented strong positive and negative opinions in their articles on CCTV cameras and 3D body scanners, the views they published on the third security topic, the Stuxnet virus, were rather neutral. I think that this topic seems remotely relevant to the Czech security context because Stuxnet has not attacked critical Czech infrastructure. Nevertheless, Stuxnet was mentioned in recent discussions of the Edward Snowden affair (for more information, see the Introduction). On the other hand, the Snowden affair started after the time of our analysis so it is not so relevant for the context. To obtain information about Stuxnet, both newspapers relied on a broad range of international resources and the opinions of foreign and Czech cyber-security experts. That is why articles about Stuxnet provide the most in-depth look at the issue of cyber-espionage and viruses, in contrast to the articles on CCTV cameras, which were numerous, but shorter and less factually based.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this report was to describe the media coverage of three selected security issues in two nationwide newspapers. To this end, we focused on information provided in the media about three security-related topics, CCTV cameras, the Stuxnet virus, and 3D body scanners, in the two most influential left- and right-leaning papers in the Czech Republic. This report identified the main actors (who were either proponents or opponents of security or privacy), topics, justifications and argumentation strategies connected with how these three security issues were covered. Another aim of this analysis was to contribute to the debate about the perception of security threats and public surveillance in the political, socio-economic and civic-liberties contexts of surveillance and to provide feedback and information about the state of the art to decision-makers. In Europe and in the Czech Republic, little attention has been paid to the media coverage of various aspects of surveillance and the security versus freedom dilemma associated with public surveillance. The *SECONOMICS* project – of which this report is a part - could therefore provide internationally comparable qualitative data on this issue and, owing to its unique methodology, also offers a framework for further analysis.

Given the agenda-setting role of the media and the still large readerships of Czech dailies, we used two large-circulation Czech dailies as important sources of information about Stuxnet, CCTV cameras and 3D body scanners. The study focuses on the relatively long period of three years so that it can also follow the changing interest of the media in and opinions of journalists on these topics over time. I analysed articles from 1 January 2010 to 30 April 2013. The report also examined the left-right orientation of the press. The Czech media are not openly affiliated with political parties (there is one far-left exception). Left-right political affiliations are in fact present in the Czech media scene, but it is necessary to read between the lines. Therefore, it was interesting to compare the similarities and differences between the articles on our three security issues in the most popular Czech left-leaning paper *Právo* and the most influential right-oriented newspaper *MF DNES*.

The main research findings of this report indicate that CCTV cameras were the most relevant[important/prominent] issue in both papers comparing to[were a more important issue for both papers than Stuxnet] Stuxnet and 3D body scanners. The right-leaning *MF DNES* was particularly interested in this issue. Nevertheless, the quality of the articles dealing with CCTV cameras was lower than that of the articles on Stuxnet and body scanners. The articles were shorter, relatively informative, but for the most part did not contain expert opinions or a deeper analysis of the issue. In contrast, Stuxnet was the least interesting issue for the coded newspapers. Although both papers considered this computer virus to be a threat they paid it the least attention from our selected security topics.

Nevertheless, the quality of articles was very good, what was the same as in the case of 3D body scanners. Most of the articles were long, detailed, and descriptive. They provided a deep analysis of the topic and expert opinion. In the articles about Stuxnet and 3D body scanners, the journalists used international sources of information, for example, press agencies and foreign media. The reason for this could be that these issues were more complex and technically detailed than CCTV cameras. The reason why Czech dailies paid the most attention to CCTV cameras could be that this is the only topic of direct relevance to the Czech Republic; cameras have already been installed in many Czech cities. The other two topics may seem slightly remote for Czech newspaper readers. On the other hand, the cyber-espionage scandal exposed by Edward Snowden shows that one can never be entirely sure about cyber-security.

The dominant narrative strategy used in the articles on all three issues was definitive and the tone of the evaluations was neutral. Despite this, we found striking differences between the evaluations. However, the differences in evaluations occurred between topics not between papers. CCTV cameras received overwhelmingly positive evaluations in both papers, whereas negative evaluations prevailed in the case of 3D body scanners. There were almost no evaluations of Stuxnet in either of the papers. In contrast to CCTV cameras and body scanners, the media coverage (the number of articles and evaluations) of Stuxnet was very similar in the right- and left-leaning papers. CCTV cameras were in both newspapers considered to be a very useful tool for preventing, detecting and solving crime. Nevertheless, *Právo* was slightly more critical of CCTV than *MF DNES*. The left-leaning paper pointed more to the negative aspects of surveillance. On the topic of 3D body scanners, both papers often criticised the negative impact on health. While on the topic of CCTV cameras, the media in the analysis considered the loss of privacy was considered a reasonable sacrifice for security. In contrast, the newspapers considered the increased risk of cancer posed by body scanners to be too high a price to feel safe.

To conclude, CCTV cameras, Stuxnet and 3D body scanners are new technologies that focus on collecting information. There are many advantages to them, but we should not ignore their disadvantages. On one hand, they should guard us and increase our security. They are meant to help prevent terrorist attacks and to strengthen security, reduce crime, and even to prevent the potential deployment of atomic weapons. On the other hand, they also introduce new potential threats to our privacy, dignity, health and maybe even to international peace (Granick 2006, Koubský 2013, Urban 2013). These technologies are potentially dangerous because they are very effective, relatively cheap, storable, easy to operate and so discrete that people do not even notice that they are being monitored (Granick 2006).

The findings from this research raise some fundamental questions about general security issues. Do we really have to give up or substantially reduce our fundamental rights and freedoms as a trade-off for greater security? Is the price that we are willing to pay for to feel safety and secure really a fair one? Before we try to answer these questions, we need to take into account that privacy and its protection are not clearly defined and unchangeable terms. People´s understanding of privacy is influenced by cultural variables, laws, and the specific conditions and contexts of the countries they live in (Koubský 2013). These circumstances vary over time. Our conception of privacy will therefore also change in the age of digital technologies. The question is what these changes will be like. On the one hand, our society is currently facing new security threats, such as terrorism, so a consensus on a certain degree of surveillance is necessary. On the other hand, we need to recognise the negative aspects of monitoring the public and should therefore focus on the aspects of privacy more than ever before.

Even the advanced digital-technology monitoring system cannot completely protect us from every threat. In fact, terrorists often know about these security procedures and that is why they act unpredictably, like the 9/11 attackers or the Boston marathon bombers in April 2013 (Urban 2013). If we accepted all security restrictions and measures without thinking, we could move beyond the point of no return where our fundamental rights and freedom would be lost (Koubský 2013). I therefore agree with Jennifer Granick[64] that, '*giving up privacy does not necessarily result in greater security,*

---

[64] Jennifer Granick is the executive director of the Stanford Law School Center for Internet and Society, and teaches the *Cyber law Clinic*.

and greater security does not necessarily require a loss of privacy' (Granick 2006). Technologies that are able to gather information about us should be subject to strict public oversight because there is a danger of their being misused by the authorities, the political and economic elites and secret[intelligence] services. We should resist the temptation to trade off our privacy, dignity and freedom for vague promises of security and instead try to find a compromise between these two areas. Digital monitoring technologies are not our salvation, nor are they a curse; they are useful tools for preventing, detecting and solving crime if we are able to use them in such a way that they respect our laws and civil liberties. This report opened with the old philosophical question '*who watches the watchmen?*' The answer to this puzzle may be that we – as citizens – have to guard our guards, because no one else will do it for us.

7. Literature

7.1. Scientific Books and Articles

Banisar, David and Simon Davies. 2012. "Global Trends in Privacy Protection: An International Survey of Privacy, Data Protection, and Surveillance Laws and Developments". [online]. Available from: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2138799##. Accessed 19 July 2013.

Beck, U. 1992. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. New Delhi: Sage.

Burton, Graeme and Jan Jirák. 2003. *Úvod do studia médií* [Introduction to Media Studies]. Brno: Barrister & Principal.

Cavallaro, Andrea. 2007. "Privacy in Video Surveillance". *IEEE Signal Processing Magazine*, p. 166-167, [online]. Available from: http://ssli.ee.washington.edu/courses/ee299/hws/hw4_files/privacy.pdf. Accessed 14. July 2013.

Davis, Darren W. and Brian D. Silver. "Civil Liberties vs. Security. Public Opinion in the Context of the Terrorist Attacks on America." *American Journal of Political Science*, 48 (1): 28-46.

Gray Mitchell. 2003. "Urban Surveillance and Panopticism: will we recognize the facial recognition society?" *Surveillance & Society* 1 (3): 314-330.

Hendl, Jan. 2008. *Kvalitativní výzkum.* [Qualitative Research]. Porál: Praha.

Iuridicum Remedium. [online]. Available from: http://www.iure.org/poslani-cile. Accessed 16 July 2013.

Konopásek, Zdeněk. 2007. „Making thinking visible with Atlas.ti: Computer assisted qualitative analysis as textual practices." *Historical Social Research*, Supplement: Grounded Theory Reader. 19: 276-298.

Lyon, David. 2008. "Surveillance Society." [online]. Available from: http://www.festivaldeldiritto.it/2008/pdf/interventi/david_lyon.pdf. Accessed 15 July 2013.

Mazur, Allan. 2006. "Risk Perception and News Coverage across Nations." *Risk Management*,
8(3): 149-174.

McCombs, Maxwell. 2004. *Setting the agenda. Mass Media and Public Opinion*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

MacMillan, Katie. 2005. 'More Than Just Coding? Evaluating CAQDAS in a Discourse Analysis of News Texts'. in *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 6(3).

McNair, Brian. 2004. *Sociologie žurnalistiky* [The Sociology of Journalism]. Prague: Portál.

Orság, Petr. 2007. „Investigativní žurnalistika a možnosti jejího uplatnění v Českém regionálním zpravodajství"[Investigative journalism and its possible application in the Czech regional news] Pp. 55-61 in Lenka Waschková Císařová (ed.). *Regionální média v evropském ko*ntextu [Regional Media in the European context]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

Osvaldová, Barbora and Andrej Halada et al. 2002. *Praktická encyklopedie žurnalistiky* [Practical Encyclopedia of Journalism], Prague: Libri.

Pernes, Jiří. 1993. *Svět Lidových novin 1893-1993 : stoletá kapitola z dějin české žurnalistiky, kultury a politiky* [World of "Lidové noviny" 1893-1993: One Hundred of History, Culture and Politics]. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

Peterson, Dale. 2013. "Offensive Cyberweapons: Construction, Development and Employment." In *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36(1): 120-124.

Rihoux, Benoît 2009. "Case-Oriented Configura-Tional Research: Qualitative Comparative Analysis (Qca), Fuzzy Sets, and Related Techniques." In Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., Henry E. Brady and David Collier. The *Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*, Oxford: OUP.

Urban, Jan. 1982. *Česká společnost: 1848-1918* [Czech Society: 1848-1918]. Prague: Svoboda.

7.2. Reports and Other Documents

Budai, David. 2012. "Investigativní žurnalistika realizovaná z otevřených zdrojů" [Investigative journalism realized from open sources]. Bachelor thesis, Palacky University, Olomouc. [online]. Available from: http://www.academia.edu/2330158/INVESTIGATIVNI_URNALISTIKA_REALIZOVANA_Z_OTEVRENYCH_ZDROJU. Accessed: 23 August 2013.

"Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms". 1993. Chapter Two, Division Two – Political Rights, Article 17. [online]. Available from: http://spcp.prf.cuni.cz/aj/2-93en.htm. Accessed June 28, 2013.

CVVM [Public Opinion Research Centre]. 2012. "Bezpečnostní rizika pro Českou republiku podle veřejnosti – únor 2012" [Security risks for the Czech Republic according to the public - February 2012]. [online]. Available from: http://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c1/a6779/f3/po120312.pdf. Accessed 22 July 2013.

CVVM [Public Opinion Research Centre]. 2013a. "Důvěra některým institucím veřejného života – březen 2013" [Trust in some institutions of public life - March 2013]. [online]. Available from: http://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c1/a6976/f3/po130327.pdf. Accessed July 7 2013.

CVVM [Public Opinion Research Centre]. 2013. "Hodnocení vlády Petra Nečase – únor 2013" Evaluation of Petr Nečas' Cabinet - February 2013. [online]. Available from: http://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/en/media/com_form2content/documents/c1/a6814/f3/pi130325.pdf. Accessed 25 August 2013.

European Forum for Urban Security. "Charta demokratického využívání bezpečnostních kamerových systémů" [Charter democratic use of security CCTV camera systems]. [online]. Available from: http://cctvcharter.eu/fileadmin/efus/CCTV_minisite_fichier/Charta/CCTV_Charter_CZ.pdf. Accesed July 21 2013.

European Forum for Urban Security. "Citizens, cities and Video Survellience". [online]. Available from: http://cctvcharter.eu/. Accessed 22 July 2013.

Europol TE-SAT. 2013 "European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report". [online]. Available from: https://www.europol.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/europol_te-sat2013_lr_0.pdf. Accessed 13 July 2013.

Guasti, Petra and Zdenka Mansfeldová, 2012. "Czech Republic Country Report. Bertelsmann Transformation Index 2012". [online]. Available from: http://www.bti-pro-

ject.de/fileadmin/Inhalte/reports/2012/pdf/BTI%202012%20Czech%20Republic.pdf
. Accessed August 20, 2013.

Guasti, Petra and Zdenka Mansfeldová, 2014. "Czech Republic Country Report. Bertelsmann Transformation Index 2014".

Hunter, Mark Lee. 2011. "Mapping Digital Media: Digital Media and Investigative Reporting." Open Society Foundation. [online]. Available from: http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/digital-media-and-investigative-reporting. Accessed 20 August 2013.

Národní informační a poradenské středisko pro kulturu [The National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture]. 2013. "Kultura České republiky v číslech" [Culture of the Czech Republic in Numbers]. Praha. [online]. Available from: http://www.nipos-mk.cz/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Kultura_v_cislech_2013_web.pdf. Accessed July 1, 2013.

Mansfeldova, Zdenka, Petra Guasti. et al. 2013. "Report on Perception of Security and Acceptance of Risk." *Seconomics Research Report D4.2*. Trento: Italy.

Rybková, Eva and Věra Řiháčková. 2013. "Mapping Digital Media: Czech Republic" Open Society Foundation. [online]. Available from: http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/mapping-digital-media-czech-20130820.pdf. Accessed 20 August 2013.

SECONOMICSb. 2013b. "Prague Graduate School in Comparative Qualitative Analysis 2013." [online]. Available from: http://seconomicsproject.eu/content/call-applications-prague-graduate-school-comparative-qualitative-analysis-2013. Accessed 8 July 2013.

7.3. Websites

"ABC ČR - Kancelář ověřování nákladu tisku" [ABC ČR - Audit Bureau of Circulations Czech Republic]. [online]. Available from: http://www.abccr.cz/overovana-data/periodicky-tisk-1/. Accessed May 20, 2013.

"ANO 2011". 2013. [online]. Available from: http://www.anobudelip.cz/cs/o-nas/nasi-lide/osobnosti/. Accessed 22 August, 2013.

"Anopress Media Database". [online]. Available from: http://www.anopress.cz/anopress. Accessed 20 June 2013.

"Europa.eu". 2010. "Commission communication on the use of security scanners at European airports — questions and answers". 15 June 2010. [online]. Available from: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-10-261_en.htm. Accessed 22 July 2013.

"Freedom of the Press 2013". [online]. Available from: http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-pressAppendix. Accessed 2 July 2013.

"Media project" [Media Project]. [online]. Available from: http://www.median.cz/?lang=cs&page=1&sub=8. Accessed 20 May 2013.

"Ministerstvo spravedlnosti České republiky" [Ministry of Justice of the Czech Republic]. "CVVM: Výrazně vzrostla důvěra v armádu, policii, soudy i média" [Public Opinion Research Centre: Trust in the army, police, courts and media significantly increased]. [online]. Available from: http://194.213.41.20/justice/ms.nsf/Dokumenty/89F12ED9F9FCD1D8C1256AFC0034AECF. Accessed July 6, 2013.

"Karel Schwarzenberg – oficiální stránky poslance [Karel Schwarzenberg - Official Website Member of Parliament]. Životopis [Biography]. 2013. [online]. Available from: http://www.karelschwarzenberg.cz/zivotopis.html. Accessed August 20, 2013.

"Ministertvo zahraničních věcí České republiky" [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic]. 2011. "Security Strategy of the Czech Republic 2011". [online]. Available from: http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/en/foreign_relations/security_policy/czech_security_strategy_reviewed.html. Accessed 18 July 2013.

"Press Freedom Index 2013-" [online]. Available from: http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html. Accessed 2 July 2013.

"Ringier Axel Springer CZ." [online]. Available from: http://www.ringieraxelspringer.cz/en/company. Accessed 3 July 2013.

"Transportation Security Administration." [online]. Available from: http://www.tsa.gov/about-tsa. Accessed 11 July 2013.

"Unie vydavatelů" [Publishers Union]. [online]. Available from: http://www.unievydavatelu.cz/. Accessed 20 May, 2013.

"Vláda České Republiky" [Government of the Czech Republic]. [online]. Available from: http://www.vlada.cz/cz/clenove-vlady/historie-minulych-vlad/prehled-vlad-cr/1993-2007-cr/. Accessed 24 August, 2013.

Agrofert. [online]. Available from: http://www.agrofert.cz/?en/. Accessed July 7, 2013.

Big Broghter Watch. "Airports with body scanners". [online]. Available from: http://www.bigbrotherwatch.org.uk/home/2010/06/airports-with-body-scanners.html. Accessed 10 July 2013.

Eurotopics. "The media landscape in the Czech Republic". [online]. Available from: http://www.eurotopics.net/en/home/medienlandschaft/tschechienmdn. Accessed July 1, 2013.

Internet World Stats. 2012. [online]. Available from: http://www.internetworldstats.com/europa.htm#cz. Accessed August 15 2013.

Haló noviny.cz. [online]. Available from: http://www.halonoviny.cz/pages/kontakt. Accessed 8 July 2013.

Mapakamer.cz [Cameras Map]. "O mapě kamerových systémů" [About the CCTV cameras map]. [online]. Available from: http://mapakamer.cz/?page_id=30. Accessed 19 July 2013.

Mediální skupina Mafra. [MAFRA media group]. 2013. [online]. Available from: http://www.mafra.cz/cs/default.asp. Accessed July 8 2013.

Ministerstvo obrany České republiky [Ministry of Defense of the Czech Republic]. "Aktuální mise" [Current missions]. [online]. Available from: http://www.mise.army.cz/aktualni-mise/default.htm. Accessed 16 July 2013.

Ministerstvo vnitra České republiky [Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic]. 2013a. "Bezpečnostní politika" [Security Policy]. [online]. Available from: http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/bezpecnostni-hrozby-337414.aspx. Accessed July 18 2013.

Ministerstvo vnitra České republiky [Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic]. 2013b. "Strategie České republiky pro boj proti terorismu od roku 2013" [Strategy of the Czech Republic for fight against terrorism from 2013]. Prague. [online]. Available from: http://databaze-strategie.cz/cz/mv/strategie/strategie-cr-pro-boj-proti-terorismu-od-roku-2013?typ=download. Accessed 19 July 2013.

Ministerstvo vnitra České republiky [Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic]. 2013c."Priorita ministra vnitra Martina Peciny – boj proti extremismu" [Priorita of Interior Minister Marin Pecina is the fight against extremis]. [online]. Available

from: http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/priorita-ministra-vnitra-martina-peciny-boj-proti-extremismu.aspx. Accessed 24 August 2013.

New Media Trend Watch. "Czech Republic". [online]. Available from: http://www.newmediatrendwatch.com/markets-by-country/10-europe/43-czech-republic. Accessed 15 August 2013.

Norton by Symantec. "The Stuxnet Worm". [online]. Available from: http://us.norton.com/stuxnet. Accessed 19 July 2013.

Prague Airport Václav Havel. "Security rules". [online]. Available from: http://www.prg.aero/en/passengers-check-in/passengers-services/10-basic-security-rules-at-the-airport/. Accessed 23 July 2013.

"Rada pro rozhlasové a televizní vysílání" [The Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting]. [online]. Available from: http://www.rrtv.cz/en/. Accessed 23 August 2013.

SECONOMICS. 2013a. [online]. Available from: http://seconomicsproject.eu/. Accessed 8 July 2013.

Stálé zastoupení České republiky při Evropské unii. [Permanent Representation of the Czech Republic to the European Union]. 2010. "Debata o skenerech na letištích nabírá obrátky" [The debate about scanners at the airports gains momentum]. 23 June 2010. [online]. Available from: http://www.mzv.cz/representation_brussels/cz/udalosti_a_media/debata_o_sken erech_na_letistich_nabira.html. Accessed 14 July 2013.

"TIC: Pecinovi se na vnitru dařil boj proti extremismu, horší to bylo s čerpáním peněz z evropských fondů" [TIC: Ministry of Interior Martin Pecina succeed in fighting against extremism but he was less successful in taking money from EU funds]. Romea.cz. [online]. Available from: http://www.romea.cz/cz/zpravodajstvi/domaci/tic-pecinovi-se-na-vnitru-daril-boj-proti-extremismu-horsi-to-bylo-s-cerpanim-penez-z-evropskych-fondu. Accessed 26 June 2013.

Úřad pro ochranu osobních údajů [Office for Personal Data Protection]. [online]. Available from: http://www.uoou.cz/uoou.aspx?menu=13. Accessed 15 July 2013.

Vltava-Labe-Press. 2013. [online]. Available from: http://www.vlp.cz/o-vlp/o-firme.html. Accessed 20 August 2013.

Vildová, Marta. 2013. "O privatizaci deníku Mladá fronta" [The privatization of the daily paper Mlada fronta]. [online]. Available from: http://blisty.cz/art/23779.html. Accessed 7 July 2013.

WiseGeek. [online]. Available from: http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-3d-body-scanner.htm. Accessed 25 July 2013.

7.4. Newspaper articles

"Do sítí strategických institucí v Evropě pronikl Rudý říjen" [Computer virus "Red October" attacked European strategic institutions]. 2013. Právo, 14 January 2013. [online]. Available from: http://www.novinky.cz/internet-a-pc/290225-do-siti-strategickych-instituci-v-evrope-pronikl-rudy-rijen.html. Accessed 26 April 2013.

"Letištní skenery mohou zabít se stejnou pravděpodobností jako bomba v letadle" [Airport scanners can kill with the same probability as a bomb on the plane]. 2010. Právo, 19 November 2010. [online]. Available from: http://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/217233-letistni-skenery-mohou-zabit-se-stejnou-pravdepodobnosti-jako-bomba-v-letadle.html. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

"Nejvyspělejší vir světa se šíří i přes tiskárny a "zaútočil" na Irán" [The world's most advanced virus is spreading through the printer and attacked on Iran]. 2010. MF DNES, 24 September 2010, Web. Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April 2013.

"Nový počítačový virus může zničit i jadernou elektrárnu, hlavním terčem je Írán" [New computer virus can destroy a nuclear power plant, the main target is Iran]. 2010. Právo 24 September 2010. [online]. Available from: http://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/blizky-a-stredni-vychod/212170-novy-pocitacovy-virus-muze-znicit-i-jadernou-elektrarnu-hlavnim-tercem-je-iran.html. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

"Počítačový virus Stuxnet nechal proti Íránu nasadit Obama" [Obama ordered to deploy computer virus Stuxnet]. 2012. Právo, 2 June 2012, p. 10, Web. Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

"Profile: Edward Snowden". 2013. BBC News 7 August 2013. [online]. Available from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-22837100. Accessed 24 August 2013.

"Proč Češi nevolí? 97 % z nich je znechuceno politickou scénou"[Why Czechs do not vote? 97% of them is disgust with their political scene]. 2013. Lidovky.cz 22 April 2013. [online]. Available from: http://www.lidovky.cz/proc-cesi-nejdou-k-volbam-muze-za-to-politicka-scena-fhc-/zpravy-domov.aspx?c=A130421_174244_ln_domov_khu. Accessed 25 August 2013.

"Rozhlas nemusí citovat komunistické noviny, potvrdila právní analýza" [Legal analysis confirmed that the Czech Radio does not have to cite communist newspaper]. 2010. iDnes.cz, 19 March, 2010. [online]. Available from: http://zpravy.idnes.cz/rozhlas-nemusi-citovat-komunisticke-noviny-potvrdila-pravni-analyza-1zp-/domaci.aspx?c=A100319_122445_domaci_hv. Accessed July 8, 2013.

"US and Russian leaders hail nuclear arms treaty". 2010. BBC News 8 April 2010. [online]. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8607985.stm. Accessed 26 August 2013.

"Spíše než bezpečí zajišťují kamery v Česku monitoring" [Cameras in the Czech Republic provide rather monitoring than security]. 2012. ČT24, 16 October 2012. [online]. Available from: http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ct24/domaci/199810-spise-nez-bezpeci-zajistuji-kamery-v-cesku-monitoring/. Accessed 15 July 2013.

"Soud zrušil Dělnickou stranu. Chtěla rozvrátit stát" [The court banned the "Workers party" which wanted to subvert the state]. 2010. Aktuálně.cz, 17 February 2010. [online]. Available from: http://aktualne.centrum.cz/domaci/soudy-a-pravo/clanek.phtml?id=660985. Accessed 24 August 2013.

"Sporné tělesné skenery z amerických letišť v tichosti stahují" [Controversial body scanners silently disap-pear from the U.S. air-ports]. 2012. Právo 20 November 2012, Web Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

"Svoboda tisku je v Česku nahnutá, kritizuje EU "náhubkový" zákon" [Freedom of the press is threatened in the Czech Republic, EU criticizes "muzzle" law]. 2011. iDNES.cz 15. March 2011. [online]. Available from: http://zpravy.idnes.cz/svoboda-tisku-je-v-cesku-nahnuta-kritizuje-eu-nahubkovy-zakon-p6x/domaci.aspx?c=A110315_114105_domaci_jj. Accessed 23 August 2013.

"The press in the Czech Republic". 2005. BBC News 10 December, 2005. [online]. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4068647.stm. Accessed July 7, 2013.

"Weby vládních institucí napadl virus MiniDuke. Využívá bezpečnostních mezer nástrojů Adobe" [Virus MiniDuke attacked governmental websites. Virus exploits security gaps of Adobe tools]. 2013. Ihned.cz, 27 February 2013. [online]. Available from:

http://zpravy.ihned.cz/c1-59411100-weby-vladni-instituce-virus-miniduke-bezpecnostni-mezery-nastroje-adobe. Accessed 23 July 2013.

"Konec naháčů na amerických letištích. Skenery se změní"[End of the naked people at the U.S. airports. Body scanners will be changed]. 2011. MF DNES 22 July 2011, p. 9, Web Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

"Kritika svlékacích skenerů sílí podle tisku i ve Spojených státech"[Criticism of strip search body scanners is increased, according to the press, also in the United States]. 2010. Právo, 17 July 2010, p. 15, Web. Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

"Letištní skenery mohou způsobit rakovinu, varuje znalec" [Airport scanners can cause cancer, experts warn]. 2010. MF DNES 1 July 2010, Web Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

"Lidové noviny vs. Babiš: Veřejný spor s novým majitelem" "[LN vs. Babis: public dispute with the new owner]. 2013. Lidovky.cz, 28 June 2013. [online]. Available from: http://aktualne.centrum.cz/domaci/spolecnost/clanek.phtml?id=783919. Accessed 20 August 2013.

"Unie omezila svlékací skenery na letištích"[Letištní skenery mohou způsobit rakovinu, varuje znalec]. 2011. Právo, 15 November 2011, p. 9, Web Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

Biriczova, Hana. 2012. "The Czech Media Landscape". [online]. Available from: http://en.ejo.ch/5554/media_politics/the-czech-media-landscape. Accessed July 1, 2013.

Bitto, Ondřej. 2010. "Stuxnet: Virová předzvěst třetí světové?" [Is Stuxnet viral presage of the Third World War?]. 2010. Zive.cz, 27 September 2010. [online]. Available from: http://www.zive.cz/clanky/stuxnet-virova-predzvest-treti-svetove/sc-3-a-153951/default.aspx. Accessed 20 July 2013.

Bydžovský, Jiří. 2010. "Vožici trápí krádeže. Chce kamery" [Vožice is troubled by theft. The town wants to have cctv cameras]. MF DNES, 18 March 2010, p. 3, Web. Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

Davies, Wyre. 2013. "Hezbollah linked to Burgas bus bombing in Bulgaria". BBC news Europe, 5 February 2013. [online]. Available from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-21342192. Accessed 24 July 2013.

Filip, Martin. 2010. "Česká Třebová je jak v reality show: Každý pohyb sleduje a nahrává kamera" [Česká Třebová is like in reality show. Every movement is monitoring and recording by cctv camera]. MF DNES, 26 August 2010, p. 3, Web. Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

Granick, Jennifer. 2006. "Security versus privacy: The rematch." Wired News 24 May 2006. [online]. Available from: http://www.wired.com/politics/law/commentary/circuitcourt/2006/05/70971?currentPage=all. Accessed 8 July 2013.

Koubský, Petr. 2013. "Sledují nás. Necháme se?" MF DNES 20 July 2013, p. 11.

Křížová, Kristýna. 2013. "Babiš osloví čtvrtinu voličů" [Babiš appeals to a quarter of voters]. Ihned.cz, 27 July 2013. [online]. Available from: http://hn.ihned.cz/c1-60147710-babis-oslovi-ctvrtinu-volicu. Accessed 22 August 2013.

Kurfiřtová, Tereza. 2013. "Babiš u Jílkové o polských potravinách: Já nejím ty vaše sračky!" [Babis at Jilkova s TV program about the Polish food: I do not eat your disgust!"]. EuroZprávy.cz 15 January 2013. [online]. Available from: http://domaci.eurozpravy.cz/politika/65401-babis-u-jilkove-o-polskych-potravinach-ja-nejim-ty-vase-sracky/. Accessed 20 August 2013.

Kužník, Jan. 2013. "Nový velký cyber útok cílil na Írán a Izrael. Virus Flame řádil pět let" [New big cyber attack aiming for Iran and Israel. Virus Flame ragged for five years].

MF DNES 28 May 2012. [online]. Available from: http://technet.idnes.cz/byl-odhalen-nejvetsi-cyber-utok-v-historii-virus-flame-radil-pet-let-v-iranu-a-izraelu-go6-/sw_internet.aspx?c=A120528_143110_sw_internet_vse. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

Macháček, Jan. 2013. "O strachu z Babiše." [The fear of Babiš]. Respekt.cz, 27 July 2013. [online]. Available from: http://respekt.ihned.cz/audit-jana-machacka/c1-60149800-o-strachu-z-babise. Accessed 21 August, 2013.

Marjanovič, Teodor. 2010. "V USA se lidé bouřili proti "buzeracím" na letištích" [In the U.S., people protested against being bossed around at airports]. MF Dnes, 25 November 2010, p. 7, Web. Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

Mediář.cz. 2011. "Vydavatel deníku Právo se loni vrátil k zisku, činil necelých 17 milionu korun" [Publisher of Pravo is returned to profit last year, profit was nearly 17 million Czech crowns]. Mediař, 17 May, 2011. [online]. Available from: http://www.mediar.cz/vydavatel-prava-borgis-se-loni-vratil-k-zisku-cinil-necelych-17-milionu-korun/. Accessed July 8, 2013.

Nápravník, Jiří. 2013. "Snowden, Stuxnet a ochrana vlastních zájmů" [Snowden, Stuxnet and protection for our own interests]. Ihned.cz, 2 July 2013. [online]. Available from: http://napravnik.blog.ihned.cz/c1-60173530-snowden-stuxnet-a-ochrana-vlastnich-zajmu. Accessed 18 July 2013.

Novák, Jakub. 2012. "Vláda přivírá cestu k informacím, tajností přibude" [The government restricts access to information which causes more secrets]. Aktualne.cz, 26 October 2012. [online]. Available from: http://aktualne.centrum.cz/domaci/zivot-v-cesku/clanek.phtml?id=761538. Accessed 22 August 2013.

Rovenský, Jan. 2011. "Nad Českem bdí šest tisíc "Velkých bratrů"[Six thousand "Big Brothers" guard the Czech Republic]. Právo, 6 Ausgust 2011, p. 1, Web. Anopress IT. Accessed 26 April, 2013.

Scott, Ryan. 2012. "Personal Data Protection in the Czech Republic". Expats.cz 22 May 2012. [online]. Available from: http://www.expats.cz/prague/article/prague-business/personal-data-protection-in-the-czech-republic/. Accessed 18 July 2013.

Urban, Tomáš. 2013. „Fízlování 2.0." Lidové noviny, 24 August, 2012.

8. Appendix

8.1. List of Tables

8.2. List of Figures

Table no. 25: Overview of all selected articles for analysis

Name of article (in English)	Name of article (in Czech)	paper	year	date	author	topic	page
Expert Warns: Airport Scanners Can Cause Cancer	Letištní skenery mohou způsobit rakovinu, varuje znalec	MF Dnes	2010	1. 7.	tom	scanners	–
In the U.S., people protested against being bossed around at airports	V USA se lidé bouřili proti "buzeracím" na letištích	MF Dnes	2010	25.11.	Teodor Marjanovič	scanners	7
Body Pasties should protect chaste passengers against the scanners	Před skenery mají cudné lidi chránit nálepky	Právo	2010	22. 7.	Jiří Novotný	scanners	17
Criticism of strip search body scanners is increased, according to the press, also in the United States	Kritika svlékacích skenerů sílí podle tisku i ve Spojených státech	Právo	2010	17. 7.	mcm	scanners	16
Airport scanners can kill with the same probability as a bomb on the plane	Letištní skenery mohou zabít se stejnou pravděpodobností jako bomba v letadle	Právo	2010	19. 11.	pst	scanners	–
End of the naked people at the U.S. airports. Body scanners will be changed	Konec naháčů na amerických letištích. Skenery se změní	MF Dnes	2011	22. 7.	hyf	scanners	9
European Union Limited strip body scanners at the airports	Unie omezila svlékací skenery na letištích	Právo	2011	15. 11.	mcm, DPA, ČTK	scanners	9
The woman had to go through body scanner three times. You have a "cute" figure, they told her	Žena musela na letištní skener třikrát. Máte hezkou postavu, řekli jí	MF Dnes	2012	16.2.	Libuše Tomanová	scanners	–
Controversial body scanners silently disappear from the U.S. airports	Sporné tělesné skenery z amerických letišť v tichosti stahují	Právo	2012	20. 11.	mcm, Právo	scanners	–
Body scanners will disappear from U.S. airports in spring	Tělesné skenery z amerických letišť zmizí na jaře	Právo	2013	19. 1.	ČTK	scanners	–
Strip scanners will disappear from the U.S. airports	Skenery, které svlékají cestující do naha, z amerických letišť zmizí	MF Dnes	2013	19.1.	ČTK, srk	scanners	–
The world's most advanced virus is	Nejvyspělejší vir světa se šíří i přes	MF Dnes	2010	24.9.	vse	stuxnet	–

spreading through the printer and attacked on Iran	tiskárny a „zaútočil" na Irán						
Iran was attacked by computer virus which looked like government files	Na Írán zaútočil počítačový vir, tvářil se jako vládní soubory	MF Dnes	2011	26.4.	stf	stuxnet	_
New big cyber-attack aiming for Iran and Israel. Virus Flame ragged for five years	Nový velký cyber útok cílil na Írán a Izrael. Virus Flame řádil pět let	MF Dnes	2012	28. 5.	Jan Kužník	stuxnet	_
New computer virus can destroy a nuclear power plant, the main target is Iran	Nový počítačový virus může zničit i jadernou elektrárnu, hlavním terčem je Írán	Právo	2010	24. 9.	pst	stuxnet	_
The Iranian nuclear program continues despite a computer virus	Íránský jaderný program pokračuje navzdory počítačovému viru	Právo	2011	16. 2.	rei	stuxnet	_
Mysterious Flame virus attacked computers in the Middle East	Záhadný virus Flame napadl počítače na Blízkém východě	Právo	2012	30. 5.	mcm	stuxnet	18
Iranian centrifuges were damaged by computer virus from USA	Íránské centrifugy ničil virus z USA a	Právo	2011	16. 1.	vpl, DPA	stuxnet	_
Obama ordered to deploy computer virus Stuxnet	Počítačový virus Stuxnet nechal proti Íránu nasadit Obama	Právo	2012	2.6.	roš	stuxnet	10
Computer virus "Red October" attacked European strategic institutions	Do sítí strategických institucí v Evropě pronikl Rudý říjen	Právo	2013	14. 1.	rei	stuxnet	_
The camera system will be spread in public transport	Kamerový systém v MHD se má rozšířit	Právo	2010	26.11.	Petr Janiš, Hynek Paštěka	cctv	10
The camera system should prevent robbery in Vysocany	Kamerový systém má zamezit krádežím ve Vysočanech	MF Dnes	2010	8. 10.	ap	cctv	53
Vožice is troubled by theft. The town wants to have cctv cameras	Vožici trápí krádeže. Chce kamery	MF Dnes	2010	18. 3.	Jiří Bydžovský	cctv	3
Česká Třebová is like in reality show. Every movement is monitoring and recording by CCTV camera	Česká Třebová je jak v reality show: Každý pohyb sleduje a nahrává kamera	MF Dnes	2010	26.8.	Martin Filip	cctv	3
Cameras help to	Kamery pomáhají	MF	2010	23.1.	Stanislav	cctv	3

guard the schools	hlídat školy	Dnes			Kamenský		
Six thousand "Big Brothers" guard the Czech Republic	Nad Českem bdí šest tisíc "Velkých bratrů"	Právo	2011	6. 8.	Jan Rovenský	cctv	1
Are they watching you? You have the right to know why	Sledují vás? Máte právo vědět proč	MF Dnes	2011	23. 9.	Jaroslava Šašková	cctv	2
Under supervision in underground. System can recognize faces	Pod dohledem v metru. Systém pozná obličeje	MF Dnes	2011	26.4.	Kateřina Kolářová	cctv	1
In Cheb, they know how to deal with the vandals. CCTV cameras are the solution	V Chebu vědí, jak na vandaly. Platí na ně kamery	MF Dnes	2011	24. 5.	Michal Houdek	cctv	4
Thieves beware. Big Brother monitors you continuously in the streets	Zloději pozor. V ulicích vás nepřetržitě sleduje Velký bratr	MF Dnes	2011	13. 12.	Martin Otipka	cctv	3
Camera systems serve well to the cities and they growing	Kamerové systémy měst slouží. A rostou	Právo	2011	14. 10.	Jana Pechová	cctv	10
Today, roughly 1,800 cameras are heading at Prague residents	Na Pražany dnes míří zhruba 1800 kamer	Právo	2012	30. 1.	Stáňa Seďová	cctv	16
CCTV cameras will expel the thieves from Liberec public transport buses	Zloděje z libereckých autobusů vypudí kamery	MF Dnes	2012	12. 3.	Adam Pluhař	cctv	1
Metro is full of cameras, but it will not prevent from attacks of criminals	Metro je plné kamer, útokům násilníků ale nezabrání	MF Dnes	2012	14. 3.	Adéla Paclíková	cctv	1
Nový Bydžov will install twenty CCTV cameras in the centre	Nový Bydžov instaluje dvacet kamer v centru	Právo	2012	24. 8.	Ludmila Žlábková	cctv	8
Strictly guarded area. 12 CCTV cameras will guard the village	Přísně střežená zóna? Vesnici ohlídá 12 kamer	MF Dnes	2012	7. 5.	Miloslav Lubas	cctv	2
Cameras are installed in yellow buses. Passangers are afraid of monitoring	Do žlutých autobusů montují kamery. A lidé se bojí sledování	MF Dnes	2012	10. 5.	Lukáš Valášek	cctv	3
Passengers attacked the driver. Therefore CCTV camera will monitor the bus from ghetto	Cestující tu napadali řidiče. Proto autobus z ghetta ohlídají kamery	MF Dnes	2013	1. 2.	Miloslav Lubas	cctv	1
Cameras saves the	Kamery šetří	Právo	2013	4.2.	Milan	cctv	16

| city money and dis-courage the vandals | městu peníze a brzdí vandaly | | | | Vojtek | | |
| Cameras removed crime from the cen-tre of Břeclav | Kamery čistí cen-trum Břeclavi od zločinu | Právo | 2013 | 12.3. | miv | cctv | 10 |

Source: created by author.

Table no. 26: All the articles from the year 2010

		January 2010	February 2010	March 2010	April 2010	May 2010	June 2010
PRÁVO: left-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	7	3	2	1	0	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	0	0	0
	CCTV	0	0	2	0	0	1
MF DNES: right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	3	3	1	0	1	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	0	0	0
	CCTV	5	4	4	5	1	1
		July 2010	August 2010	September 2010	October 2010	November 2010	December 2010
PRÁVO: left-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	3	2	1	0	2	
	stuxnet	0	0	0	3	1	
	CCTV	0	1	0		3	1
MF DNES: right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	2	0	1	0	3	
	stuxnet	0	0	0	1		1
	CCTV	1	7	3	2	2	5

Source: created by author.

Table no. 27: All the articles from 2011

		January 2011	February 2011	March 2011	April 2011	May 2011	June 2011
PRÁVO: left-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	0	1	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	4	1	0	0	0	0
	CCTV	0	0	0	2	0	1
MF DNES: right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	0	0	1	0	1	0
	stuxnet	2	0	0	1	0	0
	CCTV	0	1	3	4	4	2
		July 2011	August 2011	September 2011	October 2011	November 2011	December 2011
PRÁVO:left-leaning pa-per	3D body scanner	1	0	0	0	2	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	3	2	0
	CCTV	0	5	3	1	2	0
MF DNES: right-leaning newspaper	3D body scanner	1	0	0	0	2	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	1	0	0
	CCTV	2	2	3	0	6	6

Source: created by author

Table no. 28: All the articles from 2012

		January 2012	February 2012	March 2012	April 2012	May 2012	June 2012
PRÁVO: left-leaning newspaper	*3D body scanner*	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	1	1	0	0	2	4
	CCTV	1	1	2	1	0	2
MF DNES: right-leaning newspaper	*3D body scanner*	0	1	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	2	0	0	0	1	1
	CCTV	4	1	5	3	5	0
		July 2012	August 2012	September 2012	October 2012	November 2012	December 2012
PRÁVO:left-leaning paper	*3D body scanner*	0	0	0	0	1	0
	stuxnet	1	0	0	0	0	2
	CCTV	0	2	0	2	1	1
MF DNES: right-leaning newspaper	*3D body scanner*	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	3	0	1	0	0	0
	CCTV	1	4	0	1	3	2

Source: created by author

Table no. 29: All the articles from 2013

		January 2013	February 2013	March 2013	April 2013
PRÁVO: left-leaning newspaper	*3D body scanner*	1	0	0	0
	Stuxnet	1	0	0	0
	CCTV	2	5	3	1
MF DNES: right-leaning newspaper	*3D body scanner*	1	0	0	0
	Stuxnet	0	0	0	0
	CCTV	3	4	3	0

Source: created by author