

SECONOMICS

Country Report Germany

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1 Introduction

„Die Würde des Menschen ist unantastbar!“

“Human dignity shall be inviolable.”

(Artikel 1 Absatz 1 Grundgesetzbuch)

This article is at the beginning of the German constitution for a reason. It is the main principle for acting in Germany as well as for creating laws. The human dignity is important for the discussion about the question: “which price are we willing to pay for security?” But what is security? A good definition is given from “Barometer der Sicherheit in Deutschland”:^[26] “Security means living without fear, feeling safe and trustable. Security is thus one of the elementary human basic needs and a central sociological principle.” It is important to distinguish between objective security and subjective sense of security. The police of Brandenburg has created an evaluation regarding this topic in cooperation with the Switzer consulting company “Team Consult Zürich”. The result shows a big gap between the actual criminality rate and the feeling about security in the public.^[1] But who is responsible for feeling secure?

According to public opinion the public authority is responsible to ensure security. This was shown with a survey by the DBB “Beamtenbund und Tarifunion” (some time ago it was called “Deutscher Beamtenbund”, that is why the abbreviation is DBB) from 2009. In this survey 1009 citizens were computer-aided interviewed. For citizens of Germany, the physical integrity and property rights are important social goods, which seem to be threatened by increasing criminality.^[2] The main functions of the state are the protection of citizens’ rights, the control of unemployment and the healthcare (60% of the sample), as well as the countering of crime and protection of the personal data (50%) and counter-terrorism (40%). Further the survey shows that the citizens want more police presence because they feel threatened by violence (80%), by crime (73%) and terrorism (58%). Summarizing, the authority in Germany is responsible for the security. Two-thirds of the federal citizens think the government does not do enough to fight crime. When the DBB asked what the government must do to combat crime better, 38% responded with higher police presence, 35% are for harsher penalties, 7% for more control and 3% are in favor to increase security at schools.

For this case study of Germany we analyzed three security-related topics. The topics are CCTV, Stuxnet and body scanners. The aim of the report was to figure out the opinion of Germany to all of the three topics. In order to do that, we conducted a media-content analysis by use of Atlas.ti. We wanted to check it by the medium of national newspapers. We have chosen the “Süddeutsche Zeitung” (SZ) as our major left-leaning newspaper and “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” (FAZ) as the right-leaning newspaper. We specified the translations of the topics as search words and discussed them in section Key words. All selected articles were coded with the computer program atlas.ti.

The people in Germany expect that the state gives them a sense of security without interfering into their privacy. This conflict is most evident in the theme of the body scanner. The scanner promises higher security by being able to recognize, for example, explosives or ceramic knives, but the outcry was big when it was said that the person who

is scanned, appears naked on the monitor. All the more amazing is that according to a survey of "Statista" 53% of Germans are for the use of body scanners. Is Germany thus ready to give up a piece of privacy to get more safety? This report is about these and other questions.

The report is structured as follows. The first chapter is about the media landscape in Germany. In this chapter there is an overview of the top daily newspapers in Germany and an overview of the top publishers in Germany. The chapter number three deals with the Methodology which was selected for this report. The fourth chapter is the "Context". It gives a short overview of the situation in Germany. It describes some characteristic features in Germany like the Federal Intelligence Service. Also it discusses the issue of National Socialism in Germany which includes some special laws from this time. The chapter also explains why the German people are so afraid at topics like surveillance and their rights. Further the term German Angst is defined. The next passage of the chapter shows a list of terrorist attacks at Germany. Afterwards we have a look at laws, especially those which became effective after 9/11. At last there is a paragraph about laws to prevent surveillance. The next chapter is the biggest part of the report, it is the Analysis. This includes the descriptive Analysis, the Analysis of general tendencies, the Influence of domestic and international context, a Summary and a Synthesis. Further we have the chapter with the Conclusion. Chapter seven is the list of Literature and is followed by the Appendix.

2 Media landscape

The German media landscape has a great variety of newspaper titles and a strong local diversity. Today in Germany over 300 daily newspapers exist, 30 weeklies and over 10,000 magazines.^[3]

The biggest nationwide newspapers, which are not tabloid newspapers are the "Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" (henceforth SZ) and the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" (FAZ), although the paper with the widest circulation is the boulevard newspaper "Bild".^[4]

The about 300 daily newspapers have a total circulation of 25 million daily. But nowadays the financing of these daily newspapers becomes harder and harder. This has several reasons: the younger generation reads less daily newspapers. The advertisement, which is the most important funding, is considerable falling. And the most important reason is that much daily content can be found in the internet, which became the main delivery of daily news in all generations. About seventy percent of all German citizens have internet access. The same number is reading daily newspapers regularly.^[5]

2.1.1 Role of media in Germany

As the Allies after the Second World War were negotiating a new media order for the West German occupation zones, they agreed in broadcasting to the public service model inspired by the BBC. Commercial broadcasters in the U.S. or even state television appeared after the experience with the abuse of more powerful radio ruled the Third Reich. The public broadcasting does not belong to the state, but is funded by the public and by all listeners and viewers.

Also in the press in Germany the media policy of the Allies are still visible consequences. By 1949, printed media allowed to appear only with the permission of the occupying powers. Many leaves of this license as the “Süddeutsche Zeitung” are still one of the daily newspapers of national significance. Unlike in France or the UK press publishers in the Federal Republic of federalism are not centrally located in the capital city, but across all states.

1,511 newspapers are published in Germany (end of 2009). In two thirds of all counties and cities are only one local or regional newspaper today, and thus no competition which would be conducive to the diversity of opinions and the quality of journalism. Many publishers have grown through acquisitions to large media companies. The five largest publishing groups in Germany have a market share of 45 percent in the daily newspapers. The support of almost all newspapers, however, has been falling for years, because young people do not read the newspaper at the same rate as their parents. They use the internet to get information about the world. The end of 2009 the circulation of all dailies was a total of 20 million copies. As for the newspaper density, Germany ranks among the international comparison in midfield. Especially Scandinavians and Japanese read more newspaper. In the United States, in France or Italy, there are - in relation to the population - however much less common specimens.

Relevant journalistic content on the Internet are so far mainly offshoots of traditional mass media. As the Internet in the mid -1990s began its triumphal march, newspapers and radio stations very soon aimed news portals in a network. The fear was, and is, the new medium of the Internet could become a life-threatening competition. The financing of the Internet portals is for the media industry still a dominant theme. Internet users are rarely willing to pay for content in the network, such as when they want to retrieve an item from the archive.

2.1.2 Influence on society

The influences of the media in our society as well as the effect on each individual were and are frequently the subject of controversy. Since the beginning of the 20th Century, science has studied the effect of media. It was initially based on a cause-effect model with a strong influence, but soon realized that there are too many factors such as level of education or attention is solely on the part of media consumers that barely enable prediction of the effects. Such media effects were tested for example with propaganda films to measure the possible influence of opinion or knowledge on the subject. The mass media can hardly change the attitude of people, soon was the verdict. Rather existing opinions would be strengthened. The media therefore have so little impact on what the audience thinks about individual subjects. But probably they pretend what do the people ever thought. By intense media reporting on certain issues, while other media “infect” the agenda of public issues is defined. Scientists speak of media agenda-setting.^[6]

2.1.3 Investigative journalism

The term investigative journalism refers to a special form of journalism. The quality of this kind of journalism is very high and needs a long time of preparing and researching.

It is about topics of politics and economics which are often being perceived as scandalous.

The biggest business at this is to debunk scandals from the politics and economics. A very popular example is the Watergate-affair with US-President Richard Nixon. In Germany Hans Leyendecker, member from “Der Spiegel”, later member from “Süddeutsche Zeitung” debunked the Flick-affair and the CDU-illegal money affair. It is a very common term of journalism in Germany which ensures a high quality and bluntness at the German reporting.^[14]

3 Methodology

This chapter gives an explanation of the methodology with which the data for the report was searched and selected. For that some tables with the numbers of articles, the topics and the years are shown. Also the search words are defined in this paragraph. After that information about the characteristics of the selected media are given.

3.1 Key words

In the first step the key words “Body scanner”, “Stuxnet” and “CCTV-Cameras” were translated into German to get the search words. “Stuxnet” has no translation as it is a name. The term “Body scanner” was translated into “Körperscanner” and “Nackts scanner”, where the term “Nackts scanner” was not used as a search word, as it is a word with negative connotations. It arose with the first generations of body scanners, which showed the scanned person in a very detailed way on the screen. So the term “Körperscanner” was used. The keyword “CCTV-Cameras” was translated to “Überwachungskameras”. But this term has variant forms of spelling. Therefore “Überwachungskameras”, “Überwachungscameras” as well as “CCTV” and “Videoüberwachung” were used as search terms.

3.2 Overall sample

With aid of these terms both daily newspapers “Süddeutsche Zeitung” as left-leaning and “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” as right-leaning paper were searched in the given period from 01 January 2010 to 30 April 2013. The articles were found by using the internal search engine of the newspapers as well as Google. This way we got plenty of articles out of their archives. In the next step all found articles were read to determine whether it is about this topic or the words are just mentioned by the way. Then all articles were catalogued into the different years. We got 279 articles which are distributed as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Total articles found for each topic and newspaper by year

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
SZ right-leaning	3D body scanner	33	5	2	2	42
	stuxnet	15	10	12	1	38
	cctv	79	12	14	14	119
FAZ left-leaning	3D body scanner	14	2	4	0	20
	stuxnet	10	11	11	1	33
	cctv	4	3	5	15	27
		155	43	48	33	279

Out of this table a matrix was generated, which states how many articles from each topic and each newspaper shall be coded. The Table 2 shows the result, e.g. 5 articles of SZ from the year 2010 of the topic body scanner will be used in the analysis. The column “Total” shows the number of articles per topic and newspaper. Last number of this column is a sum itself, and shows how many articles are used in the analysis. In the case of Germany 41 articles are coded and analyzed.

Table 2 Sample gained from the found articles

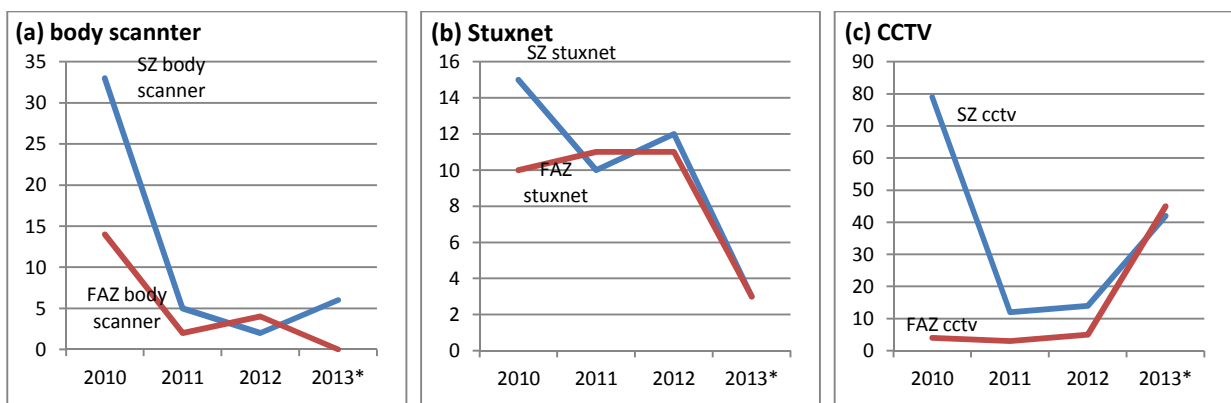
		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
SZ right-leaning	CD body scanner	5	1	1	0	7
	Stuxnet	2	1	2	0	5
	Cctv	11	2	2	2	17
FAZ left-leaning	CD body scanner	2	0	1	0	3
	Stuxnet	1	1	2	0	4
	Cctv	1	1	1	2	5
Total		22	6	9	4	41

These 41 articles were coded computer-aided applying the given code scheme using the program “atlas.ti”. All three topics had their own code scheme, which is used by all countries involved in this study. This way the coding of the articles becomes comparable. The analysis results are explained in chapter 5.

3.3 Media coverage

In Figure 1 we show the distributions of the original sample. It is segmented into the three topics, body scanner (a), Stuxnet (b) and CCTV (c) and also separated into the two newspapers FAZ and SZ.

Figure 1 Found articles by year. (a) Body scanner, (b) Stuxnet, (c) CCTV. (*) 2013 was extrapolated (x/0.33)



If we consider the first chart (a), we can see that in 2010 there was much news about the introduction of body scanners. In 2011 it drops dramatically and stays at the same level afterwards. We can also recognize that in 2010 it was a much bigger issue for SZ than for the FAZ. In the second chart (b) we can see that in the past three years Stuxnet was constantly round about as an important issue for FAZ as it was for SZ. But in 2013 it becomes unimportant for both newspapers. In the third plot (c) we realize that in 2010 CCTV was a much bigger issue for SZ as it was for the FAZ. In 2011 and subsequent years

it becomes less important, but stays at a high level. The FAZ instead increases in 2013 to the same level of importance.

3.4 Characteristics of the selected media

For the purposes of this study, I selected two nation-wide dailies: The “Süddeutsche Zeitung” which is the left-leaning newspaper and the “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” which is right-leaning. I have selected these two papers because of their different leaning and their circulation rate. Also these both newspapers are the widely read papers.

3.4.1 The “Süddeutsche Zeitung” (SZ)

The second biggest daily newspaper is the “Süddeutsche Zeitung” (South German Newspaper, SZ) with a circulation of 1,733,890 in 2012. The first one was printed in 1945. This newspaper is published by the publisher “Süddeutscher Verlag” located in Munich, which arose by publishing this newspaper. Nowadays they have around 4,000 employees and earn 709.3 Mio Euro a year (2006). The publisher is mainly owned by “Medien Union” (especially Dieter Schaub) and “Group Württembergischer Verleger”.

They are also distributed in several other countries in Europe and Arabia. In 2005 in a big survey under important journalists, the newspaper was elected as most opinion-forming and most reputable newspaper of record in Germany.

According to its editorial statute the Süddeutsche Zeitung will have “free, democratic societies according to liberal and social principles.” The newspaper is described as “moderate left”.

3.4.2 The “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung”(FAZ)

With a yearly circulation of 1,491,416 in 2012 the “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” (Frankfurter General Newspaper, FAZ) is the third biggest daily newspaper in Germany. The first paper was printed in 1949. It is published by its own publisher owned by the “FAZIT Foundation”. With 41 global correspondents it has one of the largest networks of the world. In larger cities (Brussels (4) London (4) Madrid (2) Moscow (2) New York (3), Paris (2) Beijing (2) Rome (2) Washington (2) Vienna (2)), are several specialized foreign correspondents for politics, business and arts section.

The FAZ is deemed as a civil-conservative media. The FAZ is the newspaper with the highest circulation in foreign countries of all German newspapers, considered without tabloids.^[16]

3.5 Timeline development

In the analysis we want to see the development of the topics and justifications of the articles over time. First we tried to look at the absolute development of the coding's. All of them are round about at the same level. This is because the development of the number of articles correlates heavily with these data. So we now look at the relative development of the topics and justifications. We got the data by associating each analyzed article with the date of publication and export the codes of justification and topics regarding these articles. We summed up the number of codes for each code belonging to one year, because otherwise not enough data was available. This can be seen by many

zeros in the data lines, if we use raw data or sum up to month. Then we selected the top five codes. Afterwards we calculated the percentage of each code, but on base of the complete total number of all codes of the category not just the total of the top five.

4 Context

In this chapter we will have a look at the Context of Germany. It describes topics like the Federal Intelligence Service, German Angst or Terrorism in Germany. Also we have a look at laws or the History of Germany with a special view on the National Socialism.

4.1 Security-relevant legislature and measures

The Federal Intelligence Service, abbreviated as BND and in German “Bundesnachrichtendienst”, is beside the „Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz“ and the „militärischer Abschirmdienst“ one of German intelligence agencies. It can be translated as federal intelligence service. It is formally a bureau of the „Bundeskanzleramt“ (office of the chancellor) and is responsible for intelligence about foreign countries. But also inland operations became public. All operations of the BND are strictly secret and are controlled in secret sessions of the „parlamentarisches Kontrollgremium“ (parliamentary supervision committee). The service has about 6000 employees and gets 500 Mio EUR out of the German budget. The main task of the BND is gaining security and foreign relevant information about foreign countries. For this task all intelligence methods are allowed, like observation and technical methods. But in contrast to other international intelligence services it has no executive authority. It serves the government directly and generates about 300 reports per month and answers about 800 requested information acquisition tasks. It uses three groups of methods. It gains information about public available information around the world, like the internet, public newspaper or television. Further it is able to operatively acquire information with the help of agents and technically methods, like surveillance of telecommunication and internet communication. But it has a bad reputation as it has not foreseen important developments like the building and fall of the German wall or the collapse of the UDSSR, and also because some severe affairs became public, like the surveillance of journalists or the questioning of prisoners in US-military prisoner camps.

With a special view on the Fascism there are two important laws which were decided by Adolf Hitler in the time of the National Socialism in Germany, first the “Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State” and secondly the “Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the German People”. This is the main reason why German people are so afraid of being monitored.

The Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State repeals almost all fundamental rights. Restrictions on personal freedom, including freedom of the press, the freedom of assembly, intervention in the mail, postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication secrets, arrangements of house searches and seizures, as well as restrictions on property outside the legal limits otherwise prescribed were declared legal. The “Reichstag Fire Decree” provided the legal basis for an initial wave of arrests of opposing candidates for upcoming parliamentary elections. Also for interventions against all persons whose existence or activity the intended transformation of Germany really or supposedly could prevent or hinder.

The Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the German People of 4th February 1933 restricted freedom of assembly and freedom of the press and gave far-reaching powers to the NSDAP Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick. This had already been planned by Cabinet Papen and served to combat political opponents of the Nazi Party in the beginning of the campaign.

Also comparing with that a kind of hesitancy grows in Germany which is called all over the World “German Angst”. The term German Angst is defined in English as the “typical German hesitancy”. It denotes a perceived characteristic for the German social and political collective behavior. Examples for that are the reserved foreign and security policy of Germany after the reunification or the requirement of an extension of Google Street View to hide whole buildings (Germany was the only country that stopped the expansion of Google Street View). Germany is also known for its sprouting anxiety in subjects such as H5N1 avian influenza, BSE or the risks of nuclear power plants.

Because of the well-known 9/11 attack some new regulations in Germany were established. They exist for protection against terrorism. There are for example the anti-terror file, the flight data transmission and the telecommunications data retention. All of them were skeptical assessed but accepted with resistance. There is for example the Anti-terrorism database which is a shared database of 38 different German security authorities. In this database, information about persons and groups who are under suspicion of terrorism are bundled. It is built 2-stepped: There is an index file with basic information about suspicious persons, like names and addresses, and another file with the phone number, internet connections, bank accounts, education, job, religion, driving and flying permits, weapons and explosives knowledge, travel and group memberships.^[17]

Another regulation was the Flight data transmission (PNR), which was a big discussion in Germany. It transfers all data about passengers of flights to the USA without human interaction. This was heavily discussed in the public because people feel controlled by a foreign state. The law seems to be introduced into Germany with force of the European community. And as the last example there is the Telecommunications data retention.

The German term telecommunications data retention means the storage of personal data by or for public authorities without the data currently required. The data shall be saved for the case that it will be required at any time in the future. This should be done for a better possibility of prevention and prosecution of serious crime. But this law was stopped by court and Germany hazards to pay a high penalty of round about 300,000 Euros each day. This increases the impression Germany has to defend itself against surveillance forced by other countries.^[18]

4.2 Laws to prevent surveillance

In Germany there are two important laws which ensure that the people can advance their opinion and make sure, that the media can report what really happened. First there is, the law of the freedom of expression and secondly the law of freedom of the press. Further the two important topics data protection and privacy are regulated by law.

The Freedom of Expression, also Freedom of Speech, is the guaranteed individual right to free speech and free expression, and (public) dissemination of opinion in speech, writing and pictures and all other available transmission resources. The restrictions are:

- The protection of personal honor against insult
- The disclosure of secret information
- The excessive criticism of own or foreign highest state representatives
- The unauthorized redistribution of copyrighted information.

Further in Germany the freedom of the press is ensured in article 5 of the constitution.

„Every person shall have the right freely to express and disseminate his opinions in speech, writing, and pictures and to inform himself without hindrance from generally accessible sources. Freedom of the press and freedom of reporting by means of broadcasts and films shall be guaranteed. Censorship is banned. These rights shall find their limits in the provisions of general laws, in provisions for the protection of young persons, and in the right to personal honor. Art and scholarship, research and teaching shall be free. The freedom of teaching shall not release any person from allegiance to the constitution.”

The meaning of the term press includes thereby all printings, which are usable to publish information to the public, independent from the size in any regard.

How far publications based on television media and information technologies like newspapers published only online are included in this term and therefore included in this law of freedom of the press is not clear in the literature.

One aspect of the freedom of the press law is the right that journalists are allowed to refuse to give any evidence (§ 53 Strafprozessordnung, § 383 Zivilprozessordnung). Also the practice of journalism is not regulated by authorities. Private schools for journalism are also qualifying journalists without any state control. But the status as journalist is depending on several constraints.

German journalists criticize the data preservation and online searches by state. They fear the loss of confidence of journalists because of these innovations, so that the possibilities of independent criticizing journalism are seriously restricted. Such development is seen as a threat to the freedom of the press.

But in the course of counter-terrorism there are frequently claims of some politicians to reduce the freedom of the press in Germany, especially by CDU-politicians like Siegfried Kauder. This shall help to reduce the terrorism.^[27]

Expect of this two laws the data protection is a fundamental right in Germany. The citizen shall always be able to decide who knows which personal information. In the case of the federal authorities the data protection is managed by the Federal Data Protection Act. Also the Protection of the Privacy is managed in the German personality right. It serves to protect a shielded area of personal development. With this people should have an area in which they can act freely and informal, without having to fear that third par-

ties know of this behavior or even watch them or listen to them. The exceptions (telephone tapping) are referred to as eavesdropping and are also regulated by law.

4.3 Timeline of main Terrorist Attacks and Threats

Now we want to have a look at terrorism in Germany. By now all attempted attacks could be averted. In the following the seven most popular attacks are listed.

September 2002: The Police arrested a 25 years old Turkish man and his 23 years old fiancée, an American woman of Turkish descent. At the home of the couple several explosive devices were found. According to information provided by the former Ministry of the Interior of Baden-Württemberg, the couple presumably planned attacks on U.S. military facilities and the city center of Heidelberg.

March 2003: In Berlin a Tunisian was arrested on suspicion of terrorism. Investigators suspect the man as a trainer in the camps of Osama bin Laden and to act jointly with other Islamists, among them activists from Al-Nur mosque in Berlin, who have planned an assault in Germany during the Iraq war.

April 2004: The German security services arrested several suspected members of the Islamist organization “Al-Tawhid” after major raids. Three Palestinians and one Algerian were sentenced in October 2005 to prison terms of between five and eight years. According to the court the men had planned attacks on Jewish institutions in Düsseldorf and Berlin on behalf of the top terrorist Abu Mossab al-Zarqawi.

December 2004: A possible assault from the Islamist terrorist group Ansar al-Islam at the Iraqi Prime Minister Ijad Hashim Allawi was prevented during his visit to Berlin. German security officials tapped into the phone calls and arrested three Iraqis.

July 2006: Attacks on two regional trains in North Rhine-Westphalia failed only because of technical errors. The Lebanese Youssef el-Hajdib and Jihad Hamad had placed explosives in two trains to Koblenz and Hamm at 31st July 2006 at the Cologne Central Station.

November 2006: The German security authorities succeeded in preventing an attempted Attack by Islamist terrorists on an Israeli airliner. A bomb in a suitcase should be smuggled into an airplane in Frankfurt am Main of the airline El Al.

September 2007: The German authorities prevented heavy bomb attacks on U.S. facilities in Germany by their early intervention. The arrested three members of a German cell of the international Jihad Union terror network had apparently prepared several attacks in Germany. The three Islamists - two Germans and a Turk - wanted, according to the federal, simultaneously detonate car bombs in several places in Germany. Because of the region where the group was arrested it was named “the Sauerland-group”.

5 Analysis

5.1. Descriptive Analysis

The descriptive Analysis shows the result of the analyzed articles and presents frequency tables and graphs depicting some descriptive statistics. The articles were coded according to the codebook and assigned codes in “Atlas.ti”.

5.1.1 CCTV

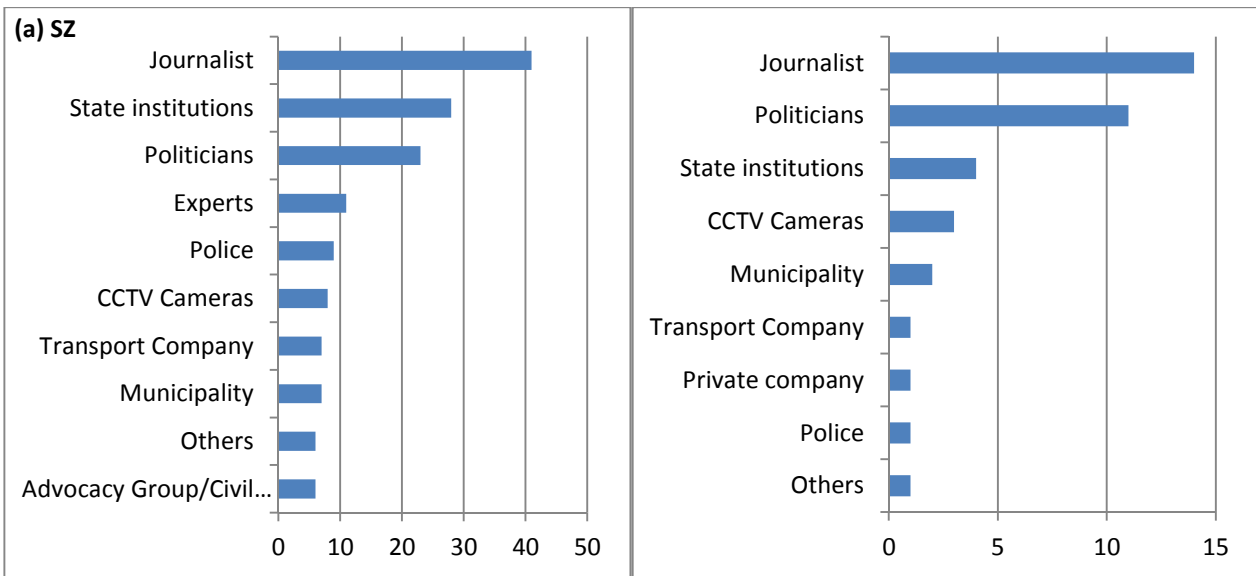
At first the focus is given by the actors of the articles of CCTV. We have a look at the top ten actors split up regarding the two newspapers “Süddeutsche Zeitung” (SZ) and “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” (FAZ) to get the differences between the newspapers. After that it goes on at the same way with the topics of the statements, the argumentative strategies and the justifications.

5.1.1.1 Actors

Our analysis showed that the primary actor in the coded articles was the “journalist in the case of the SZ and the FAZ, followed by the “State institutions” at the SZ and the “politicians” in the FAZ.

For a better representation of the number of codes the table from the analysis is shown. In Figure 2 we see the top actors of FAZ, SZ.

Figure 2 The top ten actors of (a) SZ and (b) FAZ

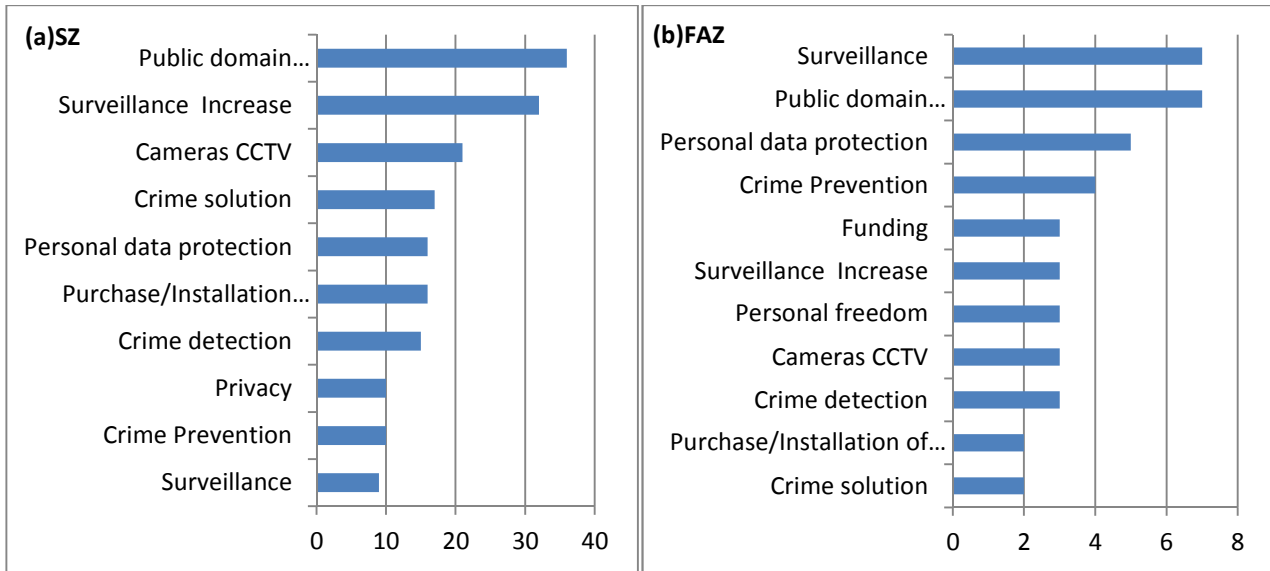


If we look at the two figures (b) for SZ and (c) for FAZ and compare them, we recognize that they have mainly the same top actors. Just the order is a little bit different. The “state institutions” have less importance in the FAZ articles, so they have only two main actors instead of three. There is no direct cooperation between the actors in the coded statements. Now we have a look at the topics.

5.1.1.2 Topics

The dominant topic in SZ is “public domain monitoring”, after that there is a little cut and the second topic is “surveillance increase”.

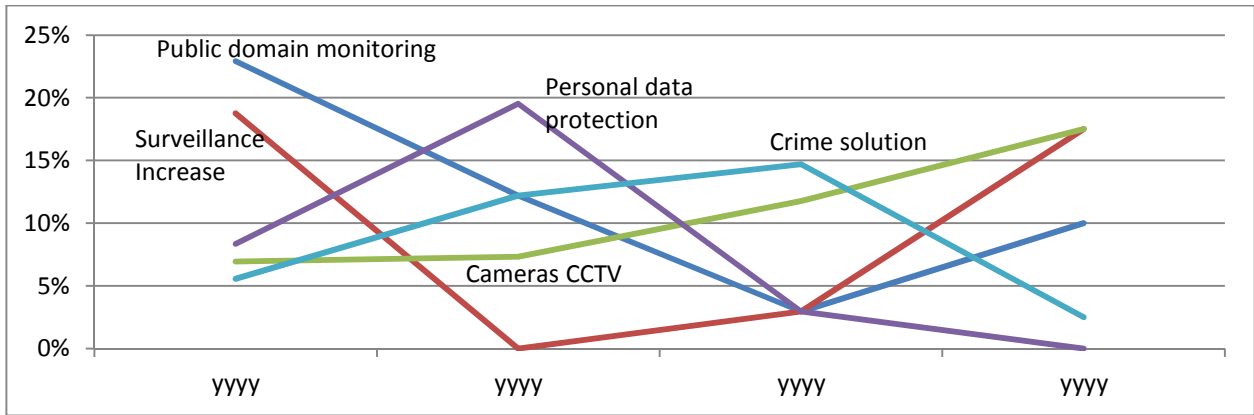
Figure 3 Top topics of CCTV show for (a) SZ and (b) FAZ



In total we have 259 codes. Figure 3 (a) shows the topics from the SZ. The top topics about CCTV of the newspaper FAZ are illustrated in Figure 3 (b). Conspicuous is that the FAZ has a completely different main topic. In this case it is “surveillance”, a topic which is listed very low by SZ. The second is “public domain”. There is no noticeable gap between the topics.

If we compare the top topics of both papers, we can find nearly the same topics in the top list, only with a different order. But nevertheless we can recognize some differences. For the SZ, the important topics are about the citizens and their surveillance. This can be seen in “public domain monitoring”, “surveillance increase” and “personal data protection”. For FAZ also “public domain monitoring” and “surveillance” are most important, but then followed by “purchase / installation” and “crime detection” which are more practical points. But anyway these differences are small.

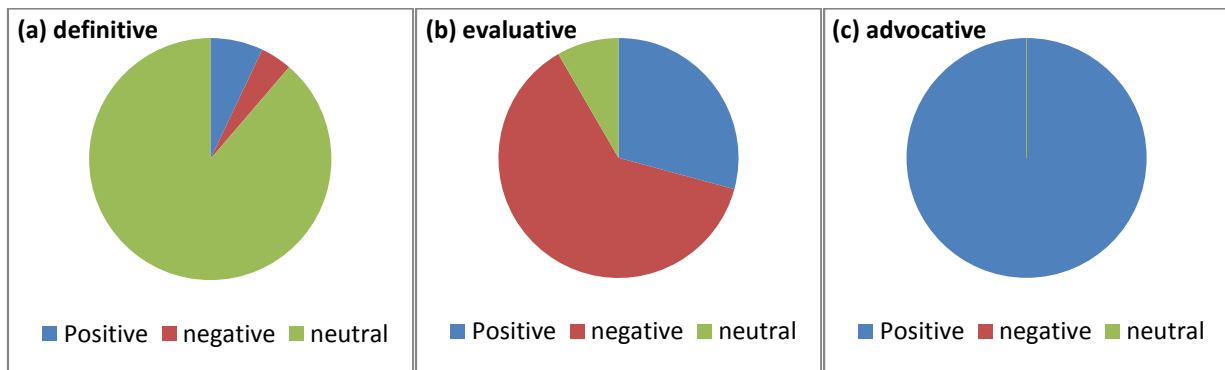
Figure 4 Evolution of CCTV topics over time per year. This is based on Table 9.



In Figure 5 the evolution of the top five topics in CCTV over time is shown. In the beginning of the analysis 2010 and the end at 2013 the “public domain monitoring” and “surveillance increase” are important. In the middle years 2011 and 2012 the “Crime Solution” was the main topics and only in 2011 the “Personal data protection” was important while the prior ones are unimportant in this time range.

5.1.1.3 Argumentative strategies

Figure 6 Argumentative strategies with shown direction of argument based on .



The three diagrams in Figure 6 which uses the data from show the directions of the argumentative strategies. The left one is the graph from the definitive strategy of the arguments. The biggest part of the directions is the neutral part, then the positive part and the negative as the smallest. For the evaluative statements we have a total of 117, so this is the most used kind of statements at this topic. For the advocative statements it is easy, in total we have 1 and this is positive. This was the result of both newspapers together. Now we have a look at only the left-leaning paper SZ.

Table 3 Argumentative strategies

SZ	definitive	evaluative
positive	5	26
negative	3	61

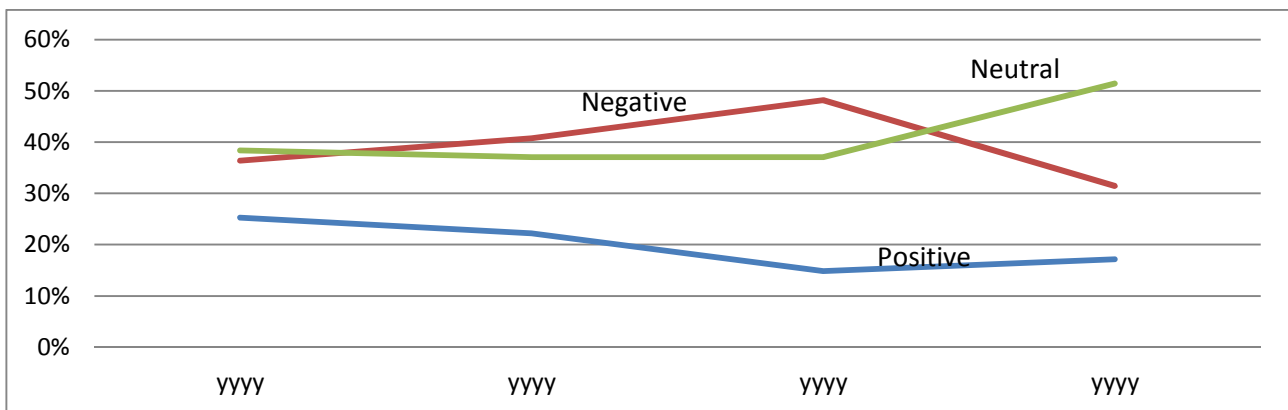
neutral	45	12
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Here we have more evaluative than definitive statements and the direction is the same as shown in the diagrams from both newspapers together. It is conspicuous that the “Süddeutsche Zeitung” every time reports more critical and more negative than the FAZ. In the case of FAZ we have a table like this one.

Table 4 Direction of the argumentative strategies

FAZ	definitive	evaluative	advocative
Positive	1	8	1
negative	1	8	0
neutral	17	2	0

Figure 7 Timeline of the argumentation direction of CCTV



In

Figure 7 the change of the argumentation direction of CCTV can be seen. This shows that the negative argumentations are domination in 2011 and 2012 and had their peak in 2012. The neutral argumentations are dominant otherwise. The positive ones are always below. This shows that Germany is always sceptical but it lowers in 2013.

5.1.1.4 Justification

The main justification is the “right to privacy” with 26 codes. Also important are the two next justifications “Efficiency” (24 codes) and “Security” (21 codes). Conspicuous is that the “right to privacy” is so much more important for Germany than the justification “safety”.

Figure 8 Top justifications of CCTV for (a) SZ and (b) FAZ based on Table 10

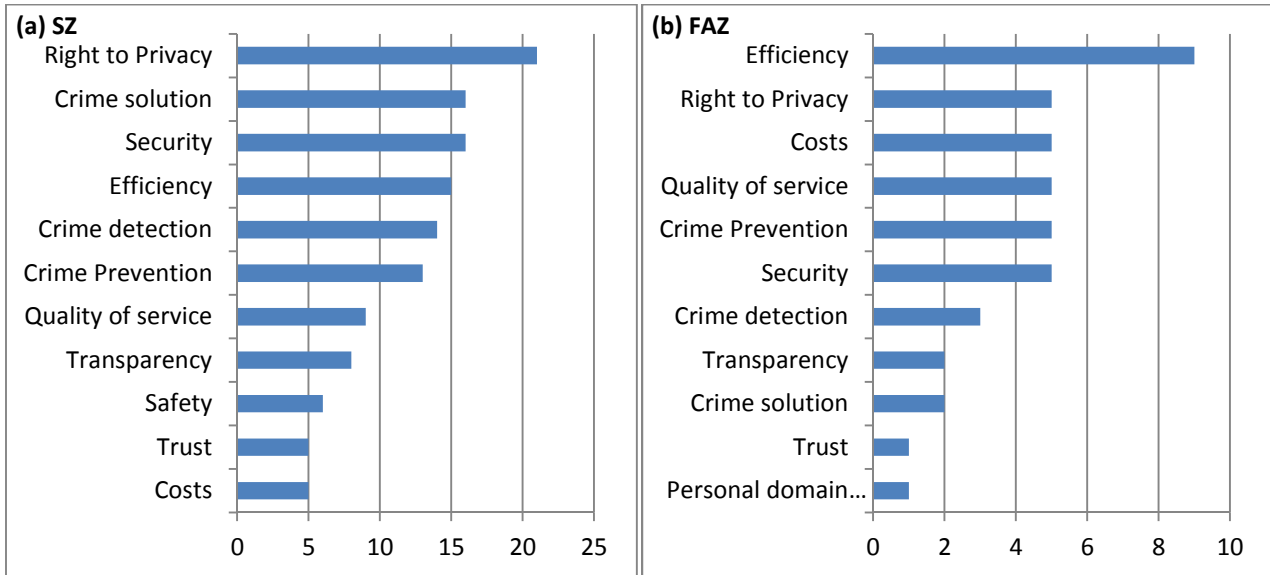
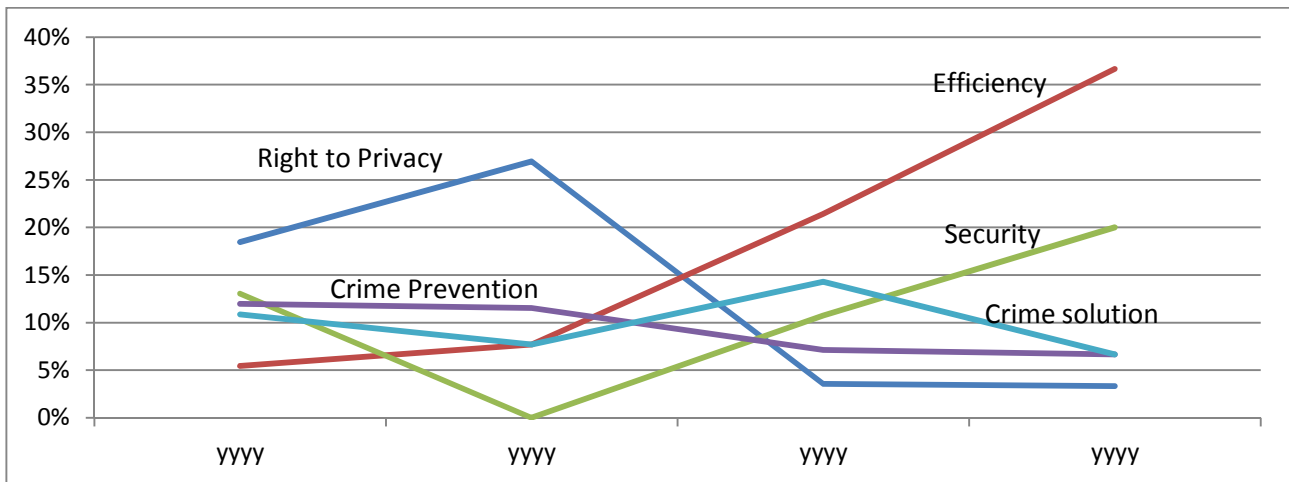


Figure 8 illustrates the justifications of both newspapers. The “right to privacy” is the most important one of the SZ. The first thing that points out is that the main justification in the FAZ by far is “Efficiency”. In comparison we can see that that “right of privacy” is important for both newspapers in Germany but obviously more important for the left-leaning SZ. For the conservative and right-leaning FAZ the “efficiency” is even more important. The FAZ also shows more operational and practical aspects on the second rank. For SZ the “crime solution”, “detection” and “prevention” is emphasized.

Figure 9 Development of the justifications of CCTV based on Table 11



In Figure 9 we recognize a shift in the argumentative justification of CCTV. In 2010 it was mainly the “Right of Privacy” and with a gap “Crime Prevention” but both drops down while the “Efficiency” and “Security” arise. This can be interpreted that the importance of “Privacy” decreases in the discussion but the usability of CCTV becomes important.

The discussion about CCTV in Germany often has the following arguments:

- CCTV is an intervention into privacy.
- CCTV can help for crime prevention and detection.
- CCTV acts as a deterrent.
- Germany becomes a surveillance state, if we do it like Britain.
- Nobody wants to fund the installation and the cameras itself.
- Data is collected and archived- and possibly used for unknown purposes. ^[30]
- What about the data?
- And what about the Transparency?
- How long is it allowed to save the videos?

That is only a small part of the questions the people in Germany asks and the statements they have. And everyone has a different opinion and consequently a different answer to these questions. The debate about CCTV in Germany started a long time ago and still they have the same arguments. But the tolerance for the cameras increases. So Germany has cameras at the stations and at places where the criminal rate is very high like the Hamburger Stachus. After the annual testing phase at the main station and the Stachus it is clear, that the surveillance acts as a deterrent. ^[31] After events like the bomb find at the main station in Bonn more people are in favor of the increase of CCTV cameras. But it must not be terrorism or a murder, which justifies the CCTV. It can be the everyday crimes like dealing with drugs, pick pocketing or vandalism. ^[29]

“We will deploy everything that brings more Security”, says ministerial spokesman Rainer Riedl ^[31]. The police president Mr. Viering says, that a great surveillance does not make sense. In his opinion it is better to take care at problematic places like the main station with the drug scene and not to fritter with too many cameras. ^[31]

Also a point is the funding of the installation of CCTV. In most cases the costs are divided. One half is spent by the country, the other one by the municipal administration.^[34] There are also differences between the federal states. For example, the comparison of Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine-Westphalia is quite telling. Since December 2010 the surveillance at places with a high criminality is allowed in Baden-Württemberg. The determination successes from the city Kiel are indicative that the surveillance works, says the CDU-interior ministry Heribert Rech.^[32] In North Rhine-Westphalia, the federal state government rejects the surveillance increase at public places. More important are police officers and feds which can recognize risk previously.^[32]

One of the biggest opponents of the CCTV cameras is Germany's federal commissioner for data protection Peter Schaar. For example as Britain cannot get the juvenile crime under control, Peter Schaar said in an interview with the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*: "That shows it: Ten cameras could not substitute the police officer around the corner", this is one of the reasons why he is against CCTV. "It is shown right now that some delinquents make use of the pictures to produce themselves in the public. They downright pose in front of the cameras."

Peter Schaar determined that the surveillance of the citizen has "radical increased" and he detects "the end of the privacy".^[33] The doubts from the data security engineers were only handled with signs. This signs must be indications that CCTV is filming at special places.^[31]

But also laws have regulated the handling of CCTV and the data it gets. The pictures which the CCTV cameras get are only allowed to be saved for two months, unless they are needed for evidence, says the interior ministry.^[31]

The Protection of each citizen against unlimited elicitation, storage, usage and transfer of his own personality data is included in his personal rights. Everyone has the right, to decide the disclosure and use of his personal data. He also must be able to determine on the collection and recording of personal presence in certain time at a certain place.^[35] Despite all these arguments for and against CCTV, the tendency in Germany is that the number of them is growing up. But with regard to laws and the German Angst it will be very difficult to become a surveillance state. The German people will take care for it.

In my opinion CCTV is an effective tool for the police to detect crime, provided that the cameras and the data they get are used properly. For sure it is not the best to be observed. But at public places like train stations or something like that it is not such a big intervention in privacy I think. You can also be observed by a person who is at the same place at this moment. Sure it is a difference if someone looks at you or if a camera is filming you. But if this camera is used to make my environment safe I will accept the fact that it is there. It must be ensured that the data is only used for the aim to detect crime or something like that. If we can guarantee that, I think more people will be in favor with CCTV at public places. On the other hand I do not agree with monitoring the whole city. It could make many problems. People could be filmed at an unpropitious moment. And if this data reached the wrong person at any way, it could be getting worse.

The argument “The Cameras could not prevent crime” is right by itself. But it can help to clarify it. And in my opinion this is the reason why the described argument doesn’t make sense. Should we not accept something which could help only because it doesn’t prevent? I don’t think so. I think everything which can help us to make our environment safe is good. But the question is, can the CCTV cameras do that? Does it work? Nobody can guarantee that. There are no statistics which improve that.

What remains is the uncertainty about what happens to the data and whether the monitoring really brings benefits. I think with this and the German aversion against surveillance it will be difficult to increase and accept the CCTV in Germany.

5.1.2 Stuxnet

5.1.2.1 Actors

The main actors totaled from both newspapers are the “experts”. 14 times “Stuxnet” itself was coded as the actor, 13 times the “president”. So these three actors are the main actors at common of both newspapers.

Figure 10 The top actors for Stuxnet for (a) FAZ and (b) SZ based on Table 12.

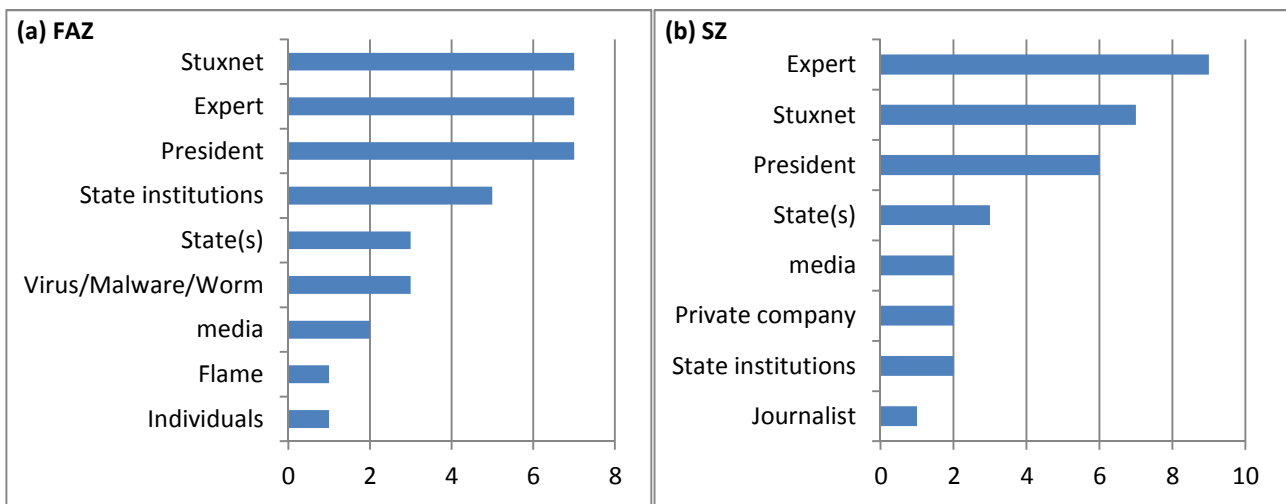


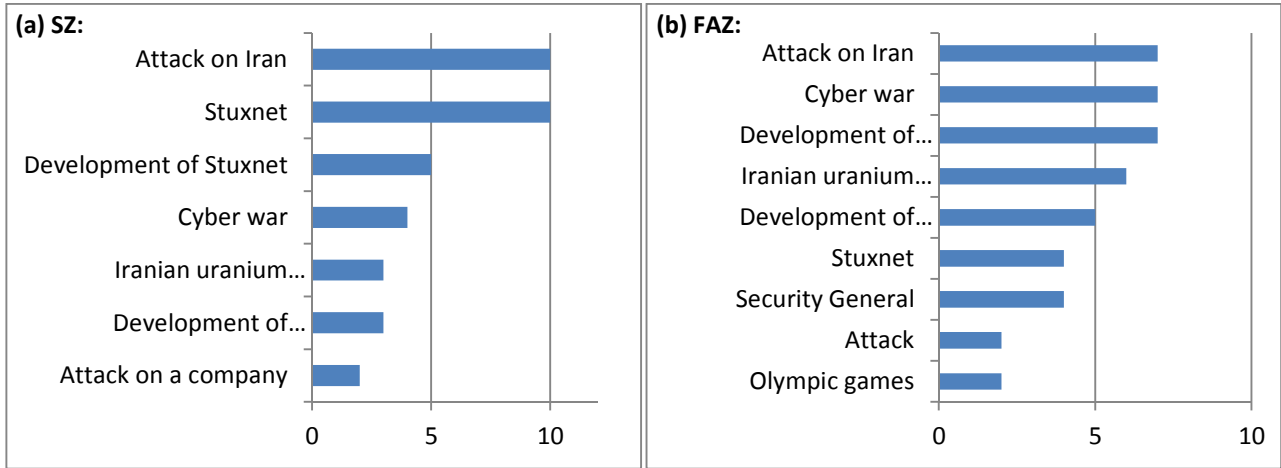
Figure 10 (a) shows the actors of FAZ. There are three main actors with seven codes “Stuxnet” itself, “Experts” and “president”.

The distribution of the actors of SZ is depicted in Figure 10 (b). The SZ has the same three main actors as the FAZ with the difference that the first and the second actors are interchanged. In that case the “Experts” have the highest number of occurrence. It has consequently two codes respectively one code more than the other two “Stuxnet” and “president”.

5.1.2.2 Topics

The graph above features the topics from the articles of Stuxnet from both newspapers. The main topic here is “Attack on Iran” with 17 codes, then just “Attack”.

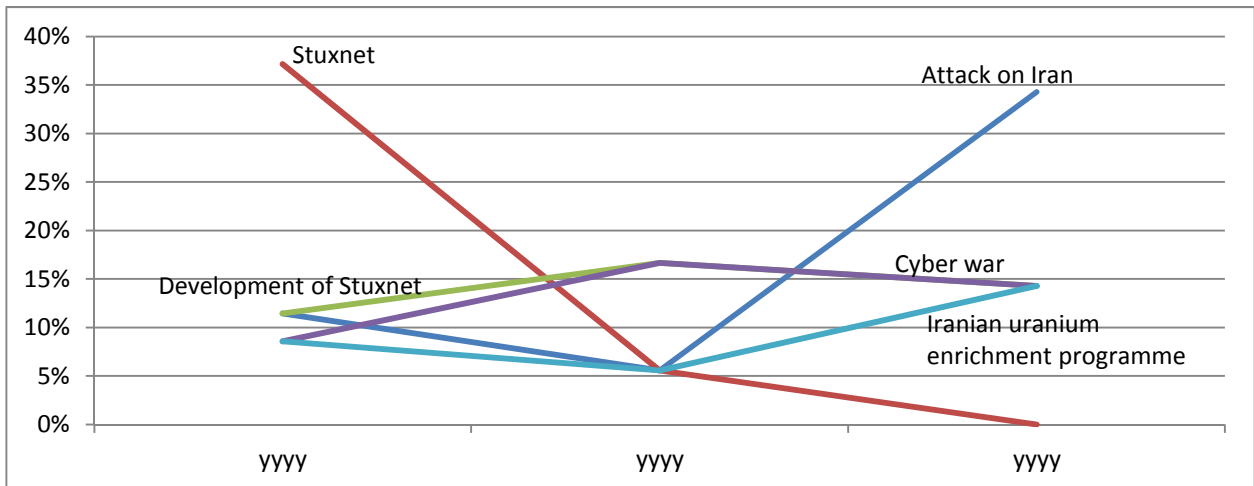
Figure 11 Top topics of Stuxnet for (a) SZ and (b) FAZ. This was created with the data of Table 13.



In Figure 11 (a) the two main topics of SZ can be seen. These are “Attack on Iran” and “Stuxnet”, both coded with 10 codes.

The FAZ has got three main topics, all with seven codes. These are listed in Figure 11 (b). The topics are “Attack on Iran”, “Cyber war” and “development of Stuxnet”.

Figure 12 Development of the top five topics of Stuxnet based on Table 14.



Recognizable is the decrease of Stuxnet itself and the rise of Attack on Iran. So we can see that the first main topic is the same in the articles of SZ and FAZ. The “development of Stuxnet” seems to be discussed equally on both papers, but FAZ is more about the “Cyber war” which is ranked by SZ lower. Also the “Iranian uranium enrichment program” is a big topic for the FAZ.

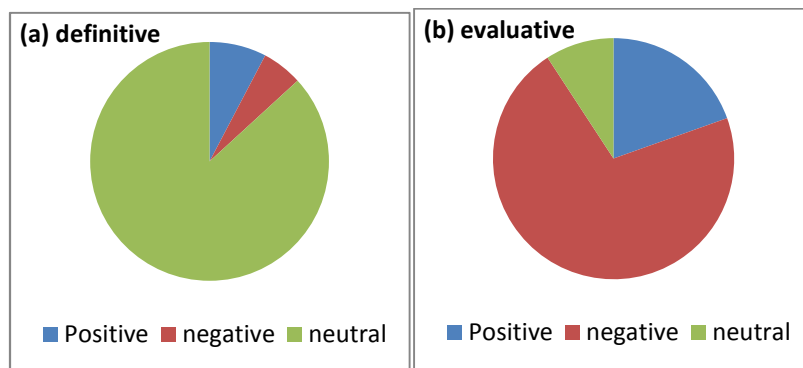
Figure 12 shows the temporal progress of the top five topics. We can recognize a shift in the importance of the topics. First in 2010 when Stuxnet came up, the focus lay on

“Stuxnet” itself and the “development” of it. One question dominates in Germany: Who has developed such advanced virus? Over the time this becomes less important as the developer becomes public. On the other hand the “Iranian uranium enrichment program” gets more important for the public again. Thus the discussion focusses on the “attack on Iran”, less about Stuxnet as a Virus.

5.1.2.3 Argumentative strategies

The predominantly argumentative strategy is the evaluative one. In a total of 66 coded strategies we have 39 evaluative, 27 definitive and no advocative strategies. The definitive ones are mostly neutral whereas the evaluative strategies are mostly negative.

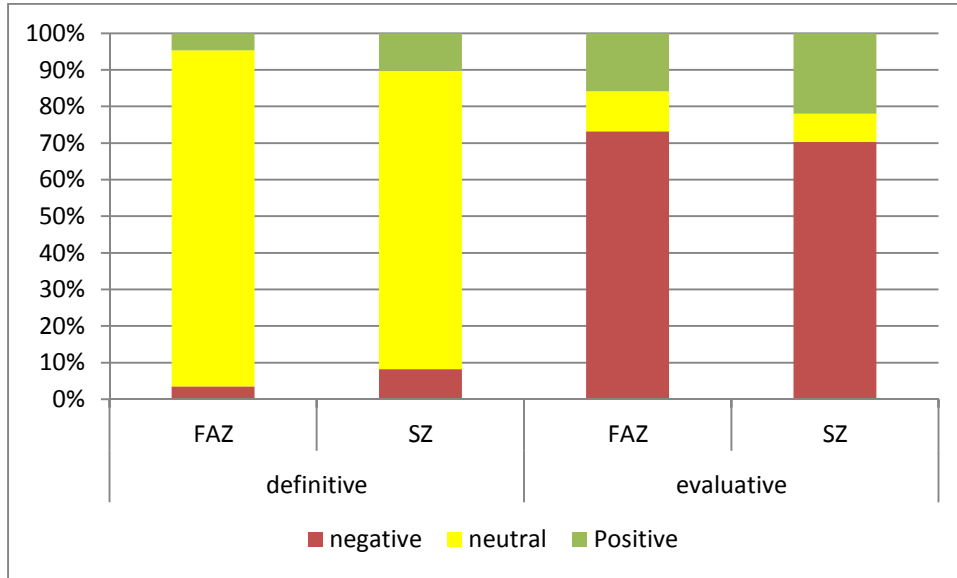
Figure 13 Argumentative strategies with direction of argumentation



The FAZ has got more definitive arguments than evaluative arguments. In

Figure 13 we see the distribution of the direction of the argumentation together with the argumentative strategy. We can recognize that definitive arguments are mostly neutral and evaluative are mainly negative. But also some positives arguments were evaluated.

Figure 14 Distribution of argumentative strategy and the direction of it separated by the newspaper



In Figure 14 we see the definitive and evaluative strategies split into FAZ and SZ. There is just little change. SZ does have a slightly bigger positive share than FAZ.

Table 15 The data for the argumentation analysis

	definitive	evaluative
Positive	1	2
negative	1	9
neutral	19	3

Figure 16 The development of the argumentation direction based on Table 15

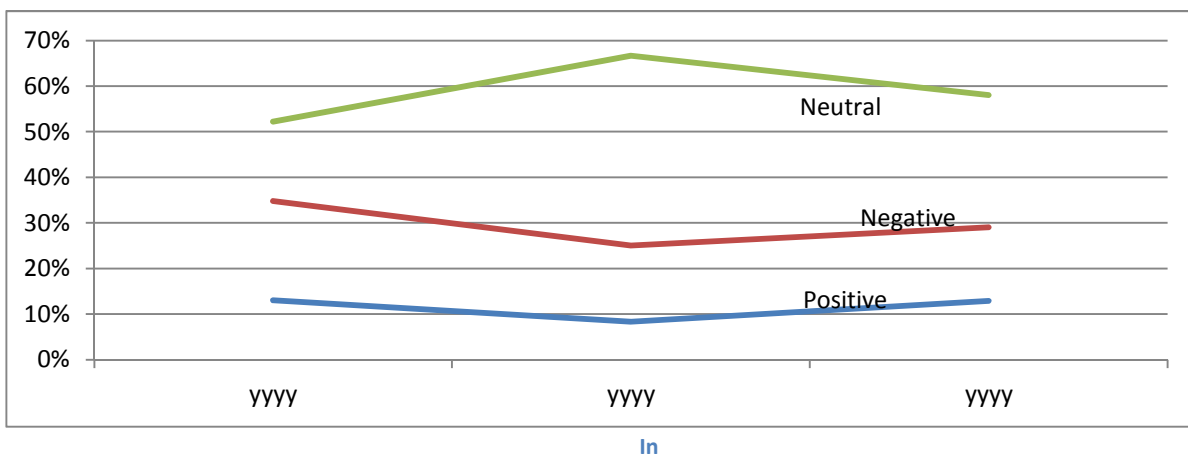
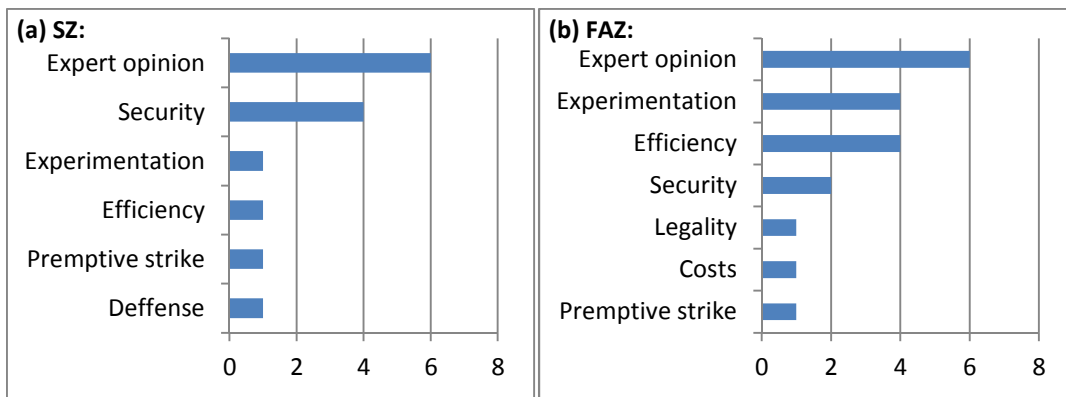


Figure 16 we see the development over time of the argumentation direction. We cannot recognize significant changes. The neutral direction is dominating for all years.

5.1.2.4 Justifications

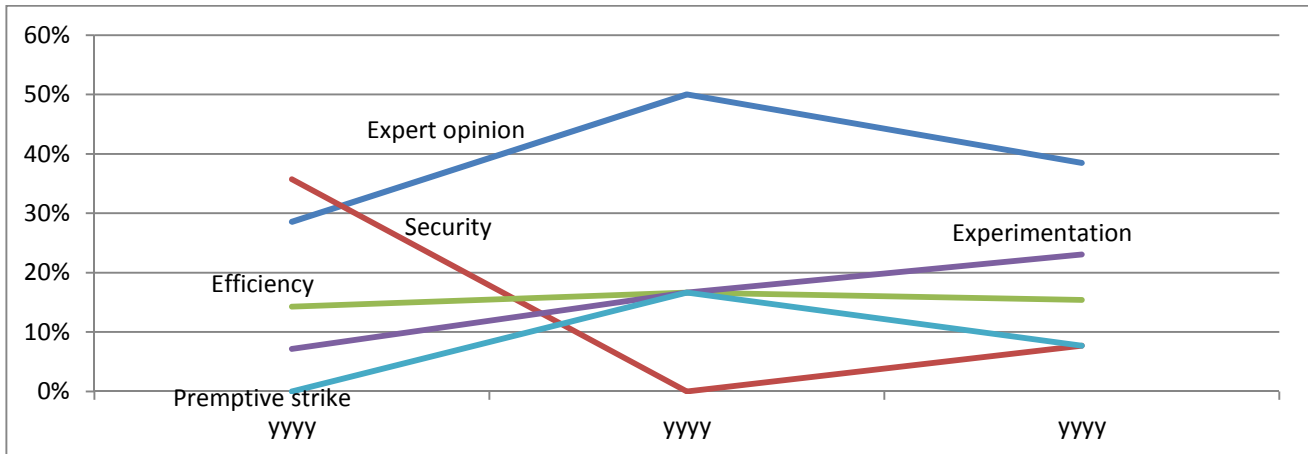
The main justification of both newspapers is “Expert opinion” with a total of twelve codes.

Figure 17 Top justifications of (a) SZ and (b) FAZ regarding Stuxnet based on Table 16.



If we split it to both newspapers and look at Figure 17 we can see the main justification “Expert opinion” with six codes. It is the same at both newspapers. The SZ in Figure (a) has five further justifications. The right-leaning newspaper FAZ is shown in Figure 17 (b). The “Expert opinion” is followed by the two justifications “Efficiency” and “Experimentation. So as a result we can see that both newspapers mainly rely on the expert opinions. The SZ has concerns about security.

Figure 18 Top justifications in temporal progress for Stuxnet based on Table 17



In

Figure 18 we can recognize a change in significance of the kind of justification. At the beginning of the discussion we see “Security” as the main justification. Since beginning of 2011 the “expert opinion” is dominating. This can be correlating with the change of the topic. The “security” is relating to “Stuxnet” and the fear about it while you need “expert opinions” to talk about the “Iranian uranium enrichment program”.

Germany politically agreed about this topic. It is a very dangerous worm and a very delicate topic. The whole world must be careful about cyber-attacks. It is the modern way to conduct war, and we all can get attacked. Germany was touched by the Stuxnet attack. The worm was found in Siemens generators, a big technological company in Germany. But no damages were noted. Germany is in his total dependency an attractive target for digital attackers. But the federal republic has no enemies at this moment from which it must fear an attack like this. Nonetheless the German armed forces and the BND^[45] establish a cyber-entity named CNO (Computer Networks Operation). As from middle of 2011 the CNO should have got defensive and active capabilities. This is only for mandated insets, a speaker from the German armed forces says.^[36]

In the case of Stuxnet I think there is no way to see something good in it. It was a really bad attack from the US that could have ended in a very bad way. The Iran could go angry about that which ends in a war in the worst-case scenario.

We almost live in an age where war is fought in another way as in the past. We do not have to go out with our guns or whatever. Stuxnet is the perfect example for that. We could, if we were able to do it, sit in front of our computers and send a worm which is able to make centrifuges drive over-level and precipitates a nuclear explosion. That is

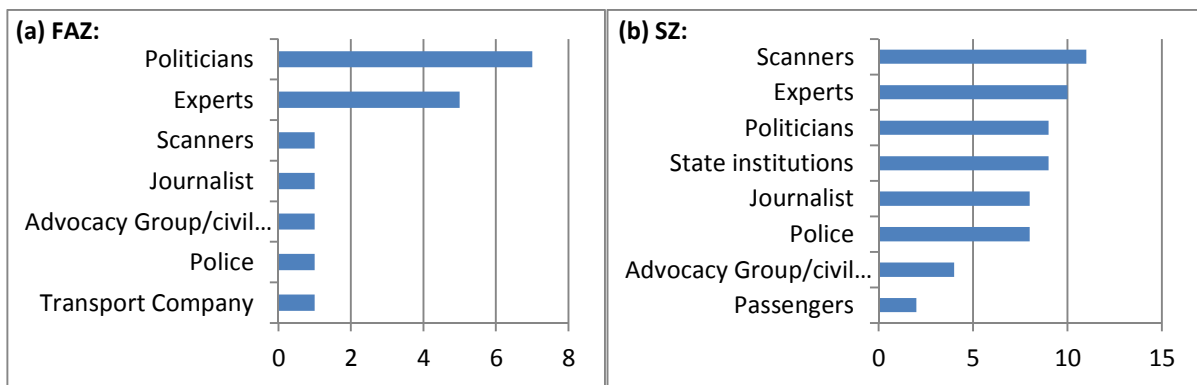
so dangerous, not only because you don't know you get attacked the moment it happens. The extent of a nuclear explosion is almost much bigger.

5.1.3 Body scanners

5.1.3.1 Actors

The main actors of both newspapers are the "Politicians". Followed by the "Experts".

Figure 19 The actors of the articles about body scanners from (a) FAZ and (b) SZ based on Table 18.



If we have a look at

Figure 19 we can see that the main actor is different for each newspaper. At the FAZ the main actors are the "politicians" (7 codes) and the "Experts". At the graph from the SZ the main actor are the "scanners" with eleven codes. We can recognize a big gap after Experts in

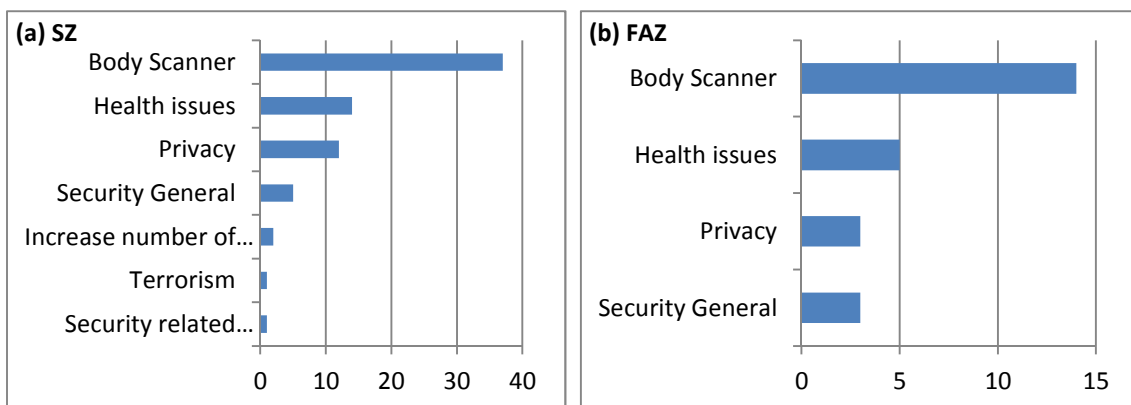
Figure 19 (a), FAZ while in

Figure 19 (b), SZ there is no big gap. Experts are relevant in both newspapers.

5.1.3.2 Topics

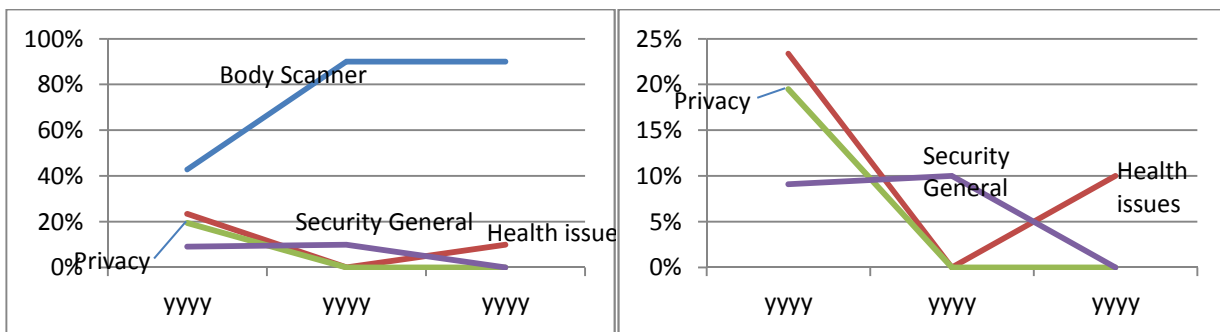
The absolutely main topic is the "body scanners" itself with 51 codes.

Figure 20 Topic of body scanner for (a) SZ and (b) FAZ based on Table 19.



In Figure 20 (a) from the SZ we can see seven topics. The first four topics are the same in the graph (b) from the FAZ which are the only ones in this newspaper. Also the four topics have the same order. Besides this the SZ has three more topics.

Figure 21 Top topics of body scanner. We can see the dominating body scanner as topic. After removing “Body Scanner” the rest is more readable. This diagram is based on Table 20.



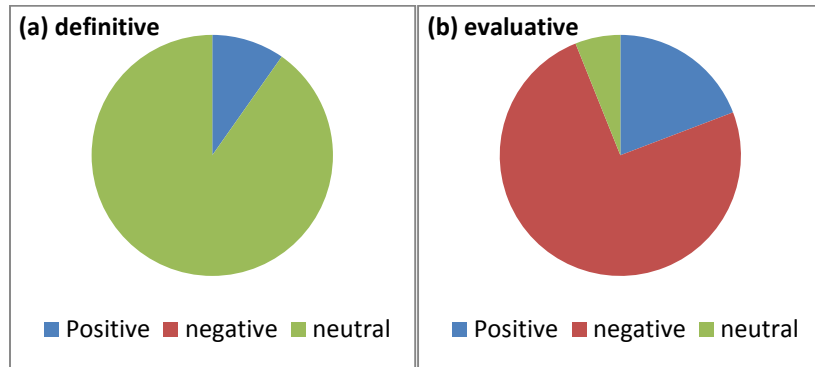
In

Figure 21 we look at the relative distribution of the topics of the body scanner analysis. The topic “body scanner” is obviously dominating. After removing this one the rest is more readable. We can recognize that health issues are an important point even when it is not mentioned in 2011. This is because there are too few data points available. Secondly, the importance of privacy is decreasing. This matches perfectly to the impression gained above.

5.1.3.3 Argumentative Strategies

We see the Argumentative strategies together with the argumentative direction in Figure 22. There is one advocative statement which is negative, for which we do not have made an own graph.

Figure 22 Argumentative strategies together with the argumentative direction



In total we have 85 statements. 29 of them are definitive statements where three are positive and 26 are neutral. There are no negative definitive statements. Further we have 56 evaluative statements. Five neutral ones, eleven positive ones and 40 negative statements.

In the FAZ we have four definitive statements and thirteen evaluative statements. In the SZ we have a total number of codes of 68. From them one are advocative, 25 definitive and 42 evaluative.

Figure 23 Argumentation direction in temporal progress based on Table 21.

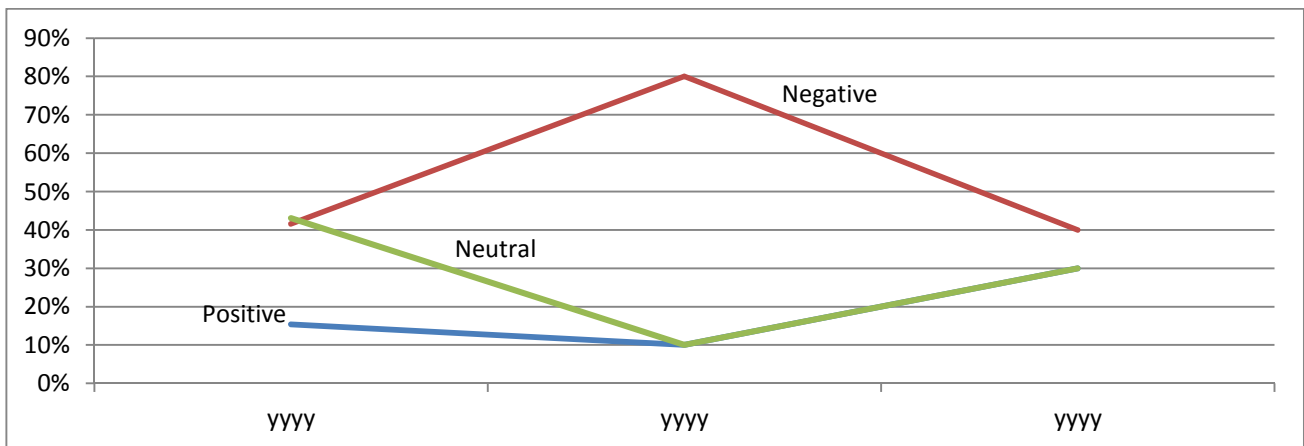
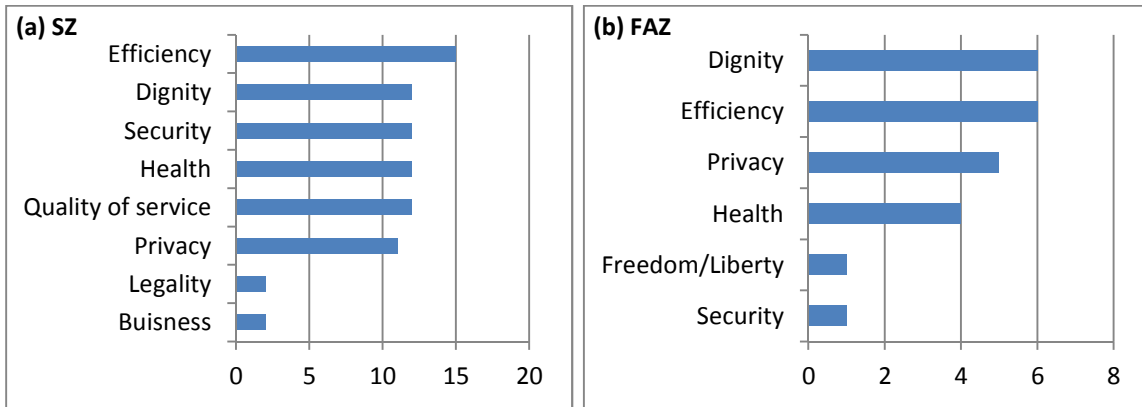


Figure 23 shows the temporal development of the direction of the argumentation for body scanners. We can mostly see that it is continually negative. In 2011 the percentage of negative arguments had its peak. Positive and neutral are increasing slightly since 2011.

5.1.3.4 Justifications

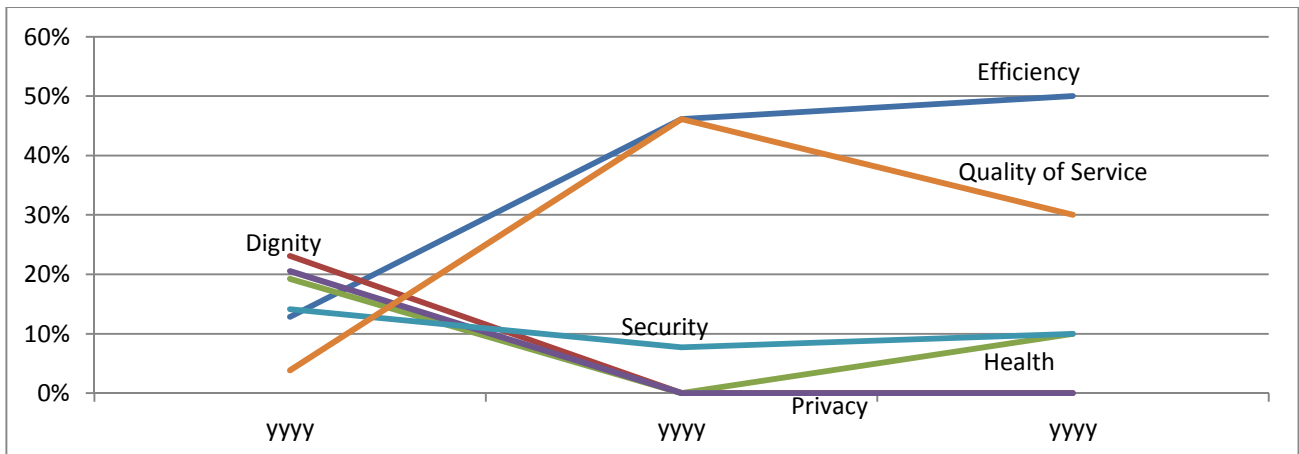
The main justification is “Efficiency” with 21 codes. This is shown in Figure 24.

Figure 25 Justifications of body scanner for (a) SZ and (b) FAZ based on Table 22.



The right-leaning newspaper FAZ as compared to the left-leaning newspaper SZ has only six justifications. The SZ has got eight. “Efficiency” and “Dignity” are important for FAZ as well as for SZ.

Figure 26 The temporal evolution of the justifications of body scanners based on Table 23. In 2011 there is not enough information available. We can recognize Efficiency as always dominating.



The temporal evolution diagram in Figure 26 is showing the development of the justification for body scanners over time. In 2011 it lacks on available information. But however we can recognize a shift in the weight of these. While at the beginning the dignity, privacy, freedom and health are important, in the later years efficiency, quality of service and health become more important. This is a shift from a doubtful point of view to a commercial and practical one. So we can say the resistance against body scanners is decreasing.



Since in 2009 a Nigerian has smuggled Nitropentan (a kind of explosive) on a plane it is discussed if body scanners should be allowed to prevent this attack.^[38] The man was able to smuggle the explosion on his plane from Amsterdam to Detroit and try to burn it twenty minutes before landing. Some passengers could overwhelm the man so that he could not finish his plan. After this there was the question if the body scanners can prevent those attacks. Here also two points of view are being debated. First there are the proponents who say that the scanners can make more security. On the other hand there are opponents who say that the scanners are an intervention in human privacy and dignity.

The German party FDP supposes that the scanners are a further step to become a surveillance state.^[37] Critics lament the threat to injure the human dignity, they are talking about the "glass citizens made of glass".^[39] The Dignity of the humans is an important topic in this debate. It is said, that Security should be suitable to the dignity of the people.^[37] Privacy groups see the privacy rights at risk. They have the opinion that the standard fluoroscopy is disproportionate.^[38] Disability organizations have also drawn attention to the fact that body scanners made stoma, urine bag or prostheses visible. So people with physical suffering would be stigmatized.^[38] The Federal Data Protection Commissioner Peter Schaar calls that physical disabilities and diseases must remain hidden from the devices.^[42] "It must be ensured that there are no health risks, that all personal rights are respected and that the scanner is actually effective," Schaar said to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.^[42] German Interior Minister Thomas de Mazière (CDU) assured the protection of privacy remains guaranteed.^[42]

Another topic is the Health issues. X-rays can cause cancer. The dose a person would get when passing through a body scanner amounts to one to two tenths of microsievert (unit of radiation exposure). For comparison: An eight-hour flight across the Atlantic charged the body with 40 microsievert, so a hundred times stronger.^[38] In 2009, physiologist at Tel Aviv University have shown that Terahertz waves with a high power density of three watts per square meter can change the genome of lymphocytes, but only after an exposure period of two hours. "This suggests that such exposure may increase the risk of cancer," reported the Israeli researchers.^[40] In order to determine how the radiation is acting on the body, a number of studies were carried out. Scientists from several European universities have joined together in 2001 in the research project "Terahertz Bridge" to investigate the effects of millimeter radiation on the human body. In one experiment, they irradiated cell cultures for 20 minutes continuously with terahertz radiation - the researchers could not find a change within the cells. "Internal organs cannot be reached by the rays," confirms Anja Schulte-Lutz from the Federal Office for Radiation Protection.^[41] Nevertheless, the health effects are still controversial. Another point of discussion is the efficiency of the devices. Airlines worry that body scanners could be used additionally to the existing controls and then delays would occur.^[41] Hamburg Airport has taken the body scanners into trial operation. And get the following conclusions: During trial operation in Hamburg, more than 800,000 passengers had used the scanner. In almost half of all cases there were false alarms, by the Federal Ministry said in 2011. In another 15% there had been genuine alarm - at five percent the reason was unclear. Only in 31% of the total cases, the device gave the green light because it had found nothing suspicious at the passenger.^[44] High error rate, long waits: After ten months two body scanners at Hamburg airport were dismantled. According to a newspaper report, the

technique failed the practical test.^[43] Because of this high error rate the police union demands not to use the scanners at German airports. "The practical test in Hamburg has shown that body scanners currently are not suitable for widespread use", says the union president Bernhard Witthaut in an interview with the Osnabruck newspaper.^[43]

Moreover, the scanners also open up a multi-million dollar market for manufacturers. However, it is worrying what the Amsterdam newspaper 'De Telegraaf' reports. According to this newspaper, the terrorist network Al-Qaida got one of the new body scanners a long time ago. They try to find out with what kinds of explosives the devices can be cheated on.^[39] In conclusion it can be said that body scanners in Germany are currently not comprehensively used. What will be decided in the future is still uncertain.

I think body scanners could be a good possibility to get a higher security on airports, but only when the scanners work well. At the moment we can say they don't do it. They have a very high error rate. This is mainly the reason why the waiting times are getting longer. As well, the Austrian physicist showed in a TV show that the scanners are not able to detect things with which he was able to create a bomb. This is the reason why I am not in favor of body scanners. Also the fact that Al-Qaida already has a body scanner makes me think very critical about this topic. With it they could test how to get explosives or something similar on a plane. I wonder how it can be, that an organization like the Al-Qaida gets a device which is created for our security. This is created against the members of such organizations. In my opinion it doesn't make sense.

The Health issues are very important for me too. Especially the fact, that no experts for the radiation were part of the development. So nobody could make a statement about the effect of the radiation at a human body. I'm very happy, that Germany takes care at such problems.

With the second generation of the scanners, which shows the bodies only wraithlike, the problem with the privacy is remedied. The person who is scanned is no longer screened naked. So in my opinion there is no problem concerning privacy. All in all I think the scanners could be very useful if it is guaranteed that they work well. Until they cannot do it we should not use them.

5.2 Influence of domestic and international context

5.2.1 CCTV

Germany has generally a negative opinion about CCTV. We can recognize that in section 5.1.1.3. It shows the direction regarding the argumentative strategy. In evaluative arguments mainly negative conclusions are drawn. This has several cultural reasons. The first one is that the German people have a great aversion for surveillance. This is because of the time of the National Socialism where everybody was overseen and everyone was suspected. Now the German people are happy about their personal rights and their privacy. They don't want to give it up. The same reason leads to a stronger manifestation of data privacy needs and a higher feeling for private privacy as well as the presumption of innocence.

It is clear that there are some problems with the data privacy. For example, the person which was filmed has no chance to get information about the usage of the saved data and is not able to obtain any information if retention periods were hold. The trust in a careful usage of any data is very weak. This is encouraged by surveillance and data leak affairs, like the NSA Prism affair in these days.

As aforementioned the presumption of innocence is one of the fundamental principles of constitutional criminal procedure and substantial for Germany and the people. It requires that anyone suspected or accused of a crime during the entire duration of the criminal proceedings is treated as innocent. He has not to prove his innocence, but the law enforcement agency has to prove his guilt. This is also said with the Latin sentences “In dubio pro reo” (“When in doubt, for the accused”). CCTV concerns almost only unsuspected people. There is no suspicion of a special person, but a general suspicion of all people. This contradicts the presumption of innocence. This is due to the deficient identification.

This issue is manifested in grid investigation (in German “Rasterfahndung”). Grid investigation is a method for searching of networked databases, developed in the 1970s by the BKA President Horst Herold for the investigation of RAF terrorists. With this method groups of persons are filtered out from public or private databases by looking for features, of which it is assumed that they also apply to the requested person who is unknown. The aim is to restrict the group of people that must be checked.^[19] The grid investigation is seen very suspicious in Germany and is used very restrictively.

Further there are some suitability aspects. The question is whether CCTV is effective against crime. It is not clear if the cameras are really able to protect against crime. CCTV should among other things monitor crime hotspots. However CCTV can lead to displacement. Crime hot spots are no longer perceived as such. But in succession of this other place become a crime hotspot.

In this way the state wants to fight against the drug scene for example. But there are problems as CCTV is ineffective in drug-related crime. In succession to the installation of a CCTV camera at a crime hotspot another place becomes the hotspot. Also CCTV is for offender investigation, not for crime prevention.^[25]

Mainly in favor of the increase of CCTV are the German parties CDU and FDP. Against the increase are the parties SPD, “Die Grünen” and the Pirate Party. Interesting to know is that the „dbb Beamtenbund und Tarifunion“ has pointed out that 73% of citizens are for a complete surveillance of public places, train stations, airports and shopping malls, in a survey in 2009. 61% believe that CCTV can improve the public security.

The discussion is getting quieter in Germany, not because the Germans are more in favor with CCTV, but the resistance movement has relented to some extent. The arguments are still the same.

5.2.2 Stuxnet

Stuxnet has also attacked German companies. “nTV” reported this in an article from 16th April 2011^[23]. According to this a study was implemented on behalf of the Antivirus producer McAfee. 200 IT companies were tested and the result was that 59% of electric-

ity, gas and water facilities in Germany discovered the cyber worm in their systems. So Germany together with France is the land with the second most attacks of stuxnet.^[28]

Siemens reported about attacks in Germany, too. 15 infections were found in their facilities, five of them located in Germany. However, the worm was discovered and removed in all cases before it could do serious damage or hazards.^[24] Further for a short time Germany was suspected to be the author of this worm as well.

The Attack on Iran was the evidence that it is possible to attack a company or anything else via Internet. Nothing and no one was safe from attacks, even not big companies or states. It was shown that cyber war is able to trigger a nuclear explosion, because if the worm is able to drive under load without recognition, it will also be able to drive over load without possible recognition. After time of driving over load the safety of the plant is not guaranteed. So there is a possible but reasoned threat of a nuclear hazard. This animates the fear of nuclear disasters.

As a result, there are no advocates for Stuxnet in Germany, neither in the German parties nor in the population. Anyhow the criticisms are restrained because of the friendship of Germany and America. No politician dares to jeopardize the friendly relations with the United States.

5.2.3 Body scanners

In general we can say that Germany is against the employment of body scanners. This has several reasons. The main reason is, that in the beginning of the discussion the scanner were demonstrated showing a complete nude image of the person inside. This demonstration has brand marked them as “Nacktscanner” (engl. Nude scanner). After this branding the technology has principally a tough act to follow. But beside this argument, there are several others.

In Germany the people think the controls at the airport are already humiliating. And now with the employment of body scanners it becomes even worse. This is important because the fear about terrorism (and also about crime) is quite low in comparison with other countries. There are more people complaining about the annoying security measurements, this tells the “ServiceValue GmbH” in Germany.

A further important aspect is that a large part of the citizens fear the investigation as an intrusion into privacy, because private details such as prostheses, stomas or piercings would be visible on the very sharp images. So the people would be easy suspected to terrorism. This is given to add for consideration by disabled rights organizations.^[7] And this people have to explain what the pictures really show. This is according to estimates by representatives from government, church and unions a significant invasion of privacy and human dignity. In Germany, the Federal Ministry of the Interior had excluded the use of the scanner in October 2008.^[21]

Because of this general aversion the people were skeptical that the scanners were raising security. In January 2010 a body scanner was outsmarted by a physicist named Werner Gruber live on a TV Show named “Markus Lanz”. The man was scanned by the body scanner. At the picture the experts only found his mobile phone and the microphone for

the show. After the Analysis the physicist got some more items from his body. He had a detonator in his mouth, a glass tube hidden under patch on his leg and Thermite with him. All these items the scanner did not find and the man was able to create a fire with them. This would be very dangerous at a plane.

There are further arguments, which shall only be mentioned here. There are concerns about health issues. A trial run showed that these scanners have to low efficiency. Politically most parties are skeptical except the CDU. The opponents of body scanners are the German parties FDP, SPD, “Die Grünen” and the Pirate Party. The German Federal Justice Minister Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger (FDP) was expressed hostile in an interview with “Der Spiegel” to the use of “body scanners”. Body scanners should only be used when privacy is not violated and the health is not affected.

The head of the FDP Working Group on Legal Affairs and Interior, Hartfrid Wolff, stressed that it “will not give a national point of the scanner operation with the Liberals”. Instead of an isolated solution an EU-wide regulation should be found or the body scanners should not be used. At its convention in April 2010, the FDP describe the requirement that every passenger should have the freedom to choose between a body search and investigation by a body scanner.^[20]

In contrast to this, Wolfgang Bosbach the CDU security politician who is in favor of the body scanners was not amused about that. “I find that now only limited witty”, he said in front of the cameras during the show.^[22]

5.3 Summary

Summarized we can say that Germany is mainly skeptical at all three topics. We have analyzed two different newspapers, one right-leaning and the other one left-leaning. The differences between the newspapers are not so big, although they are not equal. At first we will have a look at the topic CCTV. The main actors are the same in both newspapers, the Journalists. The other two actors are the politicians and the State institutions. The second one at SZ is the state institutions. At the FAZ it is the politicians. The main actors can be explained with simple reasons. The issue CCTV is discussed in the politic and the different parties have different statements which the newspapers use to write their articles. Also important in the discussion if CCTV is working or who funded it are the State institutions. At the topics the main topics of both newspapers are different. Also the order is completely different. Noticeable in this case is, that the FAZ has got the topic “Funding” which one is not in the SZ. And the SZ has got the topic “privacy” which is not in the FAZ. This is a good example for the political attitude of the newspapers. The FAZ has got a conservative and economical interest. They wanted to know how the whole project “CCTV” should be funded and by whom. The SZ has the focus on the social interests. This is the reason why privacy is a relevant topic for this newspaper. They wanted to inform the citizens. Again a good example with the same reason is the justifications. The main justification at the SZ is “Right to privacy”. The main one at FAZ is “Efficiency”. The SZ is interested in which way citizens would be restricted and the FAZ wants to ensure that the system works. The second topic is Stuxnet. FAZ has got the main actors “Stuxnet”, “Experts” and “President”. SZ also has these three topics first but after the main actor “Experts” there is a gap to the actors “Stuxnet” and “President”. So the most important actor for SZ is the “Expert”. The rea-

sons of these actors are that many statements are made from the experts which analyzed the worm. The President is important because it is expected that he has ordered the attack and his statements were mentioned. The numbers of topics are not equal. The FAZ has got nine topics and the SZ has got seven and also the order is not the same. But apart from this it is impossible to make a statement. The SZ has got the two main topics “Attack on Iran” and “Stuxnet”. FAZ has got three main actors, “Attack on Iran”, “Cyber war” and “Development of Stuxnet”. If we have a look at the topics together with the development of them we can recognize something special. On the beginning the focus is on “Stuxnet” and the “Development of Stuxnet”. In the process over the years the two topics get uninteresting. The topics “Attack on Iran”, “Cyber war” and “Iranian uranium enrichment program” become more interesting. Maybe it can be explained with the fear of the Iranian uranium enrichment program because of the risk that the Iran can make an attack against America. The main justification in both newspapers is the “Expert opinion”. Mainly we can say that the newspapers are almost the same. I think the reason for that is that in the case of Stuxnet there aren't proponents. Stuxnet is from every point of view something with which Germany cannot be in favor of.

A better overview about the attitude of the newspapers is given by the topic body scanners. The main actors in the case of the FAZ are the politicians. At the SZ it is the scanners itself. The reason for this is, that FAZ reported with a focus of political statements. The reporting of SZ is given in a way which tells how the scanners work. But the topics are the same in both newspapers. They are interested in “Health issues”, “Privacy” and “Security General”. They are interested at the issue “Health issues” because the effects of the emissions are not clear. The topic “privacy” is relevant because the scanners are able to show intimate details of the persons. “Security General” is interesting for them because they wanted to point out if the scanners are effective to protect or not. With a focus on this we can't make a statement of the differences in the newspapers. But we can have a look at the topics Development and here we see that “Health issues” is the only topic which becomes more important in the process. The other two topics are important at the beginning and after a while they become less important. Also they have the same justifications. So here are no differences if we compare the newspapers. The main topic “Dignity” is very important at the beginning of 2010 but then it is getting less interesting. The topic “Dignity” become a lower interest because a second type of scanners was built which views only a shadowy picture of the person. So there are other topics more relevant. This is different at the second main topic “Efficiency”. This one is lower at the beginning and gets more interesting consequently in the progress of time. At the end it is the most important justification with exactly 50% in 2012.

6 Conclusions

In general we can say that Germany is very critical to all of the three topics. Also we can say that Germany tried to get to the bottom of all topics every time. The way to report is very critical and detailed. It doesn't matter which newspaper we choose. The left-leaning newspaper SZ was for example not in favor with the CCTV because of the right to privacy. Based on the liberal and social principles of the SZ it holds people's prosperity near and dear. On the other hand we have the right-leaning newspaper FAZ. They are also critical and not in favor with the CCTV. But their reasons are different. They are in-

terested in issues like the efficiency and the cost of CCTV. Why should we spend a lot of money for something that doesn't work? But they are also interested in the people's rights. That point was still a main topic for the FAZ. At the beginning of the debate in 2010 the topics "public domain monitoring" and "surveillance increase" were important. I think the reason for this is that the surveillance was a new situation for Germany which had to be discussed in the media. After doing that the topic "Crime solution" became important, because the Cameras should be efficient. The newspapers had to try to detect if the cameras were successful. The problem is that the statistics are not able to give a result. Because the police can say that at this place which is monitored the crime rate was going lower. But if in return the crime goes on at other places they could not say. All in all we can say that in Germany CCTV will not exist at every corner, but it also will not disappear. This said among other people the politician Erich Riedl.

In the case off Stuxnet the differences between the two newspapers were very small. Both of them were mainly interested at the attack of Iran. The FAZ also had a focus on the topic cyber war. Maybe that is because of the weak point. The nuclear plant in Iran was a very dangerous aim to attack. That has shown what a worm is able to do. Also important was the Development of Stuxnet and Stuxnet itself. After a while the Iran and its nuclear plant became interesting in the media. Because now the people could see that Iran has got nuclear power and that they are researching at this topic. Maybe the fear about that and about the consequences which could happen if a war starts were the reasons to have a focus on this. In both newspapers the main justification was the expert opinion. The articles have reported many statements from experts. For example the leader of the atomic plant, who claimed first that the plant was not an aim of the worm. Later he corrected his statement and declared that the plant was an aim. But there are also statements from experts which said that the attack has reverberated the Iranian uranium enrichment program for roundabout ten years. At last we could say Germany was not the aim. But we and other countries are also afflicted by Stuxnet. This shows that we must be careful and that we must do anything to get a bigger defense against cyber-attacks.

At the topic body scanners the main actors at the FAZ were the politicians, while the scanners themselves are the main actors in the case of the SZ. This can be explained with the reason that the FAZ lean onto statements of politicians. The SZ is more explaining what the scanners do. This is why the scanners here are the main actors. But also they have a focus on the experts and their opinions. In the articles of SZ there are many statements from Experts for example some studies which were performed from universities in different countries. They have tested the Health issues and the efficiency of the devices. The SZ has reported a lot of these studies to give the readers an overview. Especially to say is that round about 90% of the media is against the body scanners. Nevertheless 54% of the population in Germany is in favor with the scanners. That is what a study from "Forsa" said.

6.1 Further context relevant topics in Germany

Germany has concerns about data security and privacy, also relating to espionage and cyber war. Especially Stuxnet fortifies these fears. For each analyzed topic these arguments are relevant. In these days Snowden causes a stir. He published frightening information. For some critics in Germany the grave concerns became true. All data collected

by any system is not trustful, also regarding CCTV and body scanners. The politics behave excessively calm to not damage the friendship with the United States. But some newspapers remember Echolon, which was used for economic espionage. Many people stick with Snowden, although the politics do not official support his methods.

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8 Appendix

Table of the "top ten newspapers" in Germany, with circulation rate and political affiliation.

	Name in English	Name in domestic language	circulation rate							political affiliation
			2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total	
1	West German General Newspaper	Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ)	3701822	3514064	3370391	3224998	3032741	708.879	17552895	left
2	South German Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung	1850719	1809175	1772972	1739271	1733890	429.942	9335969	left
3	Frankfurter General Newspaper	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)	1565357	1575359	1535728	1521740	1491416	354.276	8043876	right
4	Rhenish Mail	Rheinische Post	1614308	1597686	1487757	1465056	1434351	350.284	7949442	right
5	Newspapergroup Cologne	Zeitungsgruppe Köln	1480552	1454002	1423870	1397562	1349200	479.498	7584684	N/A
6	Newspapergroup Thuringia	Zeitungsgruppe Thüringen	1373830	1320795	1284448	1247823	1210849	296.940	6734685	N/A
7	fp Free Press	fp Freie Presse	1225593	1190830	1156534	1118921	1085841	266.985	6044704	right
8	Nuremberg News	Nürnberger Nachrichten	1176320	1160418	1141787	1122007	1114497	278.276	5993305	liberal
9	Munich Mercury	Münchener Merkur	1108373	1096557	1086850	1070712	1069909	266329	5698730	right
10	Saxon Newspaper	Sächsische Zeitung	1114159	1088979	1065589	1039084	1019015	253214	5580040	right

Table of all articles from the year 2010



		January 2010	February 2010	March 2010	April 2010	May 2010	June 2010
SZ right-leaning	3D body scanner	0	0	1	0	21	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	0	0	0
	cctv	0	0	0	2	68	0
FAZ left-leaning	3D body scanner	10	0	2	0	0	1
	stuxnet	0	0	0	0	0	0
	cctv	0	0	0	0	0	0
		July 2010	August 2010	September 2010	October 2010	November 2010	December 2010
SZ right-leaning	3D body scanner	0	4	1	1	2	3
	stuxnet	1	0	4	7	2	1
	cctv	1	6	0	0	2	0
FAZ left-leaning	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	1	0
	stuxnet	0	0	4	2	2	2
	cctv	0	2	0	0	1	1

Table of all articles from 2011:

		January 2011	February 2011	March 2011	April 2011	May 2011	June 2011
SZ right-leaning	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	1
	stuxnet	2	2	0	1	0	3
	cctv	0	0	4	0	1	1
FAZ left-leaning	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	2	2	0	0	0	2
	cctv	0	1	0	1	0	0
		July 2011	August 2011	September 2011	October 2011	November 2011	December 2011
SZ right-leaning	3D body scanner	1	3	0	0	0	0
	stuxnet	0	0	0	2	0	0
	cctv	1	1	0	0	1	3
FAZ left-leaning	3D body scanner	0	1	1	0	0	0
	stuxnet	1	0	0	2	2	0
	cctv	1	0	0	0	0	0

Table of all articles from 2012

		January 2012	February 2012	March 2012	April 2012	May 2012	June 2012
SZ right-leaning	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	0	1
	stuxnet	1	0	0	1	3	1
	cctv	1	0	0	1	1	1
FAZ left-leaning	3D body scanner	0	1	0	0	1	0
	stuxnet	0	1	0	1	1	5
	cctv	0	0	0	0	0	0
		July 2012	August 2012	September 2012	October 2012	November 2012	December 2012
SZ right-leaning	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	1	0
	stuxnet	0	2	1	1	0	2
	cctv	0	1	0	3	0	6
FAZ left-leaning	3D body scanner	0	0	0	0	2	0
	stuxnet	0	1	0	1	0	1
	cctv	0	0	0	0	0	5

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
SZ right-leaning	3D body scanner	33	5	2	2	42
	stuxnet	15	10	12	1	38
	cctv	79	12	14	14	119
FAZ left-leaning	3D body scanner	14	2	4	0	20
	stuxnet	10	11	11	1	33
	cctv	4	3	5	15	27
		155	43	48	33	279

Table 5 total articles found for each topic and newspaper by year

		2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
SZ right-leaning	CD body scanner	5	1	1	0	7
	stuxnet	2	1	2	0	5
	cctv	11	2	2	2	17
FAZ left-leaning	CD body scanner	2	0	1	0	3
	stuxnet	1	1	2	0	4
	cctv	1	1	1	2	5
Total		22	6	9	4	41

Table 6 Sample gained from the found articles

Tables of diagrams

	FAZ	SZ	Total
Advocacy Group/ civil society	0	6	6

CCTV Cameras	3	8	11
Experts	0	11	11
Journalist	14	41	55
Municipality	2	7	9
Others	1	6	7
Police	1	9	10
Politicians	11	23	34
Private company	1	0	1
State institutions	4	28	32
Transport Company	1	7	8

Table 7 Overview about the top actors of CCTV

	FAZ	SZ	TOTALS:
Public domain monitoring	7	36	43
Surveillance Increase	3	32	35
Cameras CCTV	3	21	24
Personal data protection	5	16	21
Crime solution	2	17	19
Crime detection	3	15	18
Purchase/Installation of CCTV cameras	2	16	18
Surveillance	7	9	16
Crime Prevention	4	10	14
Personal freedom	3	8	11
Privacy	0	10	10

Table 8 Top topics of CCTV as data table. Used for Figure 3

Topics	2010	2011	2012	2013
Public domain monitoring	23%	12%	3%	10%
Surveillance Increase	19%	0%	3%	18%
Cameras CCTV	7%	7%	12%	18%
Personal data protection	8%	20%	3%	0%
Crime solution	6%	12%	15%	3%

Table 9 Data table for evolution of CCTV topic)

	definitive	evaluative	advocative	Total
positive	6	34	1	41
negative	4	69	0	73
neutral	62	14	0	76

Table 10 for argumentative strategy and direction analysis for Figure 6.

Justification	FAZ	SZ	Total
Personal domain monitoring	1	0	1
Trust	1	5	6
Crime solution	2	16	18
Transparency	2	8	10
Crime detection	3	14	17
Security	5	16	21
Crime Prevention	5	13	18
Quality of service	5	9	14
Costs	5	5	10
Right to Privacy	5	21	26
Efficiency	9	15	24
Safety	0	6	6

Table 10 Data for the top justifications of CCTV in Figure 8

Justifications	2010	2011	2012	2013
Right to Privacy	18%	27%	4%	3%
Efficiency	5%	8%	21%	37%
Security	13%	0%	11%	20%
Crime Prevention	12%	12%	7%	7%
Crime solution	11%	8%	14%	7%

Table 11 Data for the development of justification of CCTV in Figure 9

Actors	SZ	FAZ	Total
Journalist	1	0	1
State institutions	2	5	7
Private company	2	0	2
media	2	2	4
State(s)	3	3	6
President	6	7	13
Stuxnet	7	7	14
Expert	9	7	16
Flame	0	1	1
Virus/Maleware/Worm	0	3	3

Table 12 Data table for the top actors of Stuxnet for Figure 10

	FAZ	SZ	Total
Attack on Iran	7	10	17
Stuxnet	4	10	14
Development of Stuxnet	7	5	12
Cyber war	7	4	11
Iranian uranium enrichment programme	6	3	9
Development of Stuxnet by a state	5	3	8

Security General	4	1	5
Olympic games	2	1	3
Attack on a company	1	2	3
Attack	2	0	2

Table 13 Data for the top topics of Stuxnet for Figure 11

Topics	2010	2011	2012
Attack on Iran	11%	6%	34%
Stuxnet	37%	6%	0%
Development of Stuxnet	11%	17%	14%
Cyber war	9%	17%	14%
Iranian uranium enrichment programme	9%	6%	14%

Table 14 Data table for the development of the topics of Stuxnet of Figure 12

Direction	2010	2011
Positive	13%	8%
negative	35%	25%
neutral	52%	67%

Table 15 Data for the development of the direction for Figure 16

Figure 16

	SZ	FAZ	Total
Defense	1	0	1
Preemptive strike	1	1	2
Efficiency	1	4	5
Experimentation	1	0	1
Security	4	2	6
Expert opinion	6	6	12
Costs	0	1	1
Legality	0	1	1

Table 16 The code distribution for justifications used by Figure 17

Justification	2010	2011	2012
Expert opinion	29%	50%	38%
Security	36%	0%	8%
Efficiency	14%	17%	15%
Experimentation	7%	17%	23%
Preemptive strike	0%	17%	8%

Table 17 Data for the temporal progress of justification of Stuxnet for

Figure 18

	SZ	FAZ	Total
Passengers	2	0	2
Advocacy Group/civil society	4	1	5
Police	8	0	8
Journalist	8	1	9
State institutions	9	0	9
Politicians	9	7	16
Experts	10	5	15
Scanners	11	1	12
Transportation Company	0	1	1

Table 18 Table of actors of body scanners for

Figure 19

	SZ	FAZ	Total
Security related rules and regulations	1	0	1
Terrorism	1	0	1
Increase number of body scanners	2	0	2
Security General	5	3	8
Privacy	12	3	15
Health issues	14	5	19
Body Scanner	37	14	51

Table 19 Topics of body scanner for Figure 20

Topics	2010	2011	2012
Body Scanner	43%	90%	90%
Health issues	23%	0%	10%
Privacy	19%	0%	0%
Security General	9%	10%	0%

Table 20 The relative distribution of the topics of body scanner for

Figure 21

Direction	2010	2011	2012
Positive	15%	10%	30%
negative	42%	80%	40%
neutral	43%	10%	30%

Table 21 Argumentation direction by years for Figure 23

	SZ	FAZ	Total
Buisness	2	0	2
Legality	2	0	2
Privacy	11	5	16
Quality of service	12	0	12
Health	12	4	16
Security	12	1	13
Dignity	12	6	18
Efficiency	15	6	21
Freedom/Liberty	0	1	1

Table 22 Justification codes for SZ and FAZ

Justification	2010	2011	2012
Efficiency	13%	46%	50%
Dignity	23%	0%	0%
Health	19%	0%	10%
Privacy	21%	0%	0%
Security	14%	8%	10%
Quality of service	4%	46%	30%

Table 23 Temporal evolution of justifications of body scanners for Figure 26